A

# Compleat History

OF

# EUROPE:

OR, A

## View of the Affairs thereof,

CIVIL and MILITARY,

FROM THE

Year, 1600, to the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, to Perfect the Last Century.

CONTAINING

All the Publick and Secret Transactions therein; The Rise and Progress of our Civil War; The Wars and Revolutions of *France*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Portugal*, &c.

Intermix'd with

Great Variety of Original Papers, Letters, Memoirs, Treaties, *&c.* Several of which are not to be met with elsewhere.

THE

Whole illustrated with the Remarkables of the Years; and the Lives and Characters of the Great Men of that Age. Taken from *Thuanus*, *Nani*, *Puffendorf*, *Mezerai*, *Whitlock*, Sir *P. Warwick*, Dr. *Welwood*, E. of *Clarendon*, and Others the most Approved Historians.

VOL. II.

*LONDON:*

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W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# A Compleat Hiſtory OF EUROPE, &c.

## VOL. II.

HAving thus far ranged abroad, we ſhall again reaſſume the Hiſtory of *Britain*. Now becauſe the Death of the mighty Favourite *Buckingham* gave another Turn to the Face of Affairs at Court, it will not be unneceſſary to give a Proſpect of the Conſtitution of it, wherein we ſhall follow my Lord *Clarendon*: Sir *Thomas Coventry*, a Son of the Robe, his Father having been a Judge in the Court of the *Common-Pleas*, was then Lord-Keeper, and newly made Baron upon the Removal of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*: He enjoyed this Place with an univerſal Reputation even to his Death, and a Man who not only underſtood the whole Science and Myſtery of the Law, but had a clear Inſight into the whole Policy of the Government of both in Church and State, which through the Ignorance of ſome well-meaning Men juſtled each other too much. He delivered himſelf plainly, without much Ornament of Elocution, ſo that tho'he uſed very frankly to deny, yet it was with ſo gentle and obliging a manner, and he informed the Perſons whom he could not ſatisfie with ſo much

1629. A Proſpect of the Court of *England*, after King *James* his Death. Lord-Keeper *Coventry*.

1692. Condeſcention, that few departed from him with ill Wiſhes, or an ill Will. But his Happy Temper rather preſerved him from many Enemies, than furniſhed him with any hearty Freinds; and therefore it is no wonder he lived within himſelf, without venturing to oppoſe the growing Miſchiefs, which he knew he had no Power to reſtrain. In a word, his Security conſiſted in his having but a little Credit with the King; and he died at a time when a wiſe Man would be glad to have finiſhed his Courſe, and which indeed crowned his Felicities in this World. Sir *Richard Weſton* had been made Lord High Treaſurer ſome Months before *Buckingham*'s Death, but had in that ſhort time ſo much diſobliged him, that many who were privy to the Duke's moſt ſecret Purpoſes believed, tho' he had been advanced by him, he was eſtabliſhed by his Death. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, bred up ſome Years in the Study of the Law, and at an Age fit for Obſervations and Reflections, the Spring of Experience, ſent into Foreign Parts; after which he lived in Court with an Awe agreeable to the Modeſty of the Age, when Men were ſeen ſome Time before they were known, and well known before they were advanced, or durſt pretend to it. Tho' he was not ſuperiour to all others in the Affection or Reſignation of his Maſter, yet, as a wiſe and able Servant, he had a full Share in his Eſteem; nor was any ſo much above him, as to be able, by his Power with the King, to leſſen his Affection towards him, ſo that he might have found much Eaſe and Delight in his Poſt, if he could have confined himſelf to his Province. But through a Malignity in his Stars he was more exact in prying into other Mens Offices than in the Diſcharge of his own; that which firſt expoſed him to the Jealouſie of the Publick was the Suſpicion of his Religion, his Wife and all his Daughters being profeſſed Papiſts; and tho' he and his Sons went ſometimes to Church, he was never thought to be zealous for it; for his moſt familiar Converſation was with thoſe of the *Roman* Perſwaſion, and yet he never was in any Credit with that Party, who were the only People in the Kingdom who did not take him to be of their Party. He had not long enjoyed his

Lord-Treaſurer *Weſton.*

his Office, before he loſt the Reputation of a ſtout, bold, magnanimous Man, which in worſe times he was reputed to be; and after all the King's Bounty and Honours conferred upon him, after vaſt Sums of Money gotten, and rather conſumed than enjoyed, he died unlamented by any, leaving a numerous Family behind him, who were in a ſhort time worn out, and yet outlived the Fortune he had left 'em. 1629.

The next great Officer of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who from Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, had, before King *James* his Death, been by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Favour advanced to the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; but in leſs than a Year after was, by the recalling that Favour, reduced to the almoſt empty Title of Preſident of the Council, and to ſweeten the Senſe of the Diſhonour, created Viſcount *Mandeville*. This Diminution he bore as a Man of his wiſe and excellent Temper ought, and quickly regained ſo much Favour, that he was made Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Lord Privy-Seal, which in the midſt of many Removes and Degradations he enjoyed to his Death. His Honour had grown quicker upon him than his Fortunes, which made him in his old Age too ſolicitous to advance the latter; whereby he made himſelf leſs capable of ſerving the Publick, and expos'd himſelf to ſo many Reproaches and Inconveniencies. But his Vertues ſo far outweighed his Infirmities, that he preſerved to his Death a good Reputation in general with the People, being looked on full of Zeal for the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, and of Fidelity to the King. He lived till he was near 80 Years of Age, in a continued Vigour of Mind, and died luckily upon the breaking out of the Civil War, when no Man could promiſe any Security to himſelf, either from his Religion or Wiſdom. **The Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy-Seal.**

The next was the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord-Preſident of the Council, who was generally thought to be a proud Man, and ſeemed to live as in another Nation, his Houſe being the common Reſort of Strangers, or thoſe who affected to look like ſuch. He ſometimes went to Court, becauſe there only was a greater Man than himſelf, and went but ſeldom, becauſe there was a Man greater than himſelf. He **The Earl of *Arundel*.**

had

1629. had a good Fotune by Inheritance, but a greater by his Wife, and yet his Expences always exceeded his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and a great Antiquary, tho' he was almoſt illiterate as to all Parts of Learning, and thought no Hiſtory ſo conſiderable as what concerned his own Family. He was thought rather to have no concern for Religion in general, than to incline to this or that Party, and as little Affection for the Nation, from whence he withdrew, as the Repoſe thereof began to be diſturbed, and died in *Italy* under that doubtful Character of Religion in which he had lived.

**The Earl of *Pembroke*.** *Willam* Earl of *Pembroke* was a Man of another Frame, Fame and Reputation, being the moſt generally beloved of any Man of that Age; he was Maſter of a great Fortune, which yet ſerved not his Expence, that being limited by nothing but his Generous Mind, and Occaſions to employ it nobly. After the Earl of *Somerſet*'s foul Fall he was made Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, more for the Court's ſake than his own. He was a great Lover of his Country, and of Religion and Juſtice, which he believed to be the only Support of it, his Friendſhip and Converſation lying only among Men of thoſe Principles. Sure never any Man brought a Temper more adapted to the Soil of the Court, or better Qualities to purifie the Air of it; yet not to flatter his Memory, he had an Allay of Vice and Infirmities in too exorbitant a Proportion. He was immoderately given up to Women, but in that likewiſe he continued ſo much himſelf, that he was not ſo far tranſported with outward Allurement, as charmed with the Beauties of the Mind. About King *James*'s Death, or preſently after, he was made Lord-Steward, and the Chamberlain's Staff was delivered to his Brother the Earl of *Montgomery*. He died of an Apoplexy after a full and chearful Supper, exceedingly lamented by Men of all Qualities, and left many of his Servants and Dependants Maſters of good Eſtates, which they entirely owed to his Bounty.

**Philip Earl of *Montgomery*.** The Earl of *Montgomery*, after Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Dorſet*, were likewiſe of the Privy-Council;

Council; Men of very different Qualifications. The former at King *James*'s Entrance being ſcarce of Age, had the good Fortune, by the Comlineſs of his Perſon, and indefatigable Application in Hunting, to be the firſt which attracted the Eyes of that Monarch towards him, before a Year or Two was elapſed he was made Gentelman of the Bed-Camber, and Earl of *Montgomery*, He pretended to nothing more than Judgment in Dogs and Horſes, and to be believed honeſt and generous, which raiſed him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not enjoyed his Maſter's Favours many Years before the King's Eyes were fixed on a new Court Comet, *Robert Carr*, a Scotchman; and the Earl, without the leaſt Murmur, left all Doors open for his Admittance, which ſo highly obliged the King, that he ſtill gave him the ſecond Place in his Affections, and recommended him to his Son at his Death, as a Man honeſt and faithful, tho' it appear'd in the Sequel (according to my Lord's Opinion) that he had not Ballaſt ſufficient to endure a Storm. 1629.

*Robert* Earl of *Dorſet.*

The other was in every Reſpect quite another Man, of Perſon Beautiful, Vigorous and Graceful, of Parts Facetious, Strong and Sublime. He was too complying to contemn or reſiſt the faſhionable Vices of the Age, and therefore gave his Perſon and Parts full Scope, without any Reſtraint. The good and general Reputation he had acquired, notwithſtanding his Defects, inclined King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his Death: And had he not given too much Way to his natural Conſtitution and Proſperity, nor been wrung by an uneaſie Fortune, he had queſtionleſs proved an excellent Man for Buſineſs, for he had a quick diſcerning Spirit, a generous obliging Temper, and was withal of a moſt entire Fidelity to the Crown.

There were Two others of great Authority in the Council, becauſe much eſteemed in the Court, being as accompliſhed Courtiers as all the Palaces of *Europe* could afford. Theſe were the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland*, both acquainted with the Affairs of the Kingdom, and of more Experience in thoſe abroad, than other who then ſat at the Board.

The

1629. The former came in as Gentleman with King *James*, and being well qualified by his Breeding in *France*, and great Study in Humane Learning; he worked himself into a particular Interest with his Master, and greater Esteem with the whole *English* Nation, than any other of his Countrymen; so that being made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Viscount *Doncaster*, he obtained, through his Master's Means, the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny*, and with her a fair Fortune in Land, which his Son by that Lady long lived to enjoy. He rose afterwards to the other Advantages of the Court, was made Groom of the Stole, an Earl and Knight. He maintained rather a fair Intelligence than any fair Friendship with the other Favourites, having Credit with the King enough to secure his own Interest, and he took no Care for that of other Men. He made no Scruple for running in Debt, and borrowing all he could for the Support of his Lustre. For he was a a Man of prodigious Expence in his own Person, both for Cloaths and Diet, being indeed an Original of those Inventions, which others did no more than coppy. He died with the Reputation of a Gentleman; and after having merrily spent above 400000 Pounds, which by Computation he had got from the Crown, he died to all Appearance in as much Tranquility of mind, as a Man of a more severe Life and Vertue, nor left an House or Acre of Land behind him to be remembred by.

The Earl of *Carlisle.*

The Earl of *Holland*, who was a younger Son of a noble House, after some Time spent in *France*, applied himself to the War in the *Netherlands*, intending to follow that Profession; but coming after Two or Three Campaigns, in the Leisure of the Winter, to visit his Friends in *England*, and the Court, he in a short Time grew very acceptable to *Buckingham*, by whose means, and that of a lovely winning Presence, he found an eatie Admission into the Court, and the King's Grace, which made him quit all farther Thoughts of a Soldiers Life. Tho' his Friendship was more entire to *Carlisle*, he took all the Care he could to endear himself to the Duke, whose Creature he desired to be esteemed, tho' *Carlisle*'s Friend, and in this he prospered so well, that the King could not

The Earl of *Holland.*

not be more in haſte to advance the Duke, than the Duke was to promote him. He firſt preferred him to a Wife the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom, among other Things, he had the Seat and Mannor of *Kenſington*, of which he was not long after created Baron; and being in Continuance of the Duke's Care and Confidence in him, made Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*, he was made next Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guards, Knight of the Garter, and a Privy-Counſellor, ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, to treat the Marriage with the Queen, or rather to work privately about it, before he was Ambaſſador. In this Poſture the Duke left him when he died; and having the Advantage of the Queen's Favour, he was at continual Variance with the Earl of *Portland*, Lord-Treaſurer, and whoſoever elſe were not for aggrandizing her Authority. In this Flouriſh he continued while the Weather was fair; but as ſoon as the Storm aroſe, he fell from that Honour he was thought once to be Maſter of, into a Condition which hereafter we ſhall have too much Occaſion to inſiſt upon. 1629.

The Two Secretaries of State (which were not in thoſe Days Officers of that Conſequence they now are of) were Sir *John Cooke*, and Sir *Dudley Carlton*. The firſt of theſe was of a narrow Education, but of a narrower Soul. After a long Continuance in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the Condition of a private Gentleman in the Country, he was at 50 Years of Age called to a painful Employment in the Navy Office, upon the Reputation of his Induſtry and Diligence; and from thence removed to be Maſter of Requeſts, and Secretary of State, in which he continued to a very great Age. His grand Perfection was Induſtry, and his eminent Infirmity Covetouſneſs. He was well acquainted with the State and Affairs of *England*, but was a perfect Stranger to all Foreign Tranſactions, and the Intereſt of *Chriſtendom*. The Two Secretaries of State, Sir *John Cooke*, and Sir *Dudley Charlton*.

Of a quite contrary Nature and Education was his Aſſociate Sir *Dudley Carlton*, who underſtood all Foreign Affairs very well, but was a Stranger to the Conſtitution of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. From *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where he

1629. was brought up, being a Student of the Foundation, he went into *France*, and having been Secretary to Sir *Henry Nevil*, then Ambaſſador there, he was ſent Ambaſſador to *Venice*, from whence he no ſooner returned, but he went Ambaſſador into *Holland*; where whilſt the Synod was aſſembled at *Dort*, to prevent thoſe uncharitable Diſputations, their Meeting rather promoted, he ſat not ſo equal a Spectator as he ought to have been, but as far as he could diſcountenanced the Party that was moſt learned (my Lord means the *Arminians*) and ſtudied to raiſe the Credit and Authority of the other. He was ſent once more extraordinary Ambaſſador thither, and was the laſt admitted to vote under that Character in the Aſſembly of the States. Immediately upon his Return from thence he was made a Privy-Counſellor. The laſt Piece of Workmanſhip *Buckingham* lived to finiſh was the making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm when he had ſcarce any viſible Eſtate to ſupport that Honour.

Biſhop *Laud.* My Lord *Clarendon* ſays but little here of Archbiſhop *Laud*; only that being too ſevere in a good Conſcience, he thought the Office of the greateſt Miniſter in Court (for in time he was made Archbiſhop) might be diſcharged without any Submiſſion to the Arts and Subtilties of it, which expoſed him to ſuch a Torrent of Adverſity, as he ſhould hereafter have too much Occaſion to lament. But Sir *Philip Warwick* is more copious upon this great Prelate, and ſays he was a Man of an upright Heart, and pious Soul, but of too warm Blood, and too poſitive a Nature, towards aſſerting what he believed a Truth, to be a good Courtier, and his Education fitted him as little for it as his Nature, which had been moſt in the Univerſity, and among Books and Scholars, where oft canvaſſing Affairs that are agitated in that Province, and prevailing in it, rather gave him wrong than right Meaſures of a Court. He was generally acknowledged a good Scholar, and throughly verſed in Eccleſiaſtical Learning. He was a Zealot in his Heart both againſt Popery and Preſbytery, but a great Aſſerter of Church-Authority, inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and as primitively practiced; which notwithſtanding he freely acknow-

acknowledged ſubject to the Secular Authority: And therefore he carefully endeavoured to preſerve the Juriſdiction, which the Church anciently exerciſed, before the Secular Authority owned her; at leaſt ſo much thereof, as the Law of this our Realm had applied to our Circumſtances; which our common Lawyers daily ſtruck at, and through Prohibitions and other Appeals every Day leſned; and this bred an Unkindneſs to him in many of the long Robe, however ſome of them were very careful of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. He was a Man of great Modeſty in his own Perſon and Habit, and of Regularity and Devotion in his Family; and as he was very kind to his Clergy, ſo he was very careful to make them modeſt in their Attire, and very diligent in their Studies, in faithfully diſpenſing God's Word, reverendly reading the Prayers, and adminiſtring the Sacraments, and in preſerving the Churches in Cleanlineſs, and with plain and fitting Ornament, that ſo void of Superſtition, God's Houſe, in this Age, where every Man better'd his own, might not lye alone neglected; and accordingly he ſet upon that great Work of St. *Paul*'s Church, which his Diligence perfected in a great Meaſure, and his Maſter's Piety made magnificent that moſt noble Structure by a Portico: But not long after the carved Work thereof was broken down with Axes and Hammers, and the whole Sacred Edifice made not only a Den of Thieves, but a Stable of unclean Beaſts, of which Sir *Philip* ſays he was an Eye-witneſs. He prevented likewiſe a very private and clandeſtine Deſign of introducing Nonconformiſts into too many Churches; for that Society of Men (that they might have Teachers to pleaſe their itching Ears) had a Deſign to buy in all the Lay Impropriations, of which the Pariſh Churches in *Henry* the VIII's Time were robb'd, and lodging the Advouſons and Preſentations in their own Feoffees, to have introduced Men, who would have introduced Doctrines ſuitable to their Dependancies, which the Court already felt too much the Smart of, by being forced to admit the Preſentations of the Lay Patrons, who too often diſpoſe their Benefices to Men, rather ſuitable to their own Opinions, than the Articles and Canons of the 1629.

1629. Church. All this bred him more and more Envy; but if it had pleaſed God to have given him an uninterrupted Courſe, and if few of his Succeſſors had walked in his Steps, we might, without any tending to Popery, or Danger of Superſtition have ſerved God reverendly and uniformly, and according to Primitive Practice and Purity, and not have been as we are now, like ſhivered Glaſs, ſcarce ever to be made whole again. Thus finding Providence had led him into Authority, he very really and ſtrongly oppoſed both Popery and Presbytery. He was ſenſible how the firſt by Additions had perverted the Purity of Religion, and turned it into a Policy, but reſolving not to conteſt *Rome*'s Truths, tho' he ſpared not her Errors, both Papiſt and Presbyter, with all their Lay-Party, were well contented, that it might be believed he was Popiſhly affected. And being conſcious likewiſe how Presbytery or the Calviniſtical Reformation, which many here, and more in *Scotland*, affected, by Subſtraction and Novel Interpretation, had forſaken the good old Ways of the Primitive Church, and was become dangerous to Monarchy, he ſet himſelf againſt this as well as that, but both their Weight cruſh'd him. The Evidence which he gave of his Zeal againſt Popery, is manifeſted by as learned and as judicious a Book, (and ſo acknowledged even by his Adverſaries) as ever was written on that Subject by any Man ſince the Reformation, and is ſo eſteemed by all abroad as well as at home: Which Book was ſo well digeſted by his great Maſter's Royal Heart and Hand (for Biſhop *Andrews*, *Laud* and *Hooker*, were this Prince's Three great Authors) that if that Epitome, which his Majeſty made thereof, and (Sir *Philip* ſays) he had ſeen under his own Hand. might be communicated, it might be looked on as ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΞΙΑΙΚΗ. And this good Biſhop, like his Maſter, maintained it as well with his Blood as his Ink; for when he was martyr'd upon the Scaffold, (no Time for Diſſimulation) he died with this Profeſſion. Thus far Sir *P.* I wiſh this Prelate's Character had reſted here; but if you look into the Life of Archbiſhop *Williams*, writ by Dr. *Hacket*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, you'll find him repreſented quite another Man; and what villainous Inſtruments,

ſtruments, Perjuries, Subordinations, keeping back of Witneſſes, expunging and raiſing Records, *&c.* he made uſe of to ruin Biſhop *Williams*, the Particulars of which I do not care to enter upon, and ſo ſhall diſmiſs this Character. [1629.]

The meeting of the Parliament which ſtood prorogued to the 20th of *January*, drawing nigh, the King conſulted with a ſelect Committy of the Privy-Council, how thoſe of them who were Members ſhould demean themſelves there; and it was propoſed, if it ſhould be ſtrongly inſiſted on in the Houſe of Commons, that the Merchants Goods ſhould be delivered before they proceeded to the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, the Anſwer ſhould be, If they intended to grant it as it had been granted to his Predeceſſors, it would end all Diſputes; but if otherwiſe, the King was to tell them, That if they would paſs the Bill to him as his Anceſtors had it, he would declare he claim'd it not but by Grant in Parliament; but if this ſatisfied not, then to avow a Breach. They adviſed, That the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage ſhould be prepared in the ſame Form that it paſſed for King *James*, adding Words to give it from the firſt Day of his, the King's Reign, and that it be preſented at the firſt ſitting of the Parliament; and thoſe of the Privy-Council, to move for a ſpeedy Anſwer, whether they would grant Tunnage and Poundage or not: That if they proceeded to cenſure the Actions of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to accuſe the King's Servants, to aſperſe his Councellors, to handle Matters of Religion improper for them, to raiſe Objections againſt His Majeſties laſt Speech, or ſuch like Matters, and draw towards a Reſolution, thoſe of the Privy-Council, were to intimate that thoſe Debates tended to a Breach, and the King to declare himſelf preſently that he would not ſuffer it. The firſt thing the Commons did was to inquire whether the Petition of Right, with His Majeſties Anſwer, were enrolled in the Parliament Rolls, and the Courts of *Weſtminſter*; and they found His Majeſties laſt Speech, entred by His Majeſties Command, together with the Petition. And *Norton* the King's Printer being called in, they demanded by what Authority that Addition to the Petition of Right was printed? He ſaid, By

1629. Warrant, as he thought, from the King himſelf: That there was about 1500 Copies printed without Additions, but they were ſuppreſſed, and the Attorney-General commanded no more ſhould be printed, nor thoſe printed divulged. Then the Violation of the People's Liberties ſince the laſt Seſſion coming next under Conſideration, and more particularly the ſeizing of the Merchants Goods, the King's Speech to them ſaid, That the Occaſion of calling them together at that time was, a Complaint made in the Lower Houſe for ſtaying Mens Goods that denied Tunnage and Poundage; which might receive eaſie and ſhort Concluſions; for by paſſing the Bill, as his Anceſtors had it, his by-paſt Actions would be included, and his future authorized. That he took not thoſe Duties by his Hereditary Prerogative; for his Meaning ever was to enjoy them by the Gift of his People, not challenging 'em as his Right, but *de bene eſſe*; for the Neceſſity, not for the Right he had to take it, as he ſhewed them in his laſt Speech. He expected that without Loſs of Time, they, by paſſing the Bill, put an End to all theſe Queſtions, and was glad that by their Actions he found Complainers not ſeeking Complaints, as there was ſome Shew to ſuſpect by their Order of *Wedneſday* laſt, which made him ſtartle, being ſomewhat too largely penned: But notwithſtanding this Speech and Two or Three Meſſages more from the King about Tunnage and Poundage, the Commons gave Precedency to Religion, and entred into this Vow. 'We the Commons in Parliament aſſembled do claim, proteſt and avow, for Truth, the Senſe of the Articles of Religion, which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament in the Thirteenth Year of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, which by the Publick Act of the Church of *England*, and by the general and current Expoſitions of the Writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us: And we reject the Senſe of the *Jeſuits* and *Arminians*, and all others, wherein they differ from us; and not long after, preſented to the King a Declaration to this Effect: That they had within theſe Three Days received his Meſſage for their preſent entring upon the Conſideration of a Grant of Tunnage and Poundage; But the Manner of poſſeſſing the Houſe there,

The Commons enter into a Vow.

therewith being diſagreable to their Orders and Privileges, they could not proceed therein. That they could not but expreſs their Trouble to be inforced to ſpend that Time in Apologies which might be ſpent in the Service of His Majeſty and the Commonwealth. That finding the extream Danger wherewith Religion was threatned, they think they could not without Impiety to God, Diſloyalty to His Majeſty, and Unthankfulneſs to thoſe who had truſted them, retard their Proceedings until ſomething be done to ſecure them in this main Point. They acknowledged His Majeſties pious Intention to ſuppreſs both Popery and Arminianiſm; the one an open Enemy, the other a ſubtil Underminer of the Religion eſtabliſhed; which His Majeſty had declared his conſtant Reſolution to maintain, tho' his Gracious Purpoſes were therein croſſed: Wherefore as well for Dignity and Neceſſity of the Matter, as for that they conceived it the moſt effectual Way, by uniting Hearts and Endeavours to diſpatch other Buſineſs, which might ſeem more immediately to reſpect His Majeſties Profit; they prayed their Reſolutions of preferring this before all other Matters might be acceptable to His Majeſty. Whereunto the King anſwered to this Effect: That this gave no Satisfaction, and he could not think that they would take from their Members the Priviledge to bring in any Bill whatſoever; or that they coming together by his Power, and to treat of Things that he propounded to 'em, could deny him the Prerogative to command or offer any Bill to them, tho' this Bill was not to have been offered to them in his Name. That he muſt either want Power, or be very ill counſelled, if Religion be in ſo much Danger as they affirm: And he deſired the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage might be diſpatched, to put an end of the Queſtions that had ariſen between him and ſome of his Subjects, and thought it ſtrange that this Buſineſs of Religion ſhould only be a Hinderer of his Affairs, when all other Things went according to their ordinary Courſe: Therefore he was inſtant with them to proceed with Tunnage and Poundage; and they muſt not think it ſtrange, if he quickned them as he ſhould find Cauſe. Matters ſtanding thus, and divers Petitions having been preſented to the Houſe, importing,

1629.

The King's Anſwer.

1629. importing, That many Merchants Goods were ſeized, and Informations preferred againſt them in the Star-Chamber, for refuſing to pay the Cuſtom of Tunnage and Poundage, againſt the Tenor of the Petition of Right, and one of theſe Merchants, named *Rolls*, being a Member of Parliament, it was adjudged a Breach of Priviledge, for which the Cuſtomers were ſummon'd to the Houſe to anſwer it. Then the King interpoſed, and acquainted the Houſe that what they did was out of Zeal to his Service; adding, That he did commiſſionate them to take it as of Right, but out of a firm Opinion that the Houſe of Commons (as they had often promiſed) would confirm it by a Bill, which he deſired they ſhould diſpatch and put an end to that Diſpute. But this gave no Satisfaction, for the Debates of the Houſe run higher, and they reſolved to proceed to a Remonſtrance againſt levying of Tunnage and Poundage, as not being granted by Act of Parliament, and therefore illegal: On which they were ſo earneſt on the 2d of *March*, fearing they ſhould be diſſolved before they had finiſhed it, that they lock'd the Doors of the Houſe, gave the Keys to Sir *Miles Hubbert*, and refuſed to admit the Uſher of the Black Rod, whom the King had ſent with a Meſſage to them. Whereat he was ſo offended, that he ſent for the Captain and his Guard of Penſioners to force an Entrance. In the mean time the Heads of a Remonſtrance were offered to Sir *John Finch*, the Speaker, to be put to the Queſtion; which he refuſing, becauſe the King had given him Orders to Adjourn to the 10th of *March*, and to put no Queſtion, nor admit of any Debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Sir *Peter Higman* held him in the Chair till One of their Members had read the Proteſtation to this Effect: That, 1. Whoſoever ſhall ſeek to introduce Popery or Arminianiſm: Or, 2. Adviſe the levying of Tunnage and Poundage, not granted by Parliament, or be an Actor therein, ſhall be reputed a capital Enemy to the Commonwealth. 3. If any ſhall voluntarily pay Tunnage and Poundage, not granted by Parliament, he ſhall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy thereunto.

The

The Day following the Council commanded Sir *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Miles Hobert*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden*, Esq; *William Coriton*, *Walter Long*, *William Stroud*, and *Benjamin Valentine*, to appear before them on the morrow. And Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Coriton*, and Mr. *Valentine*, appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament what was said and done in Parliament, they were committed to the *Tower*, and Warrants issued out for the sealing up the Studies of Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Selden*, and Sir *John Elliot*; and a Proclamation for apprehending Mr. *Long*, and Mr. *Stroud*. On the 10th the King went to the House of Lords (several of the Commons being below the Bar, but not their Speaker, nor were they called) and spake to this Effect: That he chose to come himself to dissolve the Parliament, that he might declare to them and all the World that it was the Seditious Carriage in the Lower House, that had caused this Dissolution. As for the Lords, he took great Comfort in their dutiful Demeanour; and there were in the Lower House as dutiful Subjects as any in the World, it being only some few Vipers that cast a Mist over most of their Eyes, who must look for Punishment, as the Lords might justly expect his Favour and Protection. Then he bid the Lord-Keeper do as he had commanded him; and the Lord-Keeper declared the Parliament dissolved. The Discontents of the common People were much heightned by this, and Two threatning Libels against Bishop *Laud* and the Lord-Treasurer *Weston* were found some few Days after, and not long after the King published the Causes of his dissolving the last Parliament to this Effect: That however Princes are not bound to give Account of their Actions but to God alone; yet for the Satisfaction of his loving Subjects he had thought good to declare, that he assembled his Parliament *March* the 17th, 3 *Car.* for the Safety of Religion, and Securing his Kingdom and Subjects at home, and his Friends and Allies abroad. That he declare to them the miserable State of those of the reformed Religion, his Uncle, the King of *Denmark*, being chased out of a great Part of his Dominions, the Strength of the contrary Party, and (besides the Pope

1629.

Several Members of Parliament summoned before the Council.

The King's Speech.

Dissolves the Parliament.

The People discontented.

The King's Declaration for Dissolving the Parliament.

1629. Pope and the Houſe of *Auſtria*) the *French* King's Profeſſion to root out the Reformed Religion, and the Weakneſs of the Princes and States on our Party. Upon which Motive he propounded a ſpeedy and ſuitably Supply. The Houſe of Commons agreed to grant a Liberal Aid; but before the Bill paſſed, were diverted by a Multitude of Queſtions touching their Liberties and Priviledges, and other long Diſputes, whereby his Affairs were ruined. And the Commiſſioners and Aſſeſſors have returned up the Subſidies infinitely ſhort of his Occaſions, and former Precedents. In thoſe large Diſputes he ſuffered many of his Prerogatives to debated, altho' by Speeches and Meſſages he did declare his Reſolution to maintain the Parliament and People in their ancient and juſt Liberties, and confirmed the ſame by his Anſwer to their Parliamentary Petition. The Commons deſiring him to appoint a Time for their Receſs, not naming either Adjournment or Prorogation, he prefixt a Day for a Prorogation to make Seſſion, and gave Order for a Pardon, which paſſed the Higher Houſe, and was ſent down to the Commons. But this Prorogation (becauſe ſome of them afterward declared for an Adjournment) raiſed ſuch a Heat and Diſtemper, as hath been ſeldom ſeen in that Houſe. And ſome Glances there were in the Houſe, and Rumors ſpread abroad, that by his Anſwer to their Petition he had given away Tunnage and Poundage, when in the Debate of that Petition in both Houſes there was never any mention of thoſe Impoſitions, and other Miſ-interpretations were raiſed of that Petition and Anſwer, as if by his ſaid Anſwer he had let looſe the Reins of his Government. And the Houſe of Commons laying aſide the Pardon (a thing never done before) and other Buſineſs, contrived a Remonſtrance againſt his receiving Tunnage and Poundage, and deſigned to put it to the Vote before the ending of that Seſſion; which he prevented, by ending it ſome few Hours ſooner than was expected; and for hindering ſuch ſiniſter Interpretations of that Petition and Anſwer, gave ſome neceſſary Directions for ſettling and quieting his Government. The Seſſion ended, that Remonſtrance gave him Occaſion to look into the Buſineſs of Tunnage and Poundage, and

and upon the Search of Records it was found, that altho' Tunnage and Poundage was not granted to King *Edward* IV. by the Parliament in his firſt Year, but by that in his third Year, yet it was anſwered to him from the firſt Day of his Reign. And that in the ſucceeding Times of King *R.* 3. *H.* 7. *H.* 8. *E.* 6. *Q. M. Q. E.* it was enjoyed by them from the Death of each of them deceaſing; and chearfully granted by Parliament in the beginning of every of thoſe Reigns (tho' for the moſt Part peaceable) and his Royal Father enjoyed the ſame above a Year before the Act of Parliament paſſed, and yet granted without Difficulty. And in his own Time he quietly received the ſame Three Years and more, expecting the like Grant thereof; and the Houſe of Commons profeſſed, that only Multitude of Buſineſs had hindred the ſettling thereof. And in Four ſeveral Acts of Parliament for granting thereof to K. *E.* 6. *Q. M. Q. E.* and his Bleſſed Father, it is expreſly mentioned to have been enjoyed by the ſeveral Kings named in thoſe Acts, Time out of Mind by Authority of Parliament. And for theſe Reaſons he hath continued the Receipt thereof: Wherefore when a few Merchants (at firſt but One or Two) fomented by thoſe evil Spirits that would have hatched that Remonſtrance, oppoſed the Payment thereof; he ordered the Officers of his Cuſtoms to go on in receiving it, and cauſed the Refuſers to be warned to attend at the Council-Board, where ſome behaved themſelves with ſo much Inſolence of Speech, as was not to be endured by a far meaner Aſſembly. That having a full Intention on his Part, to take away all Miſunderſtandings between him and his People, and finding much Exception againſt a Book, intitled, *Appello Cæſarem*, publiſhed in 1625. by *Richard Mountague*, now Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, it opening the Way to thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions that have ſince enſued in the Church, he not only called in that Book by Proclamation, but reprinted the Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and by a Declaration before them reſtrained all Opinions to the Senſe of Articles. And he ſhall not give Way to the authorizing of any thing, whereby any Innovation may creep into the Church.

1629.

That

1629. That he iſſued out his Proclamation for the executing of the Laws againſt Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants; which if it hath not ſucceeded according to his Intention, he muſt lay the Default upon the Subordinate Officers and Miniſters in the Country. By whoſe Remiſneſs Jeſuits and Prieſts eſcape without Apprehenſion, and Recuſants from thoſe Penalties the Laws and his Command would have inflicted on them. That he hath not been unmindful of the Preſervation of the juſt and ancient Liberties of his Subjects, ſecured to them by his Anſwer to their Petition in Parliament, which he will keep intire and inviolable, having for that end enrolled the Petition and Anſwer in his Courts of Juſtice. That he did his beſt for the well-ordering the Supply granted him the laſt Seſſion, whereof no Part hath been waſtefully ſpent, but upon Payment of his Fleet and Army, tho' to the Diſcontent of his Friends, Allies and neareſt Servants. With Part of thoſe Monies he hath alſo ſupplied his Magazines with Stores of Munition, and put his Navy into conſtant Order. His Fleet alſo is in a Readineſs. That theſe Things, which were the chief Complaints the laſt Seſſions, being reformed, the Parliament reaſſembled the 20th of *January* laſt; where ſome few malicious Perſons endeavoured to make new Work. And yet to manifeſt how Offences have been diminiſhed, their Committees have received few Complaints, and thoſe of no Moment or Importance. No ſooner was the Parliament ſet down, but theſe ill-affected Men began to ſow and diſperſe their Jealouſies: That he had not been well dealt with touching the Petition anſwered the laſt Seſſion. For the very next Day a Committee was appointed to ſearch whether the Petition and Anſwer were enrolled in the Parliament-Roll, and in the Courts at *VVeſtminſter*, and in what manner; and a Day appointed for the Houſe to reſolve into a Committee, to conſider wherein the Subjects Liberty had been invaded againſt the Petition of Right. And when they obſerved that many Honeſt and Religious Minds in that Houſe complained of the Dangers that threatned the Church, their Cry likewiſe was *Templum Domini*, when the true Care of the Church never came into their

their Hearts, but was done to deprave his Government, as if he, his Clergy and Council, were ſenſleſs or careleſs of Religion, and to make him ſeem as if he haulted before God. That a Day being appointed to treat of Tunnage and Poundage, all expreſſed great Willingneſs to grant it. But a new Strain was found out, that it could not be done, unleſs he would diſclaim any Right therein but by Grant in Parliament, and would cauſe all the Goods to be reſtored, which by his own or the Council's Command were ſtayed by his Officers until the Duties were paid, ſo to put himſelf out of Poſſeſſion before they were granted. A Cavil raiſed to perplex the Buſineſs, it being evident that all the Kings before named were in actual Poſſeſſion of that Duty, when and before it was granted them by Parliament. And tho' from his own Mouth be declared to them, that it was his Intent to enjoy it by the Mouth of his People, and did not challenge it of Right, but took it *de bene eſſe*, (wherein he deſcended far beneath himſelf) yet the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage was delayed, on Pretence they muſt firſt clear the Right of the Subject, and entertain the Complaints of *John Rolls*, as Member of their Houſe, *Richard Chambers*, *John Fowks*, and *Bartholomew Gilman*, againſt the Officers of the Cuſtoms for detaining their Goods, whom they ſent for, made them daily attend for a Month together, and produce their Letters Patents, and the Council's Warrants for levying the Duties, and examined them upon what Queſtions they pleaſed to entrap them; all which he endured with much Patience. That that Houſe had ſet up general Committees for Religion, Courts of Juſtice, Trade, &c. (a Courſe unheard of till of late) to make Enquiry upon all ſorts of Men: Young Lawyers ſitting there decry the Opinions of the Judges; and ſome have maintained, that the Reſolution of that Houſe muſt bind the Judges. They have ſent to examine his Attorney-General, (an Officer of Truſt and Secreſie) touching the Execution of his Commands. They ſent a captious and directory Meſſage to the Lord-Treaſurer, Chancellor, and Barons of the Exchequer, touching ſome Judicial Proceedings of that Court. They ſent to examine the

1629.

Two

1629. Two chief Juſtices, and Three other Judges touching their Proceedings at the Goal-Delivery of *Newgate*. They reſolved that *Richard Chambers*, *John Fowks*, *Bartholomew Gilman*, and *Richard Philips*, (againſt whom Suits were commenced by the Attorney-General for great Miſdemeanors) were to have Privilege of Parliament for their Perſons, meerly becauſe they had Petitions depending in that Houſe; and that it ſhould be ſignified by a Letter to the Lord Keeper, that no Attachments ſhould be granted out againſt them (altho' ſuch Letter was not ſent) whereas it is far above the Power of that Houſe to give ſuch Directions to any Court at *Weſtminſter*, the Breach of Priviledge being not in the Court that grants, but in the Party that executes Attachments. Nay, they went ſo far as to examine the Proceedings of the Council-Board, in the caſe of the Cuſtomers, interrogating what this or that Man of the Council ſaid; and when one of their Members ſaid we had wicked Counſellors, and another, that the Church and Judges ſought to trample underfeet the Liberty of the Subject; and a third, traduced the Star-Chamber for the Sentence againſt *Savage*, they paſſed without Cenſure: They examined the Sheriffs of *London*, whereof they had no Juriſdiction, which extends only to their own Members, and to their Priviledges, and for not anſwering to their Satisfaction, committed him to the *Tower*. They went about cenſuring the Cuſtomers, as Delinquents, for ſtaying the Goods of ſome factious Merchants, for not paying thoſe Duties to which the Cuſtomers were authorized under the Great Seal, and by Directions from him and his Privy-Council. They ſet up a new Priviledge (which he would never admit of) that a Parliament-man hath a Priviledge for his Goods againſt the King. And when they would have ſevered his Intereſt from that to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, to make them liable to the Cenſure of that Houſe, he ſent 'em a Meſſage by Secretary *Cooke*, that he could not in Honour ſuffer it, for what they did was by his expreſs Command; they in a tumultuous manner cried Adjourn, Adjourn, and adjourned till the *Wednesday* following. On which Day he cauſed both Houſes to be adjourned until

*March*

*March* the 2d, hoping in the mean time a right Underſtanding might have been between him and the Commons. And when he would for the ſame Purpoſe have adjourned both Houſes till the 10th, which the Lords Houſe obeyed, his Command was contemptuouſly diſobeyed by the Commons; ſome of whom ſaid they had Buſineſs to do before they adjourned. 1629.

Here are mentioned the Paſſages concerning the Members Deportment in the Houſe related in the Information in the Star-Chamber afterwards ſet forth againſt Sir *Miles Hobert*, &c. and then he goes on thus. While the Duke of *Buckingham* lived, he was intitled to all the ill Events of former Parliaments; but now he is dead, no Alteration was found among thoſe envenomed Spirits, who ſuggeſt new and cauſleſs Fears, which they know to be falſe; ſo that the Duke was not the only Mark they aimed at, but taken up by the By in their Paſſage to their more ſecret Deſigns, which are to abate the Powers of the Crown, and to bring his Government into Obloquy.

Theſe Diſaſters are not to be imputed to the whole Houſe of Commons; but the better Part was overborn by the Clamours of the other. That theſe are the Cauſes he had to diſſolve this Parliament; whereby the World may ſee how much they have forgotten their former Engagements, when they promiſed to make him feared by his Enemies, and eſteemed by his Friends. That he reſerves the Puniſhment of theſe evil Men to a due Time, but will maintain the Religion and Doctrine of the Church of *England* and his Subjects in their ancient and juſt Rights and Liberties. Yet withal, he expected they ſhould yield as much Submiſſion to his Prerogative and Commands, as was performed to the greateſt of his Predeceſſors. He would not have his Miniſters terrified, but he expects they ſhould obey him, and he would protect them. As for the Merchants he conceives no dutiful Subject will deny him the Duty of Five in the Hundred for Guarding the Seas, and Defence of the Realm, (which Duty hath continued ſo many Ages) and if any factious Merchant will affront him, he ſhall find Means to vindicate his

So-

1629. Soveraignty, and preſerve the Authority God had put into his Hands. He concluded, that all wiſe and diſcreet Men may judge of thoſe Rumors and Fears maliciouſly ſpread abroad, and may diſcern whether the Happineſs of this Nation can be parallell'd by any of our Neighbour Countries.

The Members proſecuted.

But to return to the impriſoned Members on the 7th of *May*, the Attorney-General preferred an Information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir *John Elliot*, and the reſt of the impriſoned Members, but the King wav'd the Proſecution in that Court to bring it into the *King's-Bench*, where the Priſoners on the firſt Day of the Term mov'd to be admitted to Bail, which the Judges conſented to, provided they would find Sureties for their *Good Behaviour*. To which Mr. *Selden* anſwer'd, *That they had Sureties ready for their Bail, but not for their Good Behaviour, for that was meerly an Act of Diſcretion*, which they could not conſent to without giving Offence to the Parliament, where the Matters ſurmized were acted. To this the Judges reply'd, *That the Return did not mention any thing done in Parliament, and the Surety of Good Behaviour is a Prevention of Danger to the Common Weal, and an Act of Government and Juriſdiction, and not of Law, and would be no Inconvenience to the Priſoners, for the ſame Bail would ſuffice, and all ſhould be written in one Piece of Parchment*; but they refuſed to give it, and were remanded to Priſon. The ſame Term an Information was exhibited in the *King's-Bench* againſt *Elliot*, *Hollis* and *Valentine*, for Words ſpoken in the foregoing Parliament, which in the Information were ſaid to be Falſa, Malitioſa, & Seditioſa, *Falſe and Malitious, Seditious as well againſt the King as againſt his Miniſters, Peers, Prelates, Juſticiaries, and the reſt of his good Subjects, tending to deprive the K. overturn the Government, and bring in Tumults and Confuſion into his Dominions, and withdraw the Affections of his People from him.* Then the Words were expreſs'd at large, and at the end of the Information it was alledg'd, *That Sir* John Finch *the Speaker, endeavouring to go out of the Chair, according to the King's Command, to adjourn the Houſe, they aſſaulted and evilly treated him*, Violenter, Manu forti, & Illicita, *and being out*

of

*of the Chair they aſſaulted him in the Houſe, and vio-* 1629.
*lently thruſt him into the Chair again.* To this In-
formation the Gentlemen put in a Plea, *For as much as theſe Offences are ſuppoſed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be puniſhed in this Court, or any other, unleſs in Parliament.* Upon which the Court aſſign'd a Day to join in *Demurrer* that Term, and on the firſt Day of the next to be argued at the Bar.

Againſt Mr. *Long* particularly an Information was preferr'd in the *Star-Chamber*, for that he being High Sheriff in the County of *Wilts*, and had taken his Oath according to Law, to abide within his Baily-wick, did, contrary thereunto, ſuffer himſelf to be choſen Citizen of *Bath*, to ſerve in the laſt Parliament, and did attend at *Weſtminſter* in Parliament, without his Majeſty's Licence. And after hearing Council upon his *Demurrer* and *Plea*, the whole Court agreed in a Sentence againſt him, in theſe or the like Words: For the aforementioned Offences, *In breaking his Oath, neglecting his Truſt, and Contempt of his Majeſty, it is adjudged that he ſhall be committed to the* Tower *during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and pay a Fine of* 2000 *Marks to his Majeſty, and make a Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of his Offence in the Court of* Star-Chamber, *and to His Majeſty before his Enlargement.* The ſame Term Sir *John Elliot*'s Counſel, and thoſe for the reſt argued againſt the Information and Juriſdiction of the Court: But the Judges hearing both Parties, unanimouſly agreed, that the Priſoners *ought to anſwer*, and they not putting in any Plea, the laſt Day of *Hillary* Term Judgment was granted againſt them upon a *Nihil Dicit*, and they were ſentenc'd by the Court, *To be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure. None of them to be delivered out of Priſon till Security be given in Court for their good Behaviour, and Submiſſion and Acknowledgment made of the Offence.* Sir *John Elliot* was fined to pay the K. 2000 *l.* Mr. *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* 500 *l.* In like manner all the reſt of the Gentlemen were proceeded againſt, Fines impos'd upon them, which were paid, and the Offenders ſet at Liberty.

The Members ſentenc'd.

1629. Many weighty and learned Arguments were made in the Caſe of theſe Gentlemen, before Judgment was given, both by the King's Learned Council and their own, who objected all that was material in the Buſineſs, ſome of which I take leave to mention briefly, for the better Underſtanding the Matter in Queſtion.

Arguments uſed in the Debates.

*Obj.* Firſt it was Objected, that this was a Matter relating to the Privilege of Parliament.

*Anſ.* In the 8th of *Eliz.* it was the Opinion of *Dyer*, *Catline*, *Welſh*, *Brown* and *Southcot*, Juſtices. that Offences committed in Parliament are puniſhable out of Parliament, and *Plowden* in the time of Queen *Mary* was fined for Words ſpoken in Parliament againſt the Queen's Dignity; and in the 6th of *Henry* VI. a Judgment being given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the ſaid Judgment was reverſed there in Parliament. Whereupon a Writ of Error was brought into that Court, and the Judgment reverſed.

*Obj.* This was an inferiour Court, and could not meddle with Matters done in Parliament.

*Anſ.* The Court meddled not with the Judgment of Parliaments; for what was done by the Conſent of the whole Houſe, ſhould not be queſtioned elſewhere: But particular Offences criminally committed in that Houſe were puniſhable there; for if particular Members of a Superiour Court, they were puniſhable in an Inferiour Court; as if a Judge committed a capital Offence in that Court, he might be arraigned for it at *Newgate*.

*Obj.* The Parliament-Law differs from the Law by which that Court judged in ſeveral Caſes. As for Inſtance, No Man ought to be choſen Burgeſs for any Town in which he did not inhabit; but in that the Uſage of Parliament was contrary.

*Anſ.* The Reply to this was, That they were Judges of Acts of Parliament; and if Information were brought upon the ſaid Statute againſt ſuch a Burgeſs; the Statute was a good Warrant for that Court to give Judgment againſt him. In the mean time ſome adviſed the K. to have no more Parliaments, but to aboliſh them as *Lewis* XI. of *France* did, and a Pamphlet was divulged to that Purpoſe; but the K. ſteered another Courſe, and making it his Buſineſs

Buſineſs to gain the leading Men that were againſt him, he took Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, (afterwards Earl of *Strafford*) into Favour, and his Countryman Sir *John Saville*, both of them being made Privy-Counſellors: Sir *Dudley Diggs* was made Maſter of the Rolls; *Noy*, Attorney-General, and others were likewiſe promoted: But for *Wentworth*, there having been a long and intimate Friendſhip betwixt him and Mr. *Pym*, inſomuch, that they had gone Hand in Hand in every thing in the Houſe of Commons: Sir *Thomas* upon his making his Peace with the Court, ſent to *Pym* to meet him alone at *Greenwich*, where he began in a ſet Speech to ſound Mr. *Pym* about the Dangers they were like to run by the Courſes they ſteer'd, and about Advantages they might have if they would liſten to ſome Offers, which would probably be made them from the Court; *Pym* underſtanding his Drift, ſtopp'd him ſhort with this Expreſſion; *You need not uſe all this Art to tell me that you have a Mind to leave us; but remember what I tell you, You are going to be undone; but remember, that tho' you leave us now, I will never leave you while your Head is upon your Shoulders.* He was afterwards as good as his Word. 1629.

But not to anticipate this Matter, and to purſue the Courſe of our Hiſtory in other Countries; the *French* King being intent upon the War in *Italy*, began his March for that Country ſoon after the beginning of the new Year; the Duke of *Savoy* would have amuſed him and the Cardinal with ſome Propoſals; but the Cardinal having Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Troops under *Gozales* were much advanced, and ſome of them already entred into *Suſa*; after he had held a Council of War with the Three Mareſchals *de Crequi*, *Baſſompierre* and *Schomberg*, they reſolved on the 6th of *March*, to attack the Barricadoes the Duke had made on the Way to *Suſa*: The King and the Cardinal appeared about Seven in the Field, attacked the Palizadoes in the Front, while the other Troops paſſed on the Tops of the Mountains to the Right and Left, and no ſooner appeared on the Flanks of the *Piedmontois*, by they fled and gave up the Paſſes to the *French*, who purſued them with ſo much Vigour, that if the *French* Ge-

*French King marches for Italy.*

Routs the *Piedmontois.*

1629. nerals had been minded, their People might have entred *Pellmell* with the Fugitives into *Suſa*, which Place the Duke of *Savoy* ordered the Governor to ſurrender next Day. On the 8th of *March*, *Crequi* and *Baſſompierre* (for *Schomberg* was wounded) paſſed the *Dore*, and encamped at *Buſſolongo*, from whence the King having ſent a Complement to the Princeſs of *Piedmont* his Siſter at *Turin*, the Duke was quickly brought to agree, that the *French* ſhould march thro' his Territories for the Relief of *Caſal*, while the King on his Part engaged to obtain for him, from the Duke of *Mantua*, *Trino*, with Lands of 15000 Gold Crowns Annual Rent, till which he conſented the Duke ſhould keep what he had taken in *Monferat*.

An Accommodation agreed on.

The King ſtaid ſome time at *Suſa*, to ſee the Execution of the Treaty, but ſent *Thoiras* away with 3000 Foot and 400 Horſe to the Service of the Duke of *Mantua*, and to oppoſe any new Enterprizes which might be made againſt him. Here it was that he concluded Two important Treaties, one was a League with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy*, for the Preſervation of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Eſtates, and the Repoſe of *Italy*; the other was the Concluſion of a Peace with *England*, by the Mediation of the Republick of *Venice*. Theſe Things done, and the King having received the Viſits of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, his Son *Victor Amadeus*, and of his Spouſe the Princeſs of *Piedmont*, left *Suſa* on the 28th of *April*, and in his Return over the *Alps* cauſed a Pillar to be erected in the common Road upon one of the higheſt Mountains, with this oſtentatious Inſcription: *To the Eternal Memory of* Lewis XIII. *King of* France *and* Navarre, *moſt Gracious, Victorious, Happy and Juſt; a Conqueror, who having overcome all Nations of* Europe, *hath triumph'd alſo over the Elements of Heaven and Earth, having paſſed over theſe Hills in the Month of* March *with his victorious Army, to reſtore the Princes of* Italy *to their Eſtates, and to protect and defend his Allies.*

*French* make a Peace with *England.*

The firſt thing now the King undertook was to lay Siege to *Privas* in *Vivrets*, where the Reformed had not yet laid down their Arms, and wherein were *Roan*'s beſt Soldiers. On the 26th of *May* he became Maſter of all the Outworks, after a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance made by St. *Andrew Montbrun*; but having

ſtaid

ſtaid too long to capitulate, and it being impoſſible to defend it any longer, the Gariſon and Inhabitants endeavoured to ſave themſelves by Night in the neighbouring Fort and Mountains: The Caſtle upon this ſurrendred at Diſcretion, and the King ſhewed himſelf very cruel to the Gariſon. This done, *Marillac* now a Mareſchal of *France*, marched to attack *Alets* in the *Cevennes*, which ſurrendred on the 7th of *June*, the Duke of *Roan* endeavouring in vain to relieve it. This, with the Loſs of divers other Places, made that great Man think ſeriouſly of an Accommodation; in order to which, having convocated an Aſſembly at *Anduze*, after a moſt excellent Speech made to them of the Neceſſity they lay under to accept of Terms; the Treaty was ſigned at *Alets* on the 27th of *June*, on Condition he and his Brother ſhould be pardoned, have the Enjoyment of their Eſtates, and Liberty of Conſcience to all the *Hugonots*; but yet the Fortifications of *Niſmes*, *Caſtres* & *Uzes*, and *Montauban*, which were not yet in the King's Power, ſhould be demoliſhed. 1629. *Privas* taken.

But tho' the Court thus triumph'd over the poor *Hugonots*, they were not altogether eaſie among themſelves: The Duke of *Orleans* had ſtill a paſſionate Affection for the Princeſs *Mary de Gonzaga*, the Duke of *Mantua*'s Daughter; and the Queen-Mother being ſo averſe to it, that ſhe did all that ever lay in her Power to thwart his Deſign, the Duke at laſt retreated to *Nancy* to the Duke of *Lorain*, from whence he wrote a long Letter to the King, wherein he ſet down the Subjects of his Diſcontent, and above all complained againſt the Cardinal, that he was called Mayor of the Palace at that time, and that he was ſaid to uſurp the Royal Authority: He farther inſiſted upon many Advantages to himſelf upon the Condition of his Return to Court; that the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſhould be releaſed, and reſtored to his Government; and laſtly, that divers Things ſhould be conferred on *Bellegard*, the Preſident *le Coigneux*, and *Pucy-Laurens*, his principal Counſellors. This Buſineſs of the Flight of *Monſieur*, principally occaſioned by the Queen-Mother's being the Means of confining the Princeſs of *Mantua* at *Vincennes*, imbroil'd her and the Cardinal to ſuch a Degree, as occaſioned

1629. great Troubles afterwards: However, the King ſtood firm by his Miniſter, and was ſo far from giving Way to his Mother to ruin him, that he gave him a Patent, wherein he declared him principal Miniſter of State. In the mean time *Bellegard* returned to Court on Behalf of *Orleans*, to endeavour to get ſomething for him, and to intreat the Queen-Mother not to be reconciled to the Cardinal. He alſo bad him tell her, that he would marry what Princeſs Her Majeſty pleaſed: He agreed to return to *Paris*, and to remain a while at *Orleans* without ſeeing the King, provided they would augment his Allowance of 100000 Livres in a Fund of Lands, which at laſt was granted him by aſſigning to him the Dutchy of *Valois*, beſides what he had already.

But to leave theſe Domeſtick Broils, the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Duke of *Savoy* having no real Intentions to preſerve the Treaty of *Suſa*, the Emperor ſent a good Body of Troops to invade *Mantua*, while the *French* King having got together an Army of 20000 Foot and 2000 Horſe in *Dauphine*, cauſed Letters Patent to be paſſed to the Cardinal on *December* 24th, wherein, after the Encomiums of that Prelate, he gave him the Title of Lieutenant-General, repreſenting the King's Perſon, which was never before granted to any Perſon whatſoever. It was allowed him to hear and receive the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and Deputies of Towns and Communities, and to ſend them as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the King's Service. It was for him the new Word Generaliſſimo was invented, to diſtinguiſh him the more eaſily from the Mareſchals *de Crequi*, *Schomberg*, and *de la Force*, who were to ſerve under him in Quality of Lieutenant-Generals, but of this Expedition more in the following Year.

Cardinal made Generaliſſimo.

Our next Stage is *Germany*, where all the Emperor's Proceedings tended to make him abſolute. He endeavour'd all he could to deſtroy the Proteſtant Union, and therefore requir'd of them all Church Lands that had been at any time gain'd upon the Roman Catholicks. Theſe were principally the Archbiſhopricks of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen*, and the Biſhopricks of *Minden*, *Halberſtadt*, *Verden*, *Lubeck*, *Ratzebourg*, *Miſnia*, *Marsbourg*, *Brandenbourg*, *Havelberg*, *Lebus* and *Camin*, all which then beleng'd to ſeveral

ſeveral Princes. Moreover, there were the Two *Teutonick* Orders of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*. The Archbiſhoprick of *Riga*, and the Biſhopricks of *Revel*, *Courland*, *Deſſel*, *Tertzivi*, *Schuerin*, *Schleſwick*, *Kilian*, *Pomerſan*, *Heilberg* and *VVarmeland*, with ſeveral Collegiate Churches, Abbies and Hoſpitals which the *Proteſtants* had got from the *Roman Catholicks*. 1629.

Whilſt an Edict was preparing to procure the Reſtitution of thoſe Church-Lands, the Emperor obtain'd a *Bull* from the Pope, giving the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdebourg* to his Son, the Arch-duke *Leopold*. This the Chapter would by no Means obey; requiring Duke *Auguſtus*, Son of the Elector of *Saxony*, for their Archbiſhop, who accepting that Dignity, there follow'd no ſmall Difference between the aforeſaid Elector and the Emperor.

Enters upon a Treaty with the King of *Denmark*.

Propoſals of Accommodation with the King of *Denmark* being made to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and he having conſider'd that the Kings of *France*, *England* and *Sweden*, the States-General of the United Provinces, and other Proteſtant States of the Empire, grew jealous of the Progreſs of his Arms, as alſo that the *Turks* and *Tartars* might take Advantage of his Diſtance from them, began to hearken to a Peace with that Monarch. Hereupon Plenipotentiaries were nam'd on both Sides, who met at *Lubeck*. At the beginning of theſe Negotiations *John Salvius*, Secretary to the King of *Sweden*, wrot to the Plenipotentiaries to ſend Paſsports for *Gabriel Oxenſtiern*, whom his Maſter had a Mind to ſend to further this Treaty. To this the Imperial Ambaſſadors anſwer'd, *That they had no Orders to treat with his Maſter, and that they could admit of no Perſon into their Aſſembly but to whom they had expreſs Commands for: Nevertheleſs if he had any Propoſals to make for the Furtherance of Peace, they would acquaint their Maſter therewith, if he would pleaſe to ſend them, which they doubted not but he would give a Satisfactory Anſwer to.*

Publiſhes his Edict for Reſtitution of Church-Lands.

The Emperor perceiving the Peace with *Denmark* in a good Forwardneſs, reſolv'd to make uſe of that Opportunity to publiſh his deſign'd Edict for the Reſtitution of the Church-Lands, ſupporting the Execution thereof with a numerous Army, com-

1629. manded by Count *VValleſtein*. The firſt City that underwent theſe rigorous Proceedings was that of *Ausbourg*, after which the ſeveral Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Ulm*, *Hildeſheim*, *Magdebourg* and *Bremen* ſubmitted; as did likewiſe the Duke of *VVirtemburg*, which the other Princes and Cities, particularly the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg* would by no Means acquieſce in. On the contrary, the Proteſtants jointly publiſh'd a *Manifeſto* againſt the Edict; importing, *That the Emperor could not alone decide a Matter of that Conſequence, but ought to have had Recourſe to a general* Diet *for that Purpoſe*. This Remonſtrance however prevail'd nothing on the Emperor, altho' the *Roman* Catholicks were no leſs diſſatisfied than the Proteſtants with his, and his General's Conduct. The Conſequence of this was the aſſembling of the whole Catholick League at *Heidelberg*, whence they ſent to deſire His Imperial Majeſty to pacifie Matters with the Proteſtants, purſuant to the Requeſt they had before made him for that Intent at the *Diet* at *Mulhauſen*. But tho' the Emperor was ſomewhat enclin'd to comply with the Confederate Catholicks, yet would not *VValleſtein*, who was a haughty and ambitious Perſon, permit him to do it. He was willing to have the Command of every thing, and beſides was a little jealous of the Confederate Army; wherefore he was continually preſſing the Emperor to diſſolve the League. Seeing Things go on thus, the Emperor haſten'd the Concluſion of the Peace with *Denmark*, which at length was accompliſh'd on the 19th of *June*, whereby each Party was to have what he enjoy'd before; whereupon the *Danes* ſoon retir'd out of the Empire to give Place to the King of *Sweden*, whoſe Troops in the mean time under *German VVrangle* gave a conſiderable Defeat near *Gorzno* to the *Poles* that block'd up *Brodnitz*, inſomuch, that he cut in pieces 3000, took 1000 Priſoners, Five Pieces of Cannon, and 2000 Wagons, laden with Proviſions. Beſides, he had certainly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town of *Thorn*, if *Girard Donhof*, who was accidentally in that Place, had not animated the frighted Burgeſſes, and perſwaded them to make a Defence. This Defeat mov'd the *Poles*, not only to give Supplies for carrying on the War; but

Concludes the Peace with *Denmark*.

The *Poles* defeated near *Gorzno*.

but to allow K. *Sigiſmund* to bring foreign Troops into their Country, which is a thing that *that* Nation never grants willingly, as being naturally jealous of their Liberties. Accordingly the Emperor ſent him 5000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, under the Command of General *Arnheim*, which join'd the Troops commanded by *Koniecſpolski*, near *Grandentz*. On the other ſide, K. *Guſtavus* arriv'd from *Sweden* betimes, and went with an Army of 5000 Horſe, and 8000 Foot, to incamp near *Guidzin*. Tho' the Enemies were much more numerous than he, yet he was ſo little afraid of them, that when one repreſented to him the Danger to which he was a going to expoſe himſelf, he made Anſwer, *That ſince the* Poles *were ſo very numerous, his Men would have a ſurer Mark to ſhoot at.* In the Neighbourhood of *Stum* there happened an obſtinate Fight, in which the *Rhingrave*, contrary to K. *Guſtavus*'s Orders, led on the Cavalry, and was beat back with the Loſs of 200 Men, and Five Standards. But when the reſt of the Troops came up, the *Poles* made a Retreat, hoping to build a Bridge upon the *Nogat*, in order to paſs over to *Great VVerden*; but the *Swedes* marching up to prevent them, there happen'd a ſecond Engagement, which was ſo hot, that K. *Guſtavus* fell in among the midſt of his Enemies, and one of the *Poles* took hold of him by the Belt, whom he threw over his Head; after that a Trooper took hold of him by the Arm, and was going to take him Priſoner, when *Erickſoop* came, and ſhooting the Trooper with a Piſtol, reſcued His Majeſty from the Danger he was in. In this Engagement the *Swedes* took Seventeen Colours, and Five Standards, and made a bloody Havock of the Troops that *Arnheim* had brought from *Germany*. After this, the *Poles* had another ſharp Engagement near the ſame Bridge, in which they loſt a great many Men. Beſides that, when they went to attack the Town of *Stum*, they were ſo vigorouſly repuls'd by the Enemy, that they left 4000 Men upon the ſpot.

1629.

The Emperor aſſiſts K. *Sigiſmund*.

The *Swedes* gain Two or Three Battels.

After all theſe Defeats the *Poliſh* Intereſt declin'd, Some imputed the Occaſion of their Miſcarriage to *Arnheim*, which they charg'd with diſcovering their Counſels to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, whoſe Vaſ-

ſal

1629. ſal he was, and from whom K. *Guſtavus* receiv'd Intelligence of their Affairs; for which *Walleſtein*, upon the Solicitation of the *Poles*, recalled him; but thoſe he ſent in his Room not pleaſing neither, and a Plague having got into the Army, every thing ſeemed to concur towards a Peace with the King of *Poland*, which was at laſt actually concluded to the Satisfaction of both Parties.

Siege of *Bolduc.* We ſhall hear more of *Guſtavus*'s Deſigns and Undertakings by and by: It's fit now we ſhould think of returning homewards, but taking the *Netherlands* in our Way, we find there the Army of the States have inveſted *Boiſleduc*, and the Prince of *Orange* had fortified his Camp to that degree, that the *Spaniards* found no Poſſibility of relieving it. However, reſolving to make a Diverſion, the Count *de Berg*, the *Spaniſh* General, ſuddenly paſſed the *Rhine* near *Weſel*, and ſurprized a Poſt upon the *Iſel*, leading into the *Velaw*; from whence, without much Difficulty, the Way opened it ſelf to *Amſterdam*: At the ſame time *Montecuculi*, according to Concert, arrives with 10000 Imperialiſts, and Count *John* of *Naſſau*, with 8000 more, being not far of, was ſent on Purpoſe that with the Applauſe of the Family and Name, he might divide the People, and put *Orange*'s Party into Confuſion. *Amersford* ſoon fell into *Berg*'s Hands: *Hem* was ſurrendred to *Montecuculi*; after which the *Spaniards* beſiege *Hattem*, whoſe Scituation was of wondrous uſe for ſecuring them Winter Quarters in the *Velaw*, the Place, tho' not overſtrong, held out for ſome Days. *Orange*, unwilling to leave *Bolduc*, ſent Count *Erneſt Caſimir* to animate the Militia of the Country, to divert the Enemy, and make what Oppoſition they could for a ſhort time. But the Governor of *Emerick*, a *Hollander*, having luckily ſurprized *Weſel*, *Berg* and *Montecuculi*, aſtoniſhed at the unexpected Blow, and finding their Retreat and Proviſion in great danger of being entirely cut off, they abandoned *Amersford*, and the Siege of *Hattem*, and retired with all the haſte they could into their own Provinces, only *Naſſau* remained in thoſe Parts to ſee what Occaſion might bring forth; but *Bolduc* being in the mean time ſurrendred to the Prince of *Orange*, he was alſo obliged to be gone.

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1629. We are not to omit here the Death of our Countryman *John Speed*, which happened at *London* this Year. He was born at *Farrington* in *Cheſhire*, and at firſt a *Taylor*; but Sir *Fulk Greville* putting him in a Condition to follow his Studies, he compiled the Hiſtory of *England*, with the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr. *Cambden*, &c. He alſo compoſed the Scripture Genealogies, formerly bound up with the Bible. *Speed's* Death.

1630. There being no Parliament held now in *England*, nor for many Years after, we ſhall not find ſuch abundant Matter for Hiſtory as before, we will but juſt take Notice that *William* Earl of *Pembroke* departed this Life *April* 10th, at the Age of Seventy Years, being the Day of his Birth, according to the Prediction of the Lady *Daves*; which I the rather mention, becauſe ſhe told a greater Perſon than this Earl, that great Misfortune ſhould befal him; for which ſhe was ſome time impriſoned. On the 29th of *May* Prince *Charles* was born, about Noon, and a Star appear'd viſibly as the King rode to St. *Paul's* Church to return Thanks for the Queen's Delivery. In the mean while the King of *Sweden* projecting vaſt Deſigns upon *Germany*, and having negotiated a Treaty with the Crown of *England*, the Articles were ſigned the 31th of *May*, whereby the Marquis of *Hamilton* was to bring 6000 Men into *Germany*, for the Aſſiſtance of *Sweden*, and in order to the Relief of thePalatinate. It was much about this time that one Dr. *Leighton*, a *Scotchman*, for his Book, entitled, *Sion's Plea*, dedicated to the laſt Parliament, adviſing them to kill all the Biſhops, by ſmiting them under the fifth Rib; and railing againſt the Queen, calling her *Canaanite*, and an Idolatreſs, had the Sentence of the Judges executed upon him; whereby he was Whipp'd, Pilloried, had his Ears cut off, his Noſe ſlit, was branded on the Cheek with an *S. S.* and Impriſon'd; and thoſe who had favour'd the Eſcape he once made were fined 500 *l.* apiece. I ſhould not indeed have interrupted the Treaty with *Sweden* with this Story; upon the concluding of which the King was ſo pleaſed, that he wrote to his Siſter the Queen of *Bohemia*, to aſſure her that he would haſten the Prince *Charles* born. Dr. *Leighton* ſtigmatized.

1630. the Six Thouſand Men under *Hamilton*, in order to her Service; and alſo acquainted her that he had good Hopes to prevail with the *Spaniards*, by a Treaty (then on Foot) to get the Palatinate reſtored. At which the Queen was highly diſſatisfied, knowing by ſad Experience how the *Spaniards* had amuſed her Father King *James* in former Negotiations, which made the King write to her; 'That having 'found his laſt had troubled her more than he could 'have imagined, he would delay no longer to give 'her Satisfaction, as he hoped in ſome Things, which 'without doubt ſhe miſtook; that in the firſt Place 'it was impoſſible, in her unfortunate Buſineſs, ei-'ther to give or take Counſel abſolutely good; ſo 'that the beſt herein being but the beſt Ill, muſt have 'many Objections againſt it. Therefore taking upon 'him to clear thoſe Things which ſhe apprehended 'to be moſt prejudicial to her; that is, that if he 'made a Peace with *Spain*, it would both hinder the 'Aſſiſtance of their Friends, and lay his Arms aſleep 'from doing her Service. As for the firſt, who could 'do them moſt Good, they could not be farther from 'doing it then than now. Then he adds, That he 'had preſſed both *France* and *Holland* to make a 'League for the Palatinate, and the Liberty of *Germa-'ny*; and as for the King of *Sweden*, he owned he was 'to be heartned as much as might be, and that he 'ſhould be better able by a Peace with *Spain* to do it; 'that *Spain* promiſed as much as he could ask for his 'Part for her entire Reſtitution, but confeſſed if the 'Performance anſwered not the Promiſe, he had juſt 'Cauſe to renew the War againſt the *Spaniard*; ſo 'that when he had an Opportunity he ſhould not 'want a juſt Quarel with that Nation; that in the 'Interim he would do all that was in his Power to 'engage his Friends in an Offenſive and Defenſive 'League for the Palatinate, and the Liberty of *Germa-'ny*. He concludes, That he had not yet ſeen any 'Draught of the Articles with *Spain*, and what he did 'therein was chiefly to do her the beſt Service he 'could; and that however Change of Affairs might 'alter Councils, his Actions ſhould ever prove him to 'be her loving Brother.

K. *Charles's* Letter to the Q. of *Bohemia*.

The

The Peace with *Spain* was concluded in *November*, but to further the Expedition into *Germany*, the King granted *Hamilton* the Cuſtom of Wines in *Scotland*; from whence, returning into *England*, he was there privately accuſed by the Lord *Ochiltry*, that he raiſed that new Army with a Deſign, when he was Head of them, to ſet himſelf up King of *Scotland*; the Lord-Treaſurer *Weſton* urged the Matter home to the King, perſwading him not to admit the Marquis into his Preſence; but the King was ſo far from miſtruſting him, that he told him, that the World might know he had Confidence in his Loyalty, he ſhould lye in his Bed-Chamber that Night. This Matter having been afterwards referred to the Inquiry and Deciſion of the Lord High-Conſtable, and Earl-Mareſchal, in the Court of Honour, we may poſſibly meet with it again. The King by this time ſtanding in need of a further Supply of Money, the Buſineſs of Knighthood was retaken into Conſideration, and with Care and Diligence ſet on Foot, being grounded on an old Statute, called *Statutum de Militibus*, and now put in Execution as a Prerogative Statute; to countenance it a Proclamation was iſſued out, importing, That the King had awarded a Commiſſion to Treat and Compound with ſuch Perſons as had not taken the Order of Knighthood upon them at the King's Coronation; and the main of the Commiſſioners Inſtructions was to take no leſs than after the Rate of thrice and an half as much as the Perſons compounding were rated in the Subſidy. Several put in their Pleas into the *Exchequer* againſt Fines impoſed upon them for not appearing, and the Sheriffs who neglected to return the Names of Perſons, were ordered to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General.

1630.

Proceedings about Knighthood.

The over-ceremonious Conſecration of St. *Catharine*'s Church, by Biſhop *Laud*, and which was afterwards improved to his Diſadvantage, as if he favoured Popery, ſhall be only mentioned here without the leaſt Reflection, and the Reader is left ſolely to judge of the Temper of King *Charles*, by his expreſly commanding that the Judges ſhould not put the Commiſſioners for buying of Impropriations to be conferred upon Preaching Miniſters, to

anſwer

1630. anſwer for their Breach of Truſt, as well as of the Judges Honeſty, in ſtoutly anſwering, That they could not without the Breach of their Oath perform that Command; which Point at length, after a Hearing at the Council-Board, they carried. Wherefore, having for the preſent done with our Affairs at home, and only recapitulating in this Place that we left Cardinal *Richlieu* laſt, Generaliſſimo of the *French* Army in *Italy*, we are here to add, That he arrived at *Lyons* on the 18th of *January*, from whence he ſent Notice to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he expected, according to the Treaty of *Suſa*, he would grant him Paſſage through his Territories, and join his Army with his. The Duke hereupon deſired the Cardinal to have an Interview with the Prince of *Piedmont* his Son at *Pont de Beauvoiſin*. The Cardinal, after long Conſultation with his Generals, would not agree to it; and having failed of ſurprizing the Duke in *Rivoli*, he laid Siege to *Pignerol*, and in a ſhort time, through the Cowardize or Treachery of the Governor, became Maſter of that important Place, whereby *France* obtained a Paſſage from *Dauphine* into *Piedmont*, and which ſhe could not ever ſince be forced to part with till our Days by the ſeparate Peace the preſent Duke of *Savoy* made with her in 1696. The Duke of *Savoy*, as well as the Pope's Legate and the *Venetians*, were for having this Place reſtor'd, and the Two laſt more particularly for having the Cardinal march to the Relief of the Duke of *Mantua*; but neither could be effected, *France* ſeemed to have gained her Point. In the mean time the King and the whole Court going to *Lyons*, it was concluded there to make a Conqueſt of *Savoy*, thereby to counterballance the Advantages the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards* had made by the Territories of *Mantua*. The Cardinal on the 12th of *May* waited upon the King and both the Queens at *Grenoble*, after which the Royal Army proceeded, and in a little time made a Conqueſt of all *Savoy*. In the mean time *Mazarine* came in the Quality of a *Nuncio* to treat of Peace, and the Cardinal offered to reſtore *Pignerol*, but on ſuch hard Terms, that there was no Appearance the Houſe of *Auſtria* would accept of them.

*Pignerol* taken by the *French*.

On

On the other Hand *Spinola*, the Governor of *Milan*'s Son, took *Poudeſtre*, ill defended by the *French*; ſo that there remained no more than *Caſal*, which belonged to the Duke of *Mantua* in *Montferat*, maintained by the Bravery of *Thoiras*, who was always in the Place. *Spinola* formed the Siege of it on the 23d of *May* with 18000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, while the *Germans* at the ſame time began to attack *Mantua*, into which the Mareſchal *d' Eſtree* ſome time before had thrown himſelf without Money or Forces; ſo that he was of little uſe to the Duke, and therefore the Place ſurrendred on the 8th of *July*. On the other Hand, the *French* having defeated the *Savoyards* under Prince *Thomas*, ſoon after took *Saluces*, much about which time *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, departing this Life, the Character that *Nani* gives of him is, That without Queſtion he was a great Prince, brought up in the Experience of the one and the other Fortune, Magnanimous, Perſevering, and Valiant in War; Vertues which might be ſaid to be defiled by Ambition, Lewdneſs and Prodigality; if his Defects dreſt up by his lively Art had not almoſt paſt for Things that were approved and commended: He immoveably directed his Actions to his own Intereſt, and meaſuring Profit and Glory by the ſame Steps, diſcovered himſelf ſtrangely inconſtant in Friendſhip: He was Over-liberal of his own, Greedy of another's, always Poor, yet never in Want. With his Friend's Money, and the heavy Burdens he laid on his People, he not only went through ſo many Wars, but exerciſing Command in his Country, and Authority in his Family, and keeping up his Honour among Strangers, he was reverenced and eſteemed by all; he ſought Advantages by Wars, or in Peace ſowed the Seeds of new Diſcords, and his Deſigns wanting Succeſs rather than Induſtry, as the Architect of ſo many Confuſions he was buried amidſt his own Ruins. There were great Expectations of a ſudden Peace between his Succeſſor *Victor Amadeus* and his Brother-in-law K. *Lewis*; but inſtead of that, the *French* purſued their Conqueſt, took the Caſtles of *Villa Franca* and *Pontcalier*, after which they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Carignan*; and proceeding ſtill farther,

1630.

*Germans* take *Mantua.*

*Charles* Duke of *Savoy*'s Death and Character.

1630. ther, the Nuncio *Mazarine* uſed ſo much Dexterity in his Negotiations, that at laſt he brought the contending Parties to ſign a general Truce from the 4th of *September* to the 15th of *October*, at which *Spinola*, who had reduced *Caſal* to the utmoſt Extremity, grew ſo melancholy and diſcontented, that he ſoon after ſickned and died. In the mean time *Brulant* and Father *Joſeph* concluded a Treaty at *Ratisbonne* with the Imperial Ambaſſadors, wherein, after the regulating of what *Nevers* ſhould give to the Pretenders to the Succeſſion of *Mantua*, the Emperor promiſed him the Inveſtiture, provided he asked it with Submiſſion. On the other Hand, the Truce being expired in *Italy*, *Mazarine* with infinite Trouble and Hazard, not only prevented the *French* and *Spaniards* from coming to a Battel, but brought them to agree to theſe Terms: That the *Spaniards* ſhould quit the Town and Caſtle of *Caſal*, *Pendeſture*, *Roſſignano*, *Nizzo de la Paille*, and *Caſtle Pouzone*, and at the ſame time the *French* ſhould quit the Cittadel of *Caſal*: That till the 23d of *November*, when the Emperor was to give the Inveſtiture to the Duke of *Mantua*, there ſhould be an Imperial Commiſſary with his Family only remaining, of whom the Gariſon ſhould receive Orders, without his being further concerned: That the Governors which the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould ſend to other Places, ſhould be preſented to this Commiſſary, who ſhould diſpatch their Patents, without taking any Oaths of them; that on the 23d of *November* the Inveſtiture being agreed or refuſed to the Duke of *Mantua*, that Commiſſary ſhould go out of *Caſal* and *Montferat*: that on the 27th of *October* the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Armies ſhould march out of *Montferat*, the *French* doing the like at the ſame time; that there ſhould be Freedom of Trade between *Montferat* and the *Milaneze*, and that it being impoſſible for the *Spaniards* ſo ſuddenly to withdraw their Ammunition and Artillery ſome Days ſhould be given to do it.

Peace in *Italy*.

The War terminating once more in *Italy* by this Treaty, I ſhall but juſt mention the Sickneſs of *Louis* XIII. cauſed by an Impoſthume in the *Meſentery*, of which he recovered beyond Expectation; but haſten into *Germany*, now becoming the Theatre of War in good Earneſt. A

A Diet now ſate at *Ratiſbon*, the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg* refus'd to come thither, by reaſon that General *Walleſtein* had ſuffer'd his Army to commit ſo great Waſte in their reſpective Countries, that they were thereby incapacitated to appear ſuitable to their Qualities. As theſe Complaints were chiefly made with deſign to out *Walleſtein*, the Emperor obſerving the greateſt part of the States to be againſt him, found himſelf oblig'd not only to command that General to retire, but likewiſe to deprive him of his Staff, which Orders he ſeem'd eaſily to comply with, tho' he inwardly conceal'd Reſentments in his Heart. His Place was at the ſame time given to *Tilly*, General of the League. It was believed with good Reaſon that the Emperor's chief Aim was to get his Son *Ferdinand* choſen King of the *Romans* in this Diet, which was ſtifly oppoſed even by *Bavaria* himſelf, and the Emperor ſo allured that he disbanded 15000 Horſe at once, to his no ſmall Detriment in the War now at Hand. However News coming from the Elector of *Saxony* that the *Swede* was on the Coaſts of *Pomerania* with a conſiderable Army, the Emperor acquainted the Diet therewith; whereupon it was reſolv'd to oppoſe him with all Vigor as a common Enemy. All other Matters were referr'd to a ſucceeding *Diet*, whereby the Proteſtants were diſappointed in their Hopes of having their Grievances for the preſent redreſs'd; and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was not a little diſſatisfy'd that he could not then procure the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Elector-*Palatine*. 1630. A Diet ſits.

On the other Hand, before we follow the King of *Sweden* into *Germany*, it will be neceſſary to give a ſummary Account of ſome Things in theſe Parts, which have either been overlooked, or could not ſo well be adapted to the preſent Expedition in this Place. When the Affairs of *Germany* were in ſuch a Diſpoſition, that the *Roman* Catholicks and the Proteſtants were like to fall by the Ears; they always endeavour'd to engage K. *Guſtavus* in their Quarrel: For that Purpoſe he was invited by the Proteſtant League, namely, the Houſes of *Heſſe Caſſel* and *Brandenbourg*, and afterwards by *England* and *France*. The State of Affairs in *Germany*.

1630. But at that time the War with *Poland* gave him ſo much Diverſion, that he was not at leiſure to undertake what he paſſionately deſir'd. When the Confederates were concerting Meaſures for their common Safety, *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, offer'd to manage their Affairs as Head of the League. And in effect K. *Guſtavus* heartily wiſh'd him this Honour, that himſelf might act with more Advantage againſt the *Poles*. But the King of *Denmark* being rejected by all the Allies, and the Emperor beginning to poſſeſs himſelf of *Lower Saxony*, and the Provinces joining to the *Baltick Sea*, *Sweden* began to open her Eyes; for they plainly perceiv'd that the Emperor mean'd to reduce the *Northern* Kingdoms, to the end he might afterwards make uſe of them as a Bulwark to extend or ſupport his Government over all *Europe*. 'Twas for this Reaſon that the Emperor importun'd K. *Sigiſmund* not to make any Truce or Peace with K. *Guſtavus*, promiſing in publick to re-eſtabliſh him in his Kingdom of *Sweden*, tho' at the ſame time he had ſtipulated under-hand that K. *Sigiſmund* ſhould ſuffer him to conquer *Sweden*, in Recompence for which he was to make the Crown of *Poland* hereditary to him and his Poſterity. Beſides, the Emperor ſolicited the Elector of *Brandenburg* with very preſſing Inſtances, to reſign to K. *Sigiſmund* his part of *Pruſſia*, and promiſed him part of *Mecklenburg* for an equivalent; nay, further, he ſent *Arnheim* to the Duke of *Pomerania*, to acquaint him in his Name, That it behoved him to reſign his Soveraignty, and the Government of the Dutchy, and content himſelf with ſuch Revenues as ſhould be allowed him. This he did, leſt that Duke ſhould have thwarted his Deſign of extending the Limits of the *Roman* Empire. All theſe Motives made K. *Guſtavus* carry on the War with *Poland* ſo vigorouſly, in order to oblige the *Poles* to an early Peace. And, on the other Hand, to win the Affection of his Neighbours, and engage them in his Intereſts; he promis'd them all poſſible Succours againſt the Oppreſſion of the Emperor.

This

1630.

This done, he call'd an Assembly of the States of *Sweden*, and represented to them the eminent Danger they were threatned with from the Neighbourhood of the Emperor, who had already made himself Master of the Coast of the *Baltick-Sea*, and part of *Denmark*; besides that the preceding Summer, he had given sufficient Proof of his Hatred and Ill-will to the *Swedes*, by assisting the *Poles* with a considerable Body of Troops, under the Command of *Adolphus*, Duke of *Holsace*. He represented farther, That the Emperor had intercepted his Letters for *Transylvania*; That he would not allow him to raise Forces in *Germany*, or to buy Ammunition, and other Necessaries for the War, tho' at the same time he granted that Priviledge to the *Poles*; That he had us'd the *Swedish* Merchants in *Germany* very ill; and in fine, That he had set all Intrigues on Foot to retard a Peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*, which was very acceptable to the *Poles*, who were apprehensive that a Misunderstanding between the Emperor and K. *Sigismund*, might give a fatal Blow to their Liberties. Thereupon the States advis'd His Majesty not to wait the Enemies Descent upon *Sweden*, but to prevent it by going to meet him with Sword in hand, and putting a Stop to the Growth of his Dominions upon the Coast of the *Baltick-Sea*. A particular Providence opened a Way to the Execution of his Design; for when General *Albert* of *Wallenstein*, Duke of *Friedland*, attack'd the Town of *Stralsond*, as being a proper Instrument for carrying on his farther Designs, *Gustavus*, who was then in *Prussia*, offer'd Succours to the City, and of his own Accord sent Powder to the Burgesses, exhorting them to a vigorous Defence. The Burgesses observing that the Imperialists would not submit to Reason, receiv'd with Joy the Offer His Majesty made them, and enter'd into an Alliance with him, upon Terms, That he should take their Town and Port into his Protection, and have the Liberty of the Commerce of the *Baltick-Sea*, without any Infringement upon their ancient Privileges, or upon their Relation to the Empire, and the Dutchy of *Pomerania*. Upon this *Gustavus* sent them Troops, which repuls'd the Imperialists. But the King of *Denmark* having likewise

K. *Gustavus*'s Complaints of the Emperor.

A Treaty between K. *Gustavus* and the Town of *Stralsond*.

1630. ſent Succours to *Stralſond*, and it being unreaſonable, that Two Kings ſhould at one time have Gariſons in the ſame City; *Guſtavus* ſent *Axel Oxenſtiern*, Chancellor of *Sweden*, to confirm the *Stralſonders* in their Reſolution, and perſwade them to adhere to *Sweden* alone, and make Preparation for a vigorous Defence. The Chancellor afterward arriving at *Copenhagen*, had ſo much Influence upon K. *Chriſtian* by his Solicitations, that he recall'd his Troops, with which the Burgeſſes were at that time very uneaſie. However, *Guſtavus* attempted nothing in *Germany* all the next Year but the raiſing of the Siege of that Town: For *Wallenſtein* and *Tilly* were then in the Neighbourhood of that Place with Two potent Armies, which might eaſily have overpower'd him, before he could have firm footing on that ſide of the Sea: But his Hopes were, that a more favourable Opportunity would preſent it ſelf in a ſhort time; and that, in the mean time he would find ſome Means or other for diſengaging himſelf of the War with *Poland*. Beſides, he was very deſirous that the miſunderſtanding between the Emperor and him ſhould be taken away in an equitable Way. Upon which View he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lubeck* (where the Emperor was then in Perſon, carrying on the Treaty of Peace with the King of *Denmark*) to propoſe an Accommodation upon honourable Terms: But the Imperialiſts were ſo proud and ſawcy, that they ſent back in an affrontive manner the Expreſs that came for ſafe Conduct to the Ambaſſadors, as before hinted; and even threatn'd them, if they offer'd to appear at *Lubeck*. Upon this Affront, and ſeveral Injuries receiv'd from the Emperor, *Guſtavus* wrote Letters to the Electoral College, ſetting forth the Reaſon and Equity of his taking *Stralſond* under his Protection, and praying them to diſpoſe Matters for a good Accommodation. Farther, he ſent an Ambaſſie to *Wallenſtein*, in the Name of the Senate: For he would not offer again to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, leſt, to gratifie the King of *Poland*, he ſhould diſallow his Title of King, neither would he treat in his own Name with the haughty *Friedland* to avoid the Injuries and affrontive Words that *that* petulant General might belch out againſt him.

But

But when the Ambaſſadors ſent their Orders in writing to *VVallenſtein*, they receiv'd but a bad Anſwer. At the ſame time the Electors wrote very coldly to *Guſtavus*, and did not give him the Title of King in their Superſcription. 1630.

The *French* Ambaſſador ſolicites K. *Guſtavus*.

After the Concluſion of the Six Years Truce between *Sweden* and *Poland*, *Charnaſſe*, the Ambaſſador of *France*, preſſed K. *Guſtavus* to engage in the War of *Germany*, offering him the King's Alliance and Subſidies for that Effect; and aſſuring him, that both the Houſes of *Bavaria*, and the Catholick League, had equally importun'd the King, his Maſter, to intereſt himſelf in the Affairs of *Germany*, becauſe the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was unſupportable to the *Roman* Catholicks as well as to the Proteſtants. Upon this a ſerious Conſultation was held, whether the King ſhould load himſelf with ſo great and ſo dangerous a Burden. The moſt ſenſible part of the Counſellors who ſaw the Emperor openly attack *Guſtavus* in *Pruſſia* under his own Colours, and plainly perceiv'd that there was no Appearance of an honourable Accommodation: Theſe Men, I ſay, did not at all doubt, but ſooner, or later, the King would be obliged to make War with the Emperor: But the Difficulty was, to know, whether it was more expedient to ſtay till the Imperialiſts made a Deſcent upon *Sweden*, or to go and meet them in *Germany*: Tho' ſome were of the former Opinion, hoping that the Proceſs of Time would, one Day, furniſh them with Means to avoid that Danger that threaten'd them, yet the other Opinion being ſupported by more ſolid Reaſons, prevail'd over the former: The Proof they went upon was as follows, The Emperor had form'd a Deſign to ruin the Proteſtants, and make himſelf abſolute Soveraign of *Germany*. This done, he mean'd to make himſelf Maſter of the Northern Kingdoms, which were neceſſary for eſtabliſhing an Univerſal Monarchy over *Europe*, which he aſpir'd after. As ſoon as he could bring the War of *Mantua* to a Concluſion, he would employ all his Forces in compaſſing thoſe Ends. He had already laid the Foundations, in order to reduce all *Germany* to Slavery. His Hereditary Countries were already under the

The Reaſons that mov'd the *Swedes* to make a Deſcent upon *Germany*.

1630. Yoak; and the Princes of *Germany* were partly diſpoſſeſs'd of their proper Territories, and partly brought ſo low, that they durſt not ſhew their Heads. Under the Pretence of reducing the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, he had a deſign to ruin all the reſt. The *Roman* Catholicks had taken the Alarm at the Emperor's Power, tho' themſelves once contributed ſo much towards it. All *Germany* was overrun with Soldiers, who ſuck'd the Marrow of the Subjects. At *Vienna* an Intrigue was ſet on Foot to ſettle a certain and ſtanding Fund, to carry on the War, and maintain Four diſtinct Armies; to wit, one in *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*, another in *Italy* upon the Frontiers, a third upon the *Rhine*, againſt *France* and *Holland*; and a fourth upon the *Baltick* Coaſts, againſt the Northern Nations. If the Emperor ſhould once compaſs theſe Deſigns, 'twould then be too late to think of a Remedy. 'Tis true, the Emperor might ſeem to offer a reaſonable thing, in entring into a Negotiation, of which the King of *Denmark* ſhould be Mediator; but that was only a vain Amuſement, which he made uſe of, till he ſhould bring his Projects to bear; after which they would be oblig'd to pay very dear for a ſhort-liv'd Peace. To all theſe Reaſons they added, That they could not expect a firm Peace from the Emperor; That they ought not to ſuffer the Proteſtants to be quite ruin'd; That *Sweden* could never be ſafe on the *German* ſide, unleſs Things were reduc'd to their firſt State; That they had Forces enough that were capable to gall the Emperor ſufficiently; That they had both *Swediſh* and Foreign Veterane Troops in their Service; That if once they had Footing in *Germany*, they would find not only a Concourſe of Soldiers, but likewiſe Ways to ſubſiſt them; That the Imperial Army would certainly dwindle when they could not keep all *Germany* under Contribution; and as ſoon as the oppreſs'd States of *Germany* ſhould have but Time to take their Breath, they would not fail to take off the Yoke, and ſide with *Guſtavus*, who would be ſupported beſides with *France* and *Holland*: And, in fine, ſuppoſing all theſe Projects to fail, *Sweden* could not be in a worſe Condition than ſhe was at that Time: For if *Guſtavus* had

been drove out of *Germany*, he had ſtill retain'd the Liberty of the *Baltick-Sea* with his Fleet and gallant Army, who would fight for their Country to the laſt Gaſp. They likewiſe call'd to mind the State that all *Europe* was then in. The Proteſtants in *Germany* were in a miſerable Condition. The Elector *Palatine*, the Marquis of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Meklenbourg* were expell'd their Territorities. The Houſes of *Lunenbourg* had no Places of Value left them; and all the reſt were about to be mortified by the Edicts of the Reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtick Eſtates, reſum'd after the Treaty of *Paſſau*. So that all theſe oppreſs'd Princes expected, with Patience, a Protection to procure their Deliverance. Beſides, 'tis to be obſerv'd, that at that Time, the Emperor's Forces were very much weaken'd; for he had ſent many of his beſt Troops to *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, a great Part of which, to be ſure, never thought of ſeeing *Germany* again. Upon the repeated Solicitation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, *VValdenſtein*, who had a great Intereſt and Authority in the Army, was turn'd out of the General's Poſt: And, beſides a great many Regiments were reform'd: Nay, further, the reſt of his Troops were neither Compleat, nor well Diſciplin'd. *Spain* was exhauſted by the Wars of the *Netherlands*. On the contrary, *France*, after the taking of *Rochel*, and the other Proteſtant Cities was in a good Condition, and watch'd only an Opportunity of aggrandizing her ſelf upon the Ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Tho' *England* would not contribute much to the Intereſt of *Sweden*, yet they would not oppoſe them. But *Holland* would be particularly ſerviceable in promoting their Deſigns, by diverting *Spain*, and dexterouſly worming the Gold out of her Veins. The Pope and the *Italian* Princes would not be diſpleas'd to ſee the Wings of the Houſe of *Auſtria* a little clipp'd, conſidering the Uſage of *Mantua*. As for *Poland*, there was nothing to be fear'd on that ſide, ſince the *Poles* expected to get more by their Wars with *Moſcovy*. *Denmark* was brought very low by the War it had ſuſtain'd with the Emperor. *Moſcovy*, then engag'd in a War with *Poland*, was in no Condition to annoy *Sweden*. 1630.

1630.

Why *Guſtavus* had no Regard to the Negotiation of Peace.

*Guſtavus* having maturely conſidered all theſe Circumſtances, made all imaginable Preparations for the next Campaign: Notwithſtanding that a Negotiation was then commenc'd at *Dantzick* between the King of *Denmark* and the Emperor; for the laſt had no other View than to amuſe *Guſtavus* ſo as to diſſwade him from attempting any thing that Summer. Beſides, the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors were ſo intereſted, and of ſo oppoſite a Faction, that 'twas manifeſt they mean'd to Negotiate nothing for the Advantage of *Sweden*. On the other Hand the Ambaſſador of *France* oppos'd theſe Conferences very warmly, as being apprehenſive, that if *Guſtavus* came to an Accommodation, there would be no Refuge or Support left for the Proteſtants: After which, the Burthen would certainly fall upon the *Dutch*; the Oppreſſion of whom would ſink its Neighbouring Nations. But, after all, *Guſtavus* made as if he conſented to the Negotiation, partly to diſcover the Emperor's Intentions, and partly to try the Sincerity of the *French*, in offering him their Alliance: For the *French* Ambaſſador was a little ſuſpected. But the Imperial and *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors left *Dantzick* without doing any thing, or ſo much as conferring with the Deputies of *Sweden*, as ſoon as they had Advice of *Guſtavus*'s Arrival in *Germany*. Before his Arrival *Alexander Leſly* diſlodg'd the Imperialiſts of the Iſle of *Rugen*, who were then treating with the *Danes* about it, in order to ſet *Denmark* and *Sweden* together by the Ears. *Guſtavus* likewiſe, before his Departure from *Sweden*, wrote to the Electors of the Empire, complaining that they had not given him the Title of King, nor propos'd any Method of Satisfaction. He added, *That tho' he wiſh'd they would fall upon proper Expedients for an Accommodation, yet they could not take it ill, that he us'd other Meaſures than theſe of vain Treaties, for his own Security; and if any innocent Perſons ſhould ſuffer by this Conduct, the Blame could not be laid upon him, who was forc'd to take up ſuch Reſolutions.* At the ſame time he publiſh'd a Manifeſto, ſetting forth the Reaſons that mov'd him to engage in a War. But he made a public Declaration of War againſt the Emperor, becauſe the laſt had given the firſt Offence. Before his

The Imperialiſts diſlodg'd out of *Rugen*.

*Guſtavus*'s Manifeſto.

his Departure for *Germany*, he took Care to ſettle all his Domeſtick-Affairs, and uſed particular Precautions againſt the *Danes*, underſtanding that the Emperor ſolicited them, to attempt ſomething againſt *Sweden*. He gave the Management of his Revenues to *John Caſimir*, Prince-Palatine, who was a Man of great Prudence, and very exact in every thing. This done, he took leave of the Aſſembly of the States, and order'd his Troops to be embark'd. The Liſt of his Army was as follows: The Cavalry of the *Viſigoths*, under the Command of *Erick Soop*; the *Smalian* Cavalry, under Count *Peter Brahe*; Four Regiments of Infantry, commanded by *Nils Brahe*, *Joram Johanſon*, *Axel Lilly*, and *Axel Duval*; Two Regiments of *German* Infantry, commanded by *Diderick Falckenberg*, and *Nils Dideriekſon*; Two Companies, under the Conduct of Colonel *Hall*; Two Regiments of Infantry, under the Command of *Mitſheval*, and *Dodo Kniphuyſen*, Major-General; and a *Scotch* Regiment, commanded by *Maccay*: So that, in all, he had 16 Troops of Horſe, and 92 Companies of Foot. General *Bannier* commanded the Foot, and *Linnard Torſtenſton* was great Maſter of the Artillery. This Army was afterwards much augmented by the Acceſſion of the new Regiments, rais'd in *Pruſſia*, and other Countries. While *Guſtavus* lay at *Elſnabben*, waiting for a favourable Wind, there arriv'd an Ambaſſie from the D. of *Pomerania*, in order to beg His Majeſty would ſpare the Duke's Country, in his March, it being already much waſted. *Guſtavus* made Anſwer, *That ſince the Imperialiſts came to Attack him in that Country, he could not but make his Repriſals there; however, upon his Arrival there, he would ſettle that Matter with the Duke, his Maſter.* Being happily arriv'd upon the Coaſts of the Iſle of *Rugen*, he diſembark'd his Troops at *Uſedom*; at which Place, as well as at *Wellin*, the Imperialiſts had abandon'd the Forts they were poſſeſs'd of. After that, he preſently got together a great Number of Barks, on which, his Troops and Artillery embark'd; and, by the Help of a fair Wind, came before *Stettin*. Immediately, ſome of his Soldiers being ſet aſhoar, he advanc'd under the Cannon of that Place: Upon which, the Governor, and

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A Liſt of *Guſtavus*'s Army.

*Guſtavus* enters *Stettin*.

1630. and ſome of the Prince's Counſellors, coming to confer with him, he deſir'd Leave of them to enter the City as a Friend; and when they offer'd to beg his Excuſe, he proteſted he was not come to diſengage them from the *Roman* Empire, but to free 'em from the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of the *Imperialiſts*; adding, *That he would be glad to have an Interview with the Duke, who, without any Ceremony, open'd the Gates to him.* 'Tis certain, this was a great Advantage to *Guſtavus*, in preventing the Imperialiſts, who were already advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Gartz*, with a Deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of that important Place within Two Days. The King, having conferr'd with the Duke, concluded an Alliance with him; by which, he engag'd to protect him and his whole Country, with this *Proviſo*, That in caſe any fatal Accident ſhould befal him before the Elector of *Brandenburg* had ratify'd and confirm'd the Alliance, or contributed to the Deliverance of *Pomerania*; or, if any other Diſturbance happen'd about the Succeſſion; That in theſe Caſes the King of *Sweden* ſhould have a Right to poſſeſs the Dutchy, by way of Sequeſtration or Proviſion, till the Differences were adjuſted, and the Charge of the War repay'd, without obliging *Pomerania* to contribute towards it. But afterwards this Clauſe occaſion'd many Conteſts with the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The Duke of *Pomerania* pretended to excuſe himſelf to the Emperor, with reference to this Treaty; but the Imperialiſts took it for a thing already concerted; for which Reaſon they would not give Quarter to the *Pomeranian* Soldiers, tho' on the other Hand the *Swedes*, to be revenged on 'em, treated the Imperialiſts in the ſame manner.

An Alliance between him and the D. of *Pomerania.*

The Progreſs of *Guſtavus*'s Arms in *Germany.*

After this K. *Guſtavus*'s Troops poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Towns of *Stargard*, *Anclaue*, *Ukermond*, and *Wolgſtadt*. This Progreſs of the *Swediſh* Arms put the Imperialiſts into a great Confuſion and Conſternation; eſpecially, conſidering that they had not then a Head capable to withſtand the Current, in ſuch a Juncture: Beſides, the Houſe of *Bavaria* was pleas'd to ſee the Ambition and Pride of the Emperor thus humbled. Further, *Chriſtian William*, Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg*, being diſgrac'd by the Emperor,

Emperor, upon the Suſpicion of a private Correſpondence with the K. of *Denmark*, he quickly gave His Imperial Majeſty a new Diverſion; for he repair'd to the City of *Magdeburg*, (tho' with too much Precipitancy and Inconſideration) and having induc'd the People to Mutiny, made himſelf Maſter of the Country that depends upon it. This being done, without Order, and in great Confuſion, *Guſtavus* ſent *Dideriek Falckeburge*, Marſhal of the Crown, to aſſiſt in carrying on the Intrigue. In the mean time, *Guſtavus Horn*, Marſhal of the Crown, arriv'd with ſeveral Regiments from *Finland* and *Livonia*, which were join'd by ſeveral Regiments, rais'd in *Pruſſia*, and left in the Camp before *Stettin*. After His Majeſty's Departure from *Stettin* the Imperialiſts came before it; but being vigorouſly repuls'd, they went and vented their Paſſion upon the little ſorry Town of *Paſewalk*, where they committed unheard-of Cruelties. *Guſtavus* having gone with ſome Troops from *Stettin* to *Stralſond*, and from thence by Land to *Mekelburg*, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Imperialiſts of that Country, defeated 'em near *Grieffenhagen* and *Gartz*, and put 'em into ſuch a Conſternation, that they entirely abandon'd lower *Pomerania*, with the Country of *Wenmarck*, and fled to *Landsberg* and *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*. In the mean time *Guſtavus* was projecting Expedients for carrying the War into *Sileſia*, by the Country of *Marck*, and extending it on one ſide to the *VVaſer* in *Mecklenburg*; and on the other, to the *Elbe*, near *Magdeburg*. Upon which the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, *George* D. of *Lunenburg*, and *VVilliam* Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, concluded an Alliance with him. At laſt, all the Proteſtants in *Germany* began to raiſe their Heads, and K. *Guſtavus* endeavour'd to bring 'em over to his Intereſt, without minding the Edicts and Declarations publiſh'd againſt him by the Emperor.

1630. The Governor of *Magdeburg* revolts.

It's fit we ſhould draw a Veil, and paſs over in Silence the Tryal of the Lord *Audley* in *England* for a barbarous Rape committed upon his own Wife, with his Aſſiſtance, by one of his own Servants, and for Sodomy, the Matters being of the moſt horrid and foul Wickedneſs that ever was heard of; and having

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1631. ving mentioned before an Accuſation of High-Treaſon given againſt the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, all the Judges of the *Kings-Bench* were now called upon for their Advice concerning it: The Lord *Rea* impeached *Ramſey* and *Meldrum* for exciting him to this Conſpiracy; but they poſitively denying it, and no Witneſſes being produced, *Ramſey*, who was a Soldier offered to clear himſelf by Combat, which being accepted by *Rea* the Appellant; the King having conſulted the Judges in this Point, there was, according to their Advice, a Court of Lord High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal called; but the Buſineſs at laſt was taken up by the King, through the Intereſt of the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, whoſe Servant *Ramſey* was, and the Lord *Rea* returned to his Command under the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*. In the mean time ſome of the Univerſity of *Oxford* were proceeded againſt, for Sermons preached againſt Arminianiſm, and other Points of Religion, than in Controverſie. Upon which divers of them were cenſured, and expelled the Univerſity.

A new Order for raiſing Money to the King's Uſe, by erecting an Office for the ſealing of Playing-Cards, is only to be hinted at for the Meaneſs of it, and not to be dwelt upon. Wherefore let us now reſume warlike Proceedings; the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, with the 6000 Men, already mentioned, to be deſigned for *Germany*, about the latter end of *July*, arriving in *Denmark*, and ſailing from thence to the Mouth of the *Oder*, landed between *Wolgaſt* and *Vuſdom*, and poſted his Troops thereabouts, in Expectation of being joined by 6000 *Swedes*, which *Guſtavus* had promiſed ſhould be ſent him, to bring them up to his Army through the Enemies Quarters; but being diſappointed therein, he, to his great Regret, loſt the Honour of having a Share in the great Battle of *Leipſick*, which hapned ſoon after. Nay, this little Army of his ſo ſtrangely dwindled away, that there was nothing memorable done by them. However, Sir *Henry Vane* being now ſent Ambaſſador to the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, he loſt nothing in His Britannick Majeſty's Affection, who acquainted the Marqueſs in his Letter to him, *That he had, according to his Promiſe, diſpatched* Vane, *whom he had commanded*

K's Letter to *Hamilton*.

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*mauded to impart unto him both his Publick and Private Inſtructions, ſo that it was a good Excuſe for his Lazineſs, in writing ſo little to him, and a Teſtimony that his Abſence neither made him alter nor forget him; for he might be aſſured that his Truſt of him was ſo well grounded, that it lay not in the Power of any Body to alter him from being his Loving Friend and Couſin.* As for *Vane*'s Inſtructions, he was firſt to go to the King of *Denmark* to remove all Jealouſies from him, and firmly to reconcile him to the *Swede*; then to excite the Princes and States of *Germany* to join with *Guſtavus*, to make a firm Peace between the Crown of *Poland* and *Swedeland*, and laſtly to enter into a League with the King of *Sweden* upon emergent Occaſions: But many Rubs fell in the Way, and now 'tis time we ſhould enter directly upon the Actions of the Field.

Alliance between *France* and *Sweden.*

But we muſt firſt obſerve that about the beginning of this Year *Guſtavus* entered into an Alliance with the Crown of *France*, which had been long treated of to little Purpoſe, becauſe the *Swedes* ſay their King would not ſuffer him of *France* to be the Head, as if he were to preſcribe him Orders, which the *French* Ambaſſador propoſed. The *French* by this Treaty obliged themſelves to ſupply the *Swedes* yearly with 400000 Crowns, by way of Subſidy. Now the *Swediſh* Soldiers being very hardy, the King took Care to keep them in Action, inſomuch, that he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lokenitz*, *Prentzlow*, near *Brandenburg*, *Clempenow*, *VVemplow* and *Loitz*. The Duke of *Sorelli* commanded in *Demmin*, wherein there were Two Regiments, who, contrary to the Expectations of *Tilly*, that expected he would have held out Three Weeks, ſurrendred the Place in as many Days, in which the *Swedes* found a great quantity of Proviſion and Ammunition, beſides Thirty Braſs Cannon. This done, the Town of *Colberg*, after a Blockade of Five Months, ſurrendred through Famine, ſo that the Imperialiſts were diſlodg'd of all the Lower *Pomerania*; on the other Hand *Tilly*, the Imperial General, having given the neceſſary Orders at *Frankfort* and *Landsbergh*, marched with the main Body of the Army to the Relief of *Demmin*; but hearing on the Way that the Place was already ſurrendred,

K. of *Sweden's* Progreſs.

1631. dred, he resolved to repair that Loss, by attacking *New Brandenburg*, where *Kniphuysen*, contrary to the King's Orders, had tarry'd too long with Two Regiments. *Kniphuysen* defended that sorry Place with a great deal of Courage and Resolution: But at last, being overpower'd, his Men were cut in pieces, and himself, with some Officers, taken Prisoners. Notwithstanding this Success, *Tilly* could go no further; for *Gustavus* had possess'd himself of all the Passes of *Upper Pomeren*, and fortify'd his Camp near *Schweed*, with a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the Enemy. At last *Tilly* finding he could do nothing to the Purpose, and fearing his Men would quickly be pinch'd for want of Provisions, march'd towards *Magdeburg*, in order to draw *Gustavus* into an open Country, where he hop'd to fight him with Advantage. But upon his Retreat, the King return'd to *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, where Count *Shaumburg* lay with a Body of Troops, and carry'd the Place by Storm the third Day, cutting in Pieces above 1700 Imperialists, and taking 800 Prisoners, among whom were several Officers of Note, besides a great many drown'd in the *Oder*; the rest escap'd by flight to *Great Glogauw*. In the mean time *Gustavus* sent some Troops to *Landsburg*, which obliged the Enemy to march out by Composition, tho' they were much more numerous than the Besiegers.

*Francfort* upon the *Oder* taken by the *Swedes.*

The Protestant Princes Assembled at *Leiptsick.*

Much about that time, the Protestant Princes of *Germany* held an Assembly at *Leiptsick*, in order to oppose the Edict, publish'd by the Emperor, touching the Restitution of Church-Lands. *Gustavus* sent Commissioners thither, to sollicite the Members to an Union with him, in order either to act in concert with him against the Emperor, or, at least, to put themselves in a Condition to defend their Liberties, and to supply him with Money, Ammunition, and other Necessaries for carrying on the War. Above all, he made particular Instances to the Elector of *Saxony*, who was, as it were, the Head of the Protestants, setting forth, that his only Aim was to secure the Liberty of the Princes of *Germany*, and the reform'd Religion. But that Elector would not declare his Mind openly; for tho' he commended *Gustavus*'s Design, yet he would neither hear of an Union,

union, nor take the Inhabitants of *Magdeburg* under his Protection. The Occaſion of his Coldneſs was this, that he was apprehenſive *Guſtavus* purſued only his own private Intereſt, and would deſert them after he had compaſs'd his own Ends; or elſe he would do by him as he had done by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in *Pruſſia*, where he ravag'd the Low Countries, and put Gariſons into all the Places of Strength. Beſides, they foreſaw that if any Accident ſhould befal *Guſtavus*, there would be none found capable to carry on Deſigns of ſuch Importance. The Elector's Deſign was to make a joint-Alliance among all the Proteſtants, in order to ſtand Neuter, and keep up a Ballance between the Emperor and the K. of *Sweden*: For he imagin'd with himſelf, that if he ſhould join the K. of *Sweden*, *Guſtavus* would take upon himſelf the whole Direction of the War. Beſides, he thought 'twas not handſome for him to unite openly with the declar'd Enemy of the Emperor, who had not then committed any Acts of Hoſtility againſt him. Nay, farther, he would not ſo tie up his Hands by an Alliance with *Guſtavus*, as that he could not accommodate Matters with the Emperor, when he thought it convenient. After all, the Proteſtants of *Germany* made ſo much of this Opportunity, that they reſolv'd to ſecure their Liberty, by the help of the *Swediſh* Arms, and wiſh'd they might have ſuch Succeſs, as to weaken the Emperor. Upon this Reſolution they could have wiſh'd that *Guſtavus* would return home, tho', in caſe of Neceſſity, they mean'd to make uſe of the Friendſhip he proffer'd them; but they would make no open Declaration againſt the Emperor, before they ſaw themſelves reduc'd to the laſt Extremity. On the other Hand the Emperor had reſolv'd entirely to ruin the D. of *Saxony*, as ſoon as he offer'd to ſtir, hoping, that after his Fall, the reſt would neither have Strength nor Courage to attempt any thing againſt him: For the Imperialiſts us'd to ſay in a Satyrical Contemptuous Stile, that except the Elector of *Saxony*, all the Proteſtants were a Parcel of Beggars that could ſcarce keep Ten Regiments among them all. And, indeed, the next Summer, the Emperor, without any Trouble, conſtrain'd

1631.

The Proteſtant Princes refuſe to declare openly againſt the Emperor.

1631. ſtrain'd the Proteſtant Princes of *Upper-Germany*, to renounce the League of *Leiptſick*, and advance conſiderable Sums of Money beſides.

*Guſtavus* obſerving the Proteſtants were much upon their Guard, and mean'd to play their Game by Intrigues, reſolv'd to take Counter-Precautions, and not to puſh ſo far as to tack the Succeſs of his Arms upon the Diſcretion of another. Upon this View he plac'd his only Security in his own proper Force; and tho' he paſſionately deſir'd the Relief of the City of *Magdeburg*, yet he would not attempt to raiſe the Siege till he had taken Care that his Retreat were not cut off behind him. For this end he deſir'd the Elector of *Brandenburg* to deliver him *Spandauw* and *Cuſtrin*, to ſecure his Paſſage upon the *Havel* and the *Oder*; and being apprehenſive the Elector would give him a Refuſal, he march'd with his Army to the Neighbourhood of *Berlin*, where, what by Threats, and what by Promiſes, he made the Elector conſent to the receiving of a *Swediſh* Gariſon into *Spandauw*, with a Proviſo that the ſame ſhould leave it as ſoon as *Guſtavus* ſhould have reliev'd *Magdeburg*, and put himſelf into a ſafe Poſture. This done, the King ſollicited the Elector of *Saxony* to come and join him near *Dreſſau* Bridge, in order to aſſiſt him in the Relief of *Magdeburg*. At the ſame time he deſir'd of him a Supply of Proviſions and Ammunition: But that Prince deny'd him both his Requeſts, pleading the Fidelity he ow'd to the Emperor, and his Intention in not bringing a War into his own Country. All theſe Obſtacles occaſion'd a great Loſs of Time; during which, General *Tilly* took *Magdeburg* by Storm, ſack'd it in a mercileſs manner, and reduc'd it to Aſhes, inſomuch, that of all the Thouſands, by which it was inhabited, there were ſcarce 400 ſav'd: But this burning affected the Imperialiſts very much, becauſe it conſum'd their Booty, and render'd the Fruits of their Victory uſeleſs; whereas, if they had preſerv'd that City, it would have ſerv'd them for a convenient Place for their Magazines, and as a Check upon all the upper and lower *Saxony*. The accountable Tyranny, and unheard of Cruelties, diſplay'd by the Imperialiſts at *Magdeburg*, drove the Pro-

*Magdeburg* cruelly us'd by the Imperialiſts.

Proteſtants of *Germany* to Diſpair. Thereupon *Guſtavus* put out a Manifeſto, declaring, *That he was innocent of all their Calamity*; *and that it was only the Irreſolution of others that prevented his ſuccouring of that Place.* Now tho' *Guſtavus*, by his Compact with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, was oblig'd to give him up *Spandauw*; yet, conſidering that he durſt not penetrate further towards the *Elbe*, without being ſure of a Paſſage upon the River *Havel*, and of ſecuring *Cuſtrin* upon the *Oder*, from the Hands of the Imperialiſts: Upon that Conſideration, he us'd all his Efforts to perſwade that Elector to join him, or elſe to give him *Spandauw* and *Cuſtrin* for his Security: But that Prince inſiſted on a Neutrality, and demanded the Reſtitution of *Spandauw*; *Guſtavus*, purſuant to his Promiſe, reſtor'd *Spandauw*: But, at the ſame time, he march'd with his whole Army to *Berlin*, and ſummon'd the Inhabitants to open the Gates to him, threatning to treat them as declar'd Enemies, if any of them offer'd to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. This perſwaded the Elector to allow of a *Swediſh* Gariſon in *Spandauw* during the whole Courſe of the War, and to ſtipulate to *Guſtavus* the Freedom of paſſing and repaſſing by *Cuſtrin* when he pleas'd. By this Treaty the Gariſon of *Spandaum* was to ſwear an Oath to the Elector, and that of *Cuſtrin* to *Guſtavus*, for the Performance of the ſtipulated Articles. And *Pomerania* being, as it were, a Place of Arms, from whence the *Swedes* were to make Incurſions into the other Parts of *Germany*; K. *Guſtavus* therefore was reſolv'd to be aſſur'd by other Means, than by Papers and Seals, that the Enemy ſhould not make any Irruption into *Pomerania* by the Country of *Marck*. On the other ſide, the Elector of *Brandenburg* flatter'd himſelf, that if the *Swedes* ſhould not ſucceed, he would excuſe himſelf to the Emperor, upon the Plea of being conſtrain'd by Force to do what he did. But notwithſtanding all the Letters that Prince could write upon that Head to the Emperor, his Imperial Majeſty was ſtill perſwaded, that the Elector was eaſily forc'd to grant the Demands of the *Swedes*. After this Accommodation *Guſtavus* extended his Army along the *Havel*, the better to obſerve the Motions

1631.

A Treaty between *Guſtavus* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

1631. of the Enemy; this done, he went with all Expedition to *Pomerania*, where *Aecke Tot* had made himself Master of *Gripſwald*. *Guſtavus* finding *Pomerania* quite clear of the Imperialiſts, ſent part of his Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the Dukes of *Meklenburg*, who then endeavour'd to reconquer their Country, and march'd with the reſt towards the Country of *Marck*, and encamp'd near *Werben*, in a very convenient Place upon the *Elbe*, for obſerving the Deſigns of General *Tilly*: For after the *Leipſick* Confederacy was broken and routed in *Upper Germany*, *Tilly* march'd from *Magdeburg*, upon a Deſign to reduce the Members of that League, and came to *Thuringia*, in order to attack the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, and even the Elector himſelf. Having committed great Ravages in that Country, he was preparing to invade *Heſſe*, when he receiv'd Advice from *Pappenheim*, whom he had left at *Magdeburg*, that *Guſtavus* was encamp'd on that ſide the *Elbe*. Upon this the General chang'd his Courſe with all poſſible Expedition, meaning to force the King to a Battle, or elſe oblige him to repaſs the River: But His Majeſty ſurpriz'd the advanc'd Guards of the Imperialiſts, and cut off Three Regiments of Horſe; upon which *Tilly* advanc'd with the Body of his Army as far as *Werben*; but finding it unpracticable either to draw the King to a Battle, or to attack him in his Camp, which was very well fortify'd; and at the ſame time, Proviſions and Forage being ſcarce, he was forc'd to return to his Camp near *Wolmerſtadt*. In the mean time *John Albert*, and *Adolphus Frendrick*, Dukes of *Meklenburg*, being aſſiſted by *Sweden*, expell'd the Imperialiſts out of all their Territories, excepting *Donnitz*, *Wiſmar* and *Roſtock*, which Places were afterwards block'd up.

The Dukes of *Meklenburg* recover their Dutchy.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe* joined *Guſtavus*'s Army near *Werben*, and perfected the Alliance that had been commenced the preceding Year. This Prince was the firſt of all the *Germans* that ſided with the King of *Sweden*, without any Diſtruſt, or much Precaution; and after his Death his Widow continued true to *Guſtavus*, and exactly obſerved all the Articles of the Alliance. *Tilly* being baulked at *Werden*, went

The Troops of *Heſſe* join *Guſtavus*.

went to attack the Duke of *Saxony*, to the end, that after his Ruin he might act with more Freedom in Oppoſition to *Guſtavus*, having then nothing to fear behind him. Beſides, he concluded, that the *Swediſh* Arms in *Germany*, would dwindle of themſelves, when the moſt conſiderable Proteſtants were once reduced to Subjection, or elſe extirpated. However, he endeavoured at firſt to diſengage the Elector by good Words from the *Leipſick* League: But, at laſt, finding that would not do, he marched through *Eiſleben* and *Hall*, and took *Leipſick*. In this piece of Conduct *Tilly* was very much overſeen; for it in a manner forced the Elector of *Saxony*, who had always an Averſion to a Foreign Alliance, to enter into the League with *Sweden* that *Guſtavus* had ſo long ſolicited. He might eaſily have lull'd that Prince aſleep by fair Promiſes, and the common Rote of Aſſurances, that he had nothing to fear from the Emperor. Beſides, he might eaſily have got between the Elector's Troops and *Guſtavus*'s Army, and ſo have ruined them both. But his former good Succeſs made him ſo proud, that he fancied he could reduce both theſe Enemies with one Blow, as if himſelf had been invincible. The Duke of *Saxony* finding himſelf pinched by *Tilly*, when he lay encamped near *Forganaw*, deſir'd Succours of *Guſtavus*, tho' formerly he had refus'd both his Succours and his Alliance. In the mean time, the King having foreſeen all that happen'd, had decamp'd from before *VVerden*, and march'd into *Old Brandenburg*, in order to be at Hand in ſuch a Conjuncture; tho' he was very fond of ſo favourable an Opportunity, yet he thought it not decent to run immediately to the Aſſiſtance of the Elector, who had formerly rejected his Alliance, when offer'd: And therefore he ſent *Arnheim* to the Elector of *Saxony*, with an indifferent ſort of an Anſwer, *viz.* *That his Maſter was ſorry for his Misfortune, which he foreſaw long before; That His Electoral Highneſs might have prevented the Storm, had he followed His Majeſties Advice; and that, after all, His Majeſty was willing to aſſiſt him, provided he delivered into his Hands the City of* Wirtenberg, *to ſecure his Retreat, ſent his eldeſt Son into the* Swediſh *Army, advanced Three Months Pay to his Troops,*

1631.

*Tilly takes Leipſick.*

*Guſtavus's* Politicks.

1631. *delivered up the Traitors that were about his Perſon, and entered into an Alliance with him for their mutual Defence.* The Elector having but little Time to conſider upon the Matter, offer'd not only *VVirtenburg*, but all the Country, to ſecure His Majeſties Retreat; he promis'd to ſend his Son to the *Swediſh* Army, and even to come there himſelf, to pay what he demanded for the Army, to puniſh the Traitors as ſoon as he could diſcover them; and, in fine, to hazard his Life and Fortune for their common Defence. *Guſtavus* ſcorning to be ſhort of the Elector in Generoſity, made Anſwer, *That he had Reaſon to demand ſuch Aſſurances, becauſe His Electoral Highneſs had ſo often rejected his Offers; but, in regard he had now taken up ſuch a generous Reſolution, he was willing to depart from all his other Pretenſions, and only deſired the Elector would cordially embrace the Intereſt of the common Cauſe; but if he pleaſed to give a Months Pay to the Army, His Majeſty aſſured him he ſhould quickly reap the Benefit of the Charge.* Upon this the Alliance was concluded, and *Guſtavus* having paſs'd the *Elbe*, march'd to *VVirtemberg* with his Army, conſiſting of 13000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, and joining the *Saxon* Troops near *Dieben*, in a Council of War, where the Elector of *Brandenburg* aſſiſted, *Guſtavus* was of Opinion, that they ſhould move with Circumſpection, and ſurround the Rear of the Imperial Camp, to oblige them to decamp from the advantageous Poſt they were poſſeſſed of: For the King of *Sweden* was very ſenſible, that ſo old and experienced a General as *Tilly* would not quit an advantageous Poſt to hazard a Battel, ſince he could eaſily fatigue and haraſs his Enemy without making any Motion. He likewiſe repreſented, that if the Confederate Army were routed in Battel, they would have a very ſorry Hand of it, ſince, on ſuch an Occaſion, they hazarded no leſs than a Crown, and Two Electoral Caps. But the Elector of *Saxony* was ſo impatient, that he would not hear of any Delay; nay, he carry'd his Impatience ſo far, that he ſaid, *He would rather go, and attack the Enemy with his own Troops, than ſuffer his Country to be oppreſſed by Two Armies at once.* Upon this they reſolved to give Battel to the Imperialiſts; and the Elector

An Alliance between *Sweden* and *Saxony*.

Elector of *Brandenburg* took Leave of the Confederate Council. The King of *Sweden* was abſolutely of the Mind, that they ſhould fall immediately upon the Imperialiſts before *Altringer*, who was already near *Erfort*, came nearer, and before *Tiffenbach*, who was upon his March from *Sileſia*, ſhould come up to attack their Rear. *Guſtavus* commanded the Right Wing, and the Elector of *Saxony* the Left. Among ſeveral other Things that the King had ſaid to his Soldiers; he advis'd them, if their Arms could not pierce the Imperial Cuiraſſiers, to run their Swords into their Horſes. *Tilly* having Notice of their March, reſolved to continue where he was, upon the Conſideration that he was advantageouſly poſted, and that Delay was the only ſerviceable Means for weakning his Enemies: Beſides, if he muſt come to a Battle, he was reſolv'd, at leaſt, to ſtay for *Altringer*, whom he expected with a Body of Troops in a few Days. Purſuant to this Reſolution he fortify'd his Camp before *Leipſick*, and planted Cannon in a Place very proper to incommode the Enemy. But, after all, *Pappenheim*, and the other Generals, confiding in their own Strength, and deſpiſing the Confederate Army, perſwaded *Tilly* to quit his advantageous Poſt, by remonſtrating, That the new Levied Troops of *Saxony*, and the Fatigu'd *Swediſh* Army, were in no Condition to make Head againſt the Imperialiſts, who were inur'd to Victory. *Tilly* held his Council of War in one of the Suburbs of *Leipſick*, in a Gravemaker's Houſe, the Walls of which were adorn'd with painted Coffins; and this was look'd upon as a bad *Omen*. After that, the Imperial Army advanc'd near *Breitenfeld*, where they loſt the Advantage of all the Victories they had carry'd for the Space of Twelve Years, as well as the mighty Reputation of Prudence and wiſe Conduct that they had formerly purchas'd. *Tilly* planted his Cannon on a very advantageous Place, being the higheſt of the whole Plain, and was favour'd by the Wind: But to his great Misfortune he drew up his whole Army in order of Battle, without making any Reſerve of Troops, as if he had thought to defeat the Enemy with one Shock. When he ſaw the *Swedes* and *Saxons* advance in good

1631.

The King's Advice to his Army.

1631. Order, and with an intrepid Courage, he became ſo pale, that he could ſcarce either ſee or ſpeak: Beſides, he ſuffer'd the Enemy to march peaceably through a Paſs, by *Deſilees*, tho' he could eaſily have put them into Diſorder, becauſe he would not quit his advantageous Poſt. *Guſtavus* drew up his Army ſo, by mixing the Infantry with the Squadrons of Horſe, that he could charge the Imperial Cavalry at a good Diſtance. Farther, he turn'd the Battle ſo, that he gain'd the Advantage of the Wind, and divided their Left Wing, which *John Bannier* fell upon, and put to flight. Upon this, *Tilly* march'd up to attack the *Saxons*, thinking to diſperſe them with eaſe, becauſe they were new levied Troops, and, in effect, moſt of them were put to flight. This done, the Imperialiſts diſpers'd the News of their Victory, and the Elector of *Saxony* fled with all Expedition to *Culenburg*, taking his Country to be entirely loſt. In the mean time *Arnheim* going to ask Advice and Succours of *Guſtavus*, the King with an undaunted Courage, turning the Left Wing of his Army upon the Enemy, routed the Imperial Cavalry, which purſuing the *Saxons* too eagerly, and being too intent upon the Booty, had put themſelves into Diſorder. The Infantry, indeed, fought with a great deal of Valour and Reſolution, till *Guſtavus Horn* came up with ſome Squadrons from the *Swediſh* Right Wing, and planted ſome Cannon againſt the Enemy. After that, *Guſtavus* ſeiz'd upon the Enemy's Cannon, routed the Remainder of their Left Wing, that continu'd ſtill to make Oppoſition, and ſo obtain'd a compleat Victory. The *Swedes* purſu'd the flying Stragglers till Night; at which time the Bells were rung in all the adjacent Villages; and from that Signal the *Peaſants* cut off all the Imperialiſts they met with. Some of 'em eſcap'd to *Leipſick*; but moſt of thoſe who got off retir'd to *Merſeburg*, *Hall*, and other remoter Places, without looking behind 'em; nay, General *Tilly* himſelf was taken by a Captain of the Regiment of the *Rhingrave*, who finding he would not ask Quarter, gave him a Blow on the Ear with his Piſtol, and would certainly have kill'd him, if *Rodolph Maximilian*, Duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, had not come up, and

Battle of *Leipſick*, *Sept.* 7th.

and ſhot the Captain with a Piſtol. After that, *Tilly* eſcap'd to *Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Hilberſtadt* with about 600 Men, and upon the Road was join'd by *Pappenheim*, at the Head of 14 Squadrons of Horſe, the whole Army ſcarce amounting to 1400 Men. 'Tis ſaid, 7600 Imperialiſts were kill'd in the Field, beſides thoſe who were cut in Pieces in their Flight. The *Saxons* loſt in this Engagement 3000 Men, and the *Swedes* 2000, moſt of 'em Horſe. *Nani* ſays the number of the Slain amounted in all to 15000; however it were, *Guſtavus* took above 100 Standards and Colours, and 5000 of the Enemy came over, and join'd his Troops. This Victory broke the Meaſures of the Emperor, and the Catholick League, as well as the Intrigues of the *Poles*, who intended to break the Truce, and invade *Pruſſia*, as ſoon as they had ſeen *Guſtavus* worſted. On the other hand, the Proteſtants of *Germany* pluck'd up a good Heart, and ſought all Means to ſhake off the Imperial Yoke. The Victorious King left the Elector of *Saxony* to retake *Leipſick*, and march'd to *Merſeburg*, where he cut in pieces above 1000 Imperialiſts, and took 500 Priſoners. After that, he had a Conference with the Elector, in order to concert Meaſures for carrying on the War. They did not think it proper to purſue *Tilly*, who had retir'd to *Weſer*, through the Country of *Brunſwick*, for fear of transferring the Burden of the War upon the Proteſtant Princes of *Lower Saxony*, and expoſing thoſe of *Upper Germany* to the Mercy of their Enemies; but they choſe rather to carry their Arms into the Provinces of the Emperor, and the Catholick League: This they were able to do Two Ways, either upon the Right, by paſſing through *Thuringerwald* to *Franconia*, or upon the Left, by entring into the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Elector of *Saxony* mov'd, That he ſhould go to *Franconia*, and *Guſtavus* to the Emperor's Hereditary Countries. And, indeed, many were of Opinion, That if *Guſtavus* had march'd thither immediately, in the Confuſion and Conſternation they were then in, he had in a little time reduc'd the Emperor to Extremity, and turn'd him out of *Vienna*: Beſides, his Subjects were ſo provoked, by the Change

1631.

*Leipſick* taken.

Why *Guſtavus* would not purſue *Tilly*.

1631. of Religion he had introduced, that they would have ſided with the *Swedes*; eſpecially conſidering, That at that time there was no Army to oppoſe 'em. Farther, had *Guſtavus* followed this Advice, he had kept the Emperor from ſetting a new Army on foot. *Oxenſtern*, the Chancellor of the Kingdom, who was not then with the King, was of the ſame Opinion, becauſe in the afterpart of his Conduct, *Guſtavus* harraſs'd the Proteſtants, by making their Country the Seat of the War, and gave Umbrage to *France*. Notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, the King would needs go to *Franconia*; becauſe General *Tilly* having join'd *Altinger* and *Fugger*, would quickly gather a puiſſant Army upon the *Weſer*, and attack the Army that march'd to the Right Hand; to which Danger he would not expoſe the Elector of *Saxony*, his Troops being much diſabled at the Battle of *Leipſick*, where General *Arnheim* did not much ſignalize himſelf. Farther, he was not only apprehenſive, That while he made an Irruption into the Emperor's Territories, *Tilly* would fall upon the Elector of *Saxony*; but likewiſe, That the Elector engaging the Proteſtants in his Intereſts, would draw together ſo powerful an Army, as might in time prove formidable to himſelf. In fine, *Guſtavus*'s chief Deſign was to draw all the Proteſtants of *Germany* into a League with him; and this he thought to compaſs, by marching himſelf to *Franconia*, and ſending the Elector of *Saxony* to the Emperor's Territories, where he had a great Intereſt, eſpecially among the *Sileſians*, having maintained the Liberty of their Religion in the *Bohemian* Wars. Afterwards, the Chancellor of the Kingdom made loud Complaints of this Reſolution of *Guſtavus*'s, by which he departed from his former Enterprizes, and engaged in an Affair that would be very long-winded; for that Miniſter alledged, That *Guſtavus* ſhould have marched, without any Delay, to attack the Emperor, in order to conſtrain him to grant the Proteſtants the Liberty of their Religion; after which, he might have taken *Pruſſia*, and found Expedients to make the Elector of *Brandenburg* to give to His Majeſty what he poſſeſſed in *Pruſſia*, in Conſideration of an Equivalent; to which he added, That

That the Elector of *Brandenburg* would have been glad to have taken *Pomerania* to himſelf, if it had not fallen into the Hands of the *Swedes*. Duke *Bernard* of *VVeimar* flattered the King with great Hopes of mounting the Imperial Throne; he repreſented Matters to him as if they might be eaſily brought to Perfection; and even the Elector of *Saxony*, in a merry Fit, flattered the King, upon the ſame Head. On the other Hand *Guſtavus* knew perfectly well how to careſs that Elector, by crying up his Courage, as being the firſt that preſſed him to a Battle, tho' at the ſame time the Elector was afraid of being twitted with his precipitant Flight. 1631.

The Aſſembly being over, K. *Guſtavus* ſent before him Perſons qualified for the Purpoſe to *Upper Germany*, to ſollicite the Proteſtants to ſide with him. And, in effect, they all frankly declared in his Favour, excepting the Inhabitants of *Nuremberg*, who were a little ceremonious upon the Point. After that he marched with his Army from *Hall* to *Ertfort*, into which *William*, D. of *VVeimar*, entered without many Words. From thence he marched to *Franconia*, and having taken *Koninſhoven*, and *Swinfurt*, without any Trouble, carried the Caſtle of *VVurtzburg*, after ſome Oppoſition, and found there a large Booty. Upon the News of *Guſtavus* his Irruption into *Franconia*, *Tilly* had deſigned to march with all Expedition through the Country of *Heſſe*, in order to put a Stop to his Progreſs. His Army conſiſted then of 18000 Foot, and 182 Troops of Horſe; which was afterwards joined near *Miltenburg* by 12000 Men, under the Command of *Charles* Duke of *Holſace*; ſo that the Imperial Army was then more numerous than *Guſtavus*'s. Upon the taking of the Caſtle of *Wurtzburg*, he marched towards *Rotenburg* upon the *Tauber*; and upon the Way, being ſurprized by the *Swedes*, loſt Four Regiments, which were cut in Pieces. His Deſign in this March, was to cover the Territories of the Emperor, and of the Houſe of *Bavaria*. But K. *Guſtavus* having entered into an Alliance with *Chriſtian*, Marqueſs of *Anſpach*, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Countries adjacent to *Wurtzburg*, marched towards the *Rhine*, and ſurprized *Hanaw*. *Francfort* upon the *Main* made a voluntary

The Proteſtants of *Upper-Germany* ſide with *Guſtavus*.

His Progreſs in *Franconia*.

1631. tary Surrender; and His Majeſty left a Gariſon of 600 Men in *Saxſenhauſen*. This done, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Country of *Ringau*, and then turn'd his Arms upon the Palatinate, which was then poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*; at which time he ſent D. *Bernard* to *Philip de Sylvia*, the Governor, to know what his Intentions were; and the Governor made Anſwer, That he had no other Orders than to give Succours to the Elector of *Mentz* againſt the *Swedes*. Thereupon *Guſtavus* conſulted, Whether he ſhould declare War againſt the *Spaniards*, or be content with treating them as Enemies, in ſo far as they were engag'd in the War of *Germany*, and continue in Peace with them in all other Points. The laſt of theſe Motions was approv'd, leſt the Navigation and Commerce of *Sweden* ſhould be diſturb'd by the *Dunkirk* Capers. Beſides, the *French* were then advanc'd to the Neighbourhood of *Metz*, with a ſtrong Army, which gave the K. of *Sweden* not a little Occaſion of Jealouſie; and upon that View he had no Mind to engage in a War with *Spain*; eſpecially conſidering, that ſeveral Princes of the Empire were already jealous of the great Progreſs of his Arms, and that he had ſome Reaſon to diſtruſt *Denmark* and *Poland*: To all which we may add, (if we believe the *Swedes* in this Matter) That the *Engliſh* Miniſters were in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; and that it was not proper or reaſonable for him, to enlarge the number of his Enemies.

*Guſtavus* would not declare War againſt *Spain*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution K. *Guſtavus* march'd by the Way of *Franckfort* and *Darmſtadt*, towards the Paſs of *Bergh*. After that, having taken *Gernſheim*, he paſs'd the *Rhine* at *Stookſtad*, and defeated the *Spaniards*, who offer'd to diſpute his Paſſage, beſides 500 more that he cut in Pieces at *Copenheim*. In the City of *Mayence* the *Spaniards* at firſt made ſome Oppoſition; but they quickly capitulated, and were conducted to *Lutzenburg*. This done, the *Swedes* poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſeveral other Places, and advanc'd as far as *Coblentz*, and the *Moſelle*. On the other ſide, *William*. Landgrave of *Heſſe*, diſlodg'd the *Spaniards* out of *Veteravia*; *Spiers*, *Landau*, *Weiſſenburg*, and *Manheim*, fell into the Hands of the *Swedes*; and *Guſtavus Horn*, whom the King had

*Mentz*, &c. taken by the *Swedes*.

had left in *Franconia*, made himſelf Maſter of *Mergentheim*, *Winſheim*, and *Hailbron*. Much about the ſame time the Town of *Roſtock*, in which Governor *Virmond* had made a Vigorous Defence, Surrender'd upon Capitulation, and the Governor march'd out with 2500 Foot, and Three Troops of Horſe; but being afterwards ſurpriz'd at *Wanſleben*, by *John Banier*, moſt of his Soldiers liſted themſelves in the *Swediſh* Service. In the beginning of the next Year the King had News that the City of *Wiſmar* was likewiſe forc'd to ſurrender; and the Gariſon that march'd out not having obſerv'd the Terms of Capitulation, was ſurpris'd, and defeated by *Aecke Tott*, and 2000 of 'em were forc'd to enter into the *Swediſh* Service; ſo that the Imperialiſts were entirely expell'd the Coaſts of the *Baltick Sea*.

1631. The Progreſs of the Arms of *Sweden*.

Such a Torrent of Succeſs attending *Guſtavus* his Arms, it almoſt appear'd that Fame had uſed leſs Speed in publiſhing it, than the King in ſubduing ſo many Countries; he now ſent an Ambaſſador to *Venice*, to impart to the Republick his Advantages and Deſigns, tending to the Relief of the Oppreſſed, the Liberty of *Germany*, and reducing the Exorbitant Power of the *Auſtrians*; and therefore having it in his Power to advance the Peace and Security of *Italy*, he demanded both Money and Aſſiſtance; but the Republick in very officious Terms congratulating the Proſperity of that Prince, would yet comply with nothing more, than to call to mind how much they had contributed to the Honour and Liberty of *Italy*, over which at preſent they were no leſs vigilant to their Charge. Indeed the Diſcourſes of the Felicity of the *Swediſh* Armies paſſing over the *Alps*, diſtracted the Minds of many with no ſmall Fears, and particularly the Court of *Rome*, who would but very unwillingly bear the Neighbourhood of ſuch a King to *Italy*; Apprehenſions alſo were increaſed from Nature and Chance, more particularly by the horrible Eruption of Mount *Veſuvius* at this time, which endanger'd the total Deſtruction of the City of *Naples*, and the Neighbouring Country.

Mount *Veſuvius*.

But

1631. But to leave theſe Things, and juſt to obſerve that the Treaty of *Queraſque* was at length concluded for the Tranquility of *Italy*, whereby the Duke of *Nevers* was Confirmed in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and *Savoy* reſtored by *France* to the Duke of that Name, except *Pignerol*, which Cardinal *Richlieu* would by no Means part with; and that Miniſter having for ſome Time managed all the grand Affairs of State, without the Participation of any other, the Hatred of the Queen-Mother began to break forth againſt him, and all the King's Endeavours were ſo far from heartily reconciling them, that the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans* ſticking together, the latter at laſt, after a Recital to the Cardinal of his ſuppoſed ill Uſage, mounted his Coach, and in Diſcontent retired to *Orleans*. On the other Hand, the Cardinal having adviſed the K. to go to *Compeign*, to endeavour to draw the Queen-Mother thither from *Paris*, where ſhe was well beloved; ſhe for the ſupporting of her ſelf, and ſuſpecting no Deſign formed againſt her, followed him thither, where the Cardinal having made his Party good, the King reſolved to abandon his Mother, and to leave her under a good Guard in *Compeign*. The Mareſchal *d' Eſtree* was the Officer appointed to execute the Orders, and to cauſe the Princeſs of *Conti* to depart from *Eu* in *Normandy*, without permitting her to ſee the Queen, or paſs through *Paris*. The Dutcheſſes of *Ornano* and *Elbeuf* were alſo ordered to retire from Court; and *Baſſompierre*, without being accuſed of any thing elſe but too much Complaiſance to the Princeſs of *Conti*, was ſent to the *Baſtile*, as was alſo *Vautier* the Queen-Mother's Phyſician, and all to gratifie the Revenge of the Cardinal. Now the Duke of *Orleans*, who had made ſome Preparations for War, and to keep *Orleans* by Force, retired in *March* to *Burgundy*, when he ſaw the King approach to ſeize him before he was ready: From thence he retreated to *Beſanſon*, and the King, who followed him, cauſed at *Dijon* the Count of *Moret*, the Dukes of *Elbeuf*, *Rouannes* and of *Bellegarde*, *Coygneux*, *Puylaurens*, and all the reſt that were with him, to be proclaimed Traitors. Whereupon the Duke ſent a Petition to the Parliament of *Paris*, wherein he ſaid he

Treaty of *Queraſque*.

Queen-Mother confin'd.

he was gone out of the Kingdom by reaſon of the violent Perſecution of *Richlieu*, who had made an Enterprize on his Perſon, and that of the Queen-Mother, and in the Sequel to attempt that of the King, and make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom: He oppoſed the King's Declaration, and required an Act of his Oppoſition, as well as what he gave in Form againſt the Cardinal. But the King by an Order of Council ordered this Petition to be ſuppreſs'd as ſcandalous. The Queen-Mother alſo preſented a Requeſt to the ſame Parliament, wherein ſhe ſet forth, that without any thing againſt the King or the Government, ſhe was detained under a ſtrict Guard at *Compeign*, with mighty Complaints againſt *Richlieu*: And being informed ſoon after that the Mareſchals of *Schomberg* and *d'Eſtree* were come to *Compeign* with 1200 Horſe, to take her away by Force, ſhe retired to *Flanders*, and was very honourably received by the *Infanta* at *Bruſſels*; and this the Cardinal failed not to improve to his Advantage, and the better eſtabliſhing himſelf in his Maſter's Favour. 1631. Queen-Mother makes her Eſcape.

About this time the King having ſent to the Parliament of *Paris* the ſame Declaration which he had cauſed to be confirmed in that of *Dijon*, wherein he declared all the Adherents of *Orleans* to be guilty of Treaſon, the Parliament made much Difficulty of confirming it without any foregoing Deliberation, as the King had deſired them: But the King commanding their Attendance at the *Louvre*, and ordering their Regiſter to be brought before him, he tore out their Vote of Separation to pieces himſelf, in order to have the Decree of the Council inſerted in its Place, which prohibited the Parliament from deliberating any more upon Declarations concerning State Affairs, upon Pain of Interdiction to the Counſellors, and of ſomething worſe, as the King ſhould think fit. It was likewiſe ordered, that for a Puniſhment of the Fault committed by the Parliament, the Declaration ſent them ſhould be drawn back, and they prohibited from taking any Knowledge of the Contents thereof. The King farther, as a Sign of his Diſpleaſure, ſuſpended and exiled Two Preſidents of the Court

1631. Court of Inqueſt, and a Counſellor, who nevertheleſs were immediately afterwards re-eſtabliſhed.

Thus with a high Hand did the King, or rather his haughty Favourite the Cardinal, carry all before him, who was created now a Duke and Peer of *France*, and upon the Deceaſe of *Themines* made Governour of *Bretagne*. On the other Hand, *Orleans* having always entertained a good Correſpondence with the Duke of *Lorain*, endeavoured to engage him in his Party; and that Duke having in Reality raiſed ſome Forces, the King and the Cardinal with an Army reſolved to march to the Frontiers; but firſt, in order to have the Declarations againſt thoſe that eſpouſed the Queen-Mother's Party put in Execution, there was a Chamber of Juſtice conſtituted, the Declaration for the eſtabliſhing of which the Parliament refuſed to own, unleſs the Members that compoſed it were all taken out of their Body: But the Court would carry their Point, and did afterwards eſtabliſh another Chamber of Demeſne to follow them, and put their Orders in Execution. On the other Hand, the Parliament ſeeing their Authority would fall at laſt to nothing, and that no Body's Innocence would be ſecured againſt the exceſſive Power of the Miniſter, ſummoned an Aſſembly of all the Chambers, wherein it was concluded that a Remonſtrance ſhould be made to the King concerning extraordinary Commiſſions, and in the mean while a Prohibition directed to the Commiſſioners to act by extraordinary Proceedings: They alſo publiſhed a Decree purſuant to this Reſolution, which the King cauſed to be diſannulled in Council. The King's Army had in the mean time ſeized all the Places in *Lorain*, to which he had any Pretenſions, *Mayence* only excepted, which was inveſted in the Name of the Biſhop of *Metz*, the King being not willing to declare openly againſt the Emperor. The Place being ill provided, ſurrendred on the 27th of *December*; whereupon the Duke of *Lorain*, in order to ſave himſelf, went to the King and Cardinal at *Metz*, who in outward Appearance received him very kindly, and after ſome Negotiations concluded a Treaty with *France*, which was ſigned at *Vic* on the 6th of *January*, whereby the Duke promiſed to diſengage

engage himſelf from any Intelligence, League or Aſſociation which he had made with any Prince or State whatſoever, to the Prejudice of the King, his Dominions and Countries under his Obedience or Protection, and to the Detriment of the Alliance made by His Majeſty with the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, for the Defence of the *German* Liberty, and the Catholick League. He likewiſe obliged himſelf to turn out of his Dominions all the King's Enemies and Subjects who had left the Kingdom without his Leave, and to deny them any Paſſage or Retreat for the future. 1632. League between *France* and *Lorain*.

The Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*, a little after the Concluſion of this League with the Duke of *Lorain*, waited upon the King at *Metz*, who after a Fortnights Stay, having given them Audience, told them, that for that time he forgave them; but they ought to take Care, leſt they fell into the ſame Fault again, for a Relapſe would prove fatal to them: That he lov'd his People better than they did: That he took more Care of the Glory and Grandeur of the State, and would maintain it better than they: That he forbad them from buſying themſelves about any thing but the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. They anſwered, They had been brought up in a very good School, where they had learned Obedience and Fidelity to His Majeſty. To whom the King replied, They had ſoon forgot what they were taught. After which the Keeper of the Seals made a long Remonſtrance, wherein he reproached them, That they deſigned to divide the Royal Authority with the King. Nevertheleſs he told them His Majeſty ſent them back to the Exerciſe of their Offices, except Five, who were ſuſpended from their Places, and order'd to follow the Court to ſerve for an Example. Parliament of *Paris* mortified.

*Orleans*, who was then at *Nancy*, was obliged to retire to the *Netherlands*, and the *French* Army advanced to the Frontiers of *Germany*, as if they would have favoured *Guſtavus Adolphus*, tho' in Reality they began now to grow jealous of his ſtupendious Victories. The Duke of *Lorain* offered his Mediation for the reconciling of the King and his Brother, and received this Anſwer; That if that Prince would return into *France*, a general Pardon ſhould be granted to

1632. to all thoſe that followed his Party, and that they ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their Eſtates and Dignities, except only in the Governments which they poſſeſſed before. But neither *Monſieur* nor *Lorain* could by any Means relish this Offer, which would but the more increaſe the Authority of the Cardinal; and therefore *Orleans* returning again to *Lorain* with ſome Forces, joined them to thoſe the Duke had raiſed. On the other Hand the King and Cardinal being gone into *Picardy*, reduced the Governour of *Galais* (who was in *Monſieur*'s Intereſt) to his Duty, and at the ſame time ordered the Mareſchals *d' Effiat* and *la Force* with an Army to obſerve the Motions of *Monſieur* and the Duke of *Lorain*, who would not at firſt ſtand to the Treaty of *Vic*; but the *French* thereupon falling to work, and having taken *Pont a Mouſſon*, and entirely defeated a Regiment of *Lorain* Horſe, which they ſurprized, the Duke was glad again to come to an Accommodation, and the Treaty on the 26th of *June* was concluded between his Commiſſioners and *Richlieu*, whereby the Duke obliged himſelf to deliver up the Towns of *Stenay*, *Jamets* and *Clermont* to the King, and even to ſell him the latter, to which the King had ſome Pretenſions.

Here but juſt to mention the Condemnation and Execution of the Mareſchal *de Marillac*, who fell a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of *Richlieu*, for his having adviſed the Queen Mother at *Lyons*, when the King was ſick, to have the Cardinal apprehended in caſe His Majeſty died; and that *Pignerol* was conceded to *France* by a Treaty of the 5th of *May* this Year: We come to *Orleans* again, who was the moſt dangerous Enemy the Cardinal had; and as ſoon as it was known he intended to enter *France* with ſome Troops he had gathered from divers Parts, the *Spaniards* were given to underſtand, if they gave him the leaſt Aſſiſtance, it would be looked upon as an Infraction of the Peace of *Vervins*; while the Cardinal promiſed the States-General of the United Provinces what they ſhould ask of him, upon Condition they ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce with *Spain*. *Orleans* entred *France* by the Way of *Buſſigny* with 2000 or 1500 Horſe, and fell upon

D. of *Orleans* in Arms.

upon *Burgundy*, and at the ſame time publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he called the Cardinal a Tyrant, an Uſurper, an Enemy to the King and Royal Family, ſaying, He had taken up Arms for no other Intent but to open the King's Eyes, and ſhew him how plainly his Miniſter deceived him: He took upon him the Title of Lieutenant-General for the King, to redreſs the Abuſes and Repreſs the Violences of the Cardinal. Having burnt Part of the Suburbs of *Dijon*, he marched to *Auvergne*, while the King at *Paris* was procuring his Declaration to be confirmed againſt the Male-contents, and diſpatching an Army in Two Bodies againſt his Brother, under *de la Force* and *Schomberg*. The firſt was very loth to undertake any thing againſt *Orleans*, who finding no one inclined to open a Gate for him in *Burgundy*, and that *Schomberg* ſtraitned one Flank of him, while *la Force* followed him in the Rear, he was forced to caſt himſelf into *Languedoc*, tho' the Agreement with ſome Governors had not yet been perfected, and the Arrival of the Ships with the Soldiers from *Italy* being retarded, the *Spaniards* were not in a Readineſs to appear in the Field: However, he was received by the Duke of *Montmerancy*, who was diſobliged by the Cardinal's refuſing him the Office of Mareſchal General of the King's Armies, and by many of the Province; but *de Foſſez*, Governour of *Montpelier* refuſed to deliver that Place to him. Diſcord began now to ariſe amongſt the Great Ones about the chief Command, and otherwiſe. In the Interim *Schomberg*, near *Caſtelnodari*, meeting *Monſieur* and *Montmerancy*, and ballancing the inferiour Numbers of his Troops with the Advantage of a narrow Paſſage, he charged them with ſo much Boldneſs and good Fortune, that the Count of *Moret*, a natural Son of *Henry* IV. *de Rieux*, and *de la Feuillade*, being ſlain at the firſt Rencounter, the reſt were diſperſed. The Noble *Montmerancy* being wounded, was taken Priſoner, while *Orleans* ſaved himſelf by Flight. This Blow brought all the chief Cities to ſubmit, and *Monſieur* himſelf to beg Pardon upon Conditions that ſeemed to exceed the Fortune of one conquered; for he inſiſted upon the Liberty of *Montmerancy*, the Abolition of all Faults of his Followers, the Reſtitution of the Places in *Lorain*, the

1632.

*Orleans* defeated.

1632. Return of the Queen-Mother, and a Place of Security for himself. But he was positively given to understand, that his Faults could be covered only by his own Reputation, and the King's Clemency; but for the Crimes of others, he ought not to blemish himself with them, the King being resolved that from thenceforward Rebellion should not be rewarded, and that his Subjects should find no Benefit nor Security but in Duty and Obedience. Reduced therefore to be without Followers, and without Places, he was under a Necessity of receiving any Conditions; *Richlieu* aiming so to discredit him, that he abandoning those who had taken part with him, no Man for the future would dare to follow, trust or depend upon him. He was no sooner retired to *Champagne* his Country-House, but he heard that *Montmorancy* was tried by the Parliament of *Tholouse*, and condemned to die. Great Intercessions were made for the Life of this young Duke, in whose Person alone remained the Great and Illustrious Name of *Montmorancy*; but the Cardinal proving inexorable, he underwent the Stroke of the fatal Ax with an Undauntedness of Mind, equal to the Courage he had so often shewed, even beyond his Years, against his Enemies in the Field, and was the last of that Noble Family that by a long Series of Years descended down from the beginning of the *French* Monarchy to this unhappy Lord; to whose Father, or rather Grandfather, *Henry* IV. used to say he was a better Gentleman than himself; and it was thought never so many Tears had been shed in *France* in One Day, as on that of the Duke's Death. *Orleans* being informed of *Montmorancy*'s Fate, published to the World, that in the Treaty with him there had been secret Promises made of his Indemnity; and therefore complaining of his having been deceived, he not according at all with the Queen-Mother, who was still in *Flanders*, and angry with him, because that in the Treaty of *Besiers* he had been so far from supporting her Interest, that he had not so much as made any mention of her, made his Escape once more to *Lorain*; where we shall leave him, and after so long a Peregrination visit once again our Native Country.

*Montmorancy* beheaded.

There

There we find Heats about Religion rather increaſing than diminiſhing; one Mr. *Bernard* was proſecuted in the High Commiſſion Court, for Preaching new Doctrines and Ceremonies, and Cenſured, Biſhop *Laud* being preſent; and Mr. *Sherfield* was Cenſured in the Star-Chamber, for taking certain Pictures of God the Father out of a Glaſs Window in St. *Edmund*'s Church in *Salisbury*; the City of *London* was fined 1500 Marks, upon the Account of the Death of Dr. *Lamb*, ſome Years before murdered by the Rabble for a Conjurer in the Streets: But there being nothing Domeſtick worth remarking herein, ſaving the King's generous Compliance with the Czar of *Moſcovy*, in ſending him 2000 Men under Coll. *Saunderſon*, to ſerve him againſt the *Polanders*, whoſe King *Sigiſmund* died this Year, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Uladiſlaus*, we paſs again to the *Swede* in *Germany*, who having uſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, upon the Account of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, but very coarſely, yet purſuing the prodigious Succeſs that had hitherto attended his Arms, we are firſt to obſerve that the Victory at *Leipſick* made ſuch an Impreſſion on the States of the Circle of *Lower Saxony*, that they unanimouſly reſolved to ſide with *Sweden*, and ſhake off the Imperial Yoke. To this Purpoſe they held an Aſſembly at *Hamburg*, where ſome of 'em were for granting *Guſtavus* a certain Sum of Money upon the Condition of his taking them under his Protection. But the K. of *Denmark* ſtifled that Motion, alledging, That it was an Indecency, to be Tributary to a Foreigner. Upon which they reſolved to raiſe ſome Troops; and the K. of *Denmark* deſired his Son *Ulric* might command 'em; but that was oppos'd by *Adolphus*, Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and *George* D. of *Lunenburg*, who were both Enemies to K. *Chriſtian:* And even the other Members of the Aſſembly, had not forgot how they were uſed when he commanded their Army. To which we muſt add, That *Guſtavus* had given Orders beforehand to *Aecke Tott* and *John Bannier*, to fall upon the *Danes* whenever they made the leaſt Motion. At laſt this Aſſembly concluded, That 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, ſhould be rais'd for their common

1632.

1632. Defence, to be commanded by K. *Guſtavus*. At the ſame time the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and the D. of *Lunenburg*, made a ſeparate Alliance with His Majeſty.

*Guſtavus* made Commander of the Troops of *Lower-Saxony*.

In the mean time the Emperor was mightily diſturb'd for the Loſs of his old Friend, the Elector of *Saxony*, who had been forc'd, by ſevere Uſage, to ſide with *Guſtavus*. He uſed all imaginable Methods to take the Elector off from *Sweden*, and engage him again in his own Intereſts. He recall'd the Imperialiſts that invaded *Luſatia*; and the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſent, in his Maſter's Name, a Deputy to *Dreſden*, to excuſe what was paſt, and offer his Mediation to the Elector, in order to a Determination of the Difference between him and the Emperor; but the Elector rejected the Propoſal, and ſent his Troops to *Bohemia*; where, among other Places, they took the City of *Prague*. But when the Troops of the Circle of *Lower-Saxony* ſhould have march'd to *Moravia* and *Auſtria*, to diſperſe the Imperial New Levies, purſuant to *Guſtavus*'s Orders, they ſate ſtill, and did nothing, with a Deſign to give the Emperor Time to recover his former Poſture, and to put a Stop to the extraordinary Progreſs of the Arms of *Sweden*. 'Tis true, the Elector of *Saxony* was very well pleas'd with the Services, and Marks of Friendſhip that he receiv'd from *Guſtavus*'s Hands: But, at the ſame time, he was apprehenſive, that One Day he might offer to preſcribe Laws to him. Beſides, he thought the Emperor was reduc'd to ſuch a Condition, that he could accommodate Matters with him, upon advantageous Terms, when he pleas'd.

*Prague* taken by the *Saxons*.

In the mean time, the Battel of *Leipſick* having filled *Vienna* with Fear and Confuſion, the Emperor ſent Ambaſſies to all Parts, to demand Succours, remonſtrating, That the Catholick Religion would tumble down, if the *Swedes* were not repulſed: But his greateſt Difficulty was, where to find a General capable to cope with ſuch a Heroe as *Guſtavus Adolphus*; for *Tilly*'s good Fortune had forſaken him. The *Spaniards*, indeed, adviſed the Emperor to give the Command of his Army to the young King of *Hungary*, becauſe he would bring into the Field all

all the Nobility of that Kingdom, which was then in Peace. But the *Germans* were againſt that Motion, becauſe the *Spaniards* had too much Intereſt with that Prince; beſides, they thought it was a dangerous thing to ſet up a young Prince, in Oppoſition to ſo great and experienced a General as the K. of *Sweden*. At laſt they agreed unanimouſly upon *Wallenſtein*, an old General, who had a great Intereſt among the Soldiers, and was ſo Rich, that he was able to raiſe an Army upon his own proper Charges. But the Difficulty was how to perſwade this Ambitious Man to reſume a Poſt that he had been outed of ſome Time before. After all, his Friends, by their repeated Entreaties and Promiſes, influenced him ſo far, that he reſolved to raiſe ſome Troops, ſaying, *That His Imperial Majeſty might either give the Command of 'em to whom he pleas'd, or make a Peace with his Enemies*. Thereupon he gave out Commiſſions to his Officers, and in Six Months time drew an Army of 40000 Men out of the Emperor's Hereditary Countries. On the other Hand the *Swedes* you may beſure were not aſleep; they ſtill made new Preparations for War. On one ſide the *Spaniards* were very much annoy'd upon the *Moſelle* by the *Rhingrave*, *Oven Lewis*: On the other ſide the *Swedes* took *Creutzenach*, *Brausfels*, *Bohenhauſen*, and *Kirckberg*. In *Lower-Saxony* the Imperialiſts Abdicated *Magdeburg*; upon which the *Swedes* put a Gariſon into it; and *William*, D. of *Weimar*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Gozlar*, *Northeim*, *Gottingen*, and *Duderſtad*. Beſides, the Landgrave made a great Progreſs in *VVeſtphalia*. On the other Hand *Guſtavus Horn* was repuls'd with Loſs before *Bamberg*, but quickly made his Repriſals, by cutting in Pieces Two Regiments of Imperialiſts, near the ſame Place. K. *Guſtavus* having entruſted the Management of his Affairs upon the *Rhine* to others, march'd to *Franconia*, to meet *Tilly*, who always ſhifted from Place to Place, and at laſt retir'd to *Bavaria*, thinking to prevent *Guſtavus*'s Entrance by the Means of the *Danube* and the *Lech*: The King purſuing him, cut off ſome Troops of his Rear-Guard. But when *Tilly* marched to *Ingolſtadt*, *Guſtavus* march'd to *Donawert*, which, after ſome Oppoſition, the Impe-

1631.

*Wallenſtein* made General.

He raiſes upon his own Charges 40000 Men.

The *Swediſh* Conqueſts.

1632. rialiſts were oblig'd to quit with Loſs of 500 Men. Soon after the *Swedes* made themſelves Maſters of all the Places on both ſides the *Danube*, as far as *Ulm*. K. *Guſtavus* advanced to the *Lech*, on the other ſide of which *Tilly* was poſted in a Wood, in order to diſpute his Paſſage; and having planted 72 great Guns, did great Execution upon the Enemy; inſomuch, that *Tilly* himſelf was wounded with a Cannon Bullet in the Knee, and ſome Days after died of his Wounds at *Ingolſtadt*. After that the Imperialiſts quitted their Poſt in the Night-time, and fled, part of 'em to *Ingolſtadt*, and part to *Neuburg*; and the *Swedes* purſuing them, kill'd above 1000 Men. This done, K. *Guſtavus* enter'd *Bavaria*, and put a Gariſon into *Rain*, which the *Bavarians* had deſerted, and into *Newburg* upon the *Danube*. The City of *Augsburg* ſurrender'd with little Oppoſition, and the Inhabitants took an Oath of Fidelity to the King and Crown of *Sweden*. This proceeding alarm'd all *Germany*, which began to be apprehenſive of its dangerous Conſequences. Afterwards, the *Swedes* march'd to *Ingolſtadt*, to break down a Bridge upon the *Danube* at that Place, that ſo they might expel the *Bavarians* out of their own Country, and poſſeſs themſelves of *Ratisbon*. But they could not compaſs their Deſign; for on one ſide of the River the Bridge was cover'd with Two ſtrong Forts, one of which, indeed, the *Swedes* took, but were repuls'd before the other, with Loſs; upon which Occaſion K. *Guſtavus*'s Horſe was ſhot under him with a Cannon Bullet, but his Perſon was not touch'd, tho' *Chriſtopher*, Marquiſs of *Baden*, who was at His Majeſty's Side, had his Head carry'd off with a Cannon Bullet. In fine, the *Bavarians* prevented the King's coming to *Ratisbon*, and fortify'd it with a ſtrong Gariſon. At *Ingolſtadt* K. *Guſtavus* was ſaluted by Ambaſſadors from *Denmark*, who aſſured him of their Maſter's good Intentions, and offered his Mediation between His Majeſty and the Emperor. His Majeſty reply'd, *That in order to attain a juſt and laſting Peace, it was in the firſt Place neceſſary that the Proteſtants ſhould act in Concert, and join their Forces together; for that otherwiſe the Peace would no ſooner be concluded, but the Imperialiſts would reſume*

General *Tilly* kill'd, and his Army put to Flight.

*Augsburg* Surrenders.

*ſume their old Game, and ruin the Confederates one after another; for which Reaſon he deſired 'em in the firſt Place, to ſolicite the King their Maſter to bring the Proteſtants to an Union, in order to have ſome firmer and more effectual Security, than Papers and Seals, for the Preſervation of the Peace.* After this he returned to *Bavaria*, where he gave the Inhabitants the ſame Uſage that their Prince had given to ſome others for ſo many Years. The Cities of *Mozsburg*, *Freizangen*, and *Landſhut*, were obliged to pay a Ranſom for their Safety; and the Inhabitants of *Munick* went to meet the King, and preſented him their Keys. 1632. His Irruption into *Bavaria*.

This near Approach to *Italy* wrought new Fears in the People, that Country, as they ſaid, being amouroufly looked on by *Guſtavus*, which as it contented its own People with its Applauſe and Fertility, did by its Pleaſures and Scituation very much allure the Eyes of Strangers. But not to digreſs, *Guſtavus* took out of the Magazine of *Munick* 140 Pieces of Cannon, and tranſported 'em to *Augsburg*, one of which was rammed with 30000 Ducats: But he did not ſuffer the noble Palace to be touch'd. However, the *Peaſants* being ſo rude as to cut off all the *Swediſh* Soldiers they met with, when they had the Advantage of Number; their Temerity was puniſhed, by the Burning of their Houſes. The *Swedes* cut in Pieces almoſt a whole Party of 1000 *Bavarians*, that meant to ſurprize 'em. But this was ſmall Amends for what the *Bavarian* Troops did, in taking the Town of *VVeiſſenburg* in *Nortgau*, and abuſing the Burgeſſes and Gariſon, contrary to the Articles of Surrender; tho' the *Swedes* made their Repriſals, in maſtering ſeveral Places in *Upper Suabia*, and diſperſed the *Peaſants* that oppos'd 'em.

In the mean time, *VVallenſtein* being at the Head of a great Army, the D. of *Bavaria* begg'd his Aſſiſtance in the Extremity he was reduc'd to: But that Prince having ſolicited earneſtly for the Depoſing of *VVallenſtein*, Two Years before, the General out of Revenge turn'd his Arms towards *Bohemia*, in order to expel the *Saxons*, who for that Winter and Spring had done but very little Service to the common Cauſe; which was chiefly owing to General *Arnheim*, *Wallenſtein* refuſes to aſſiſt the D. of *Bavaria*.

1632. *heim*, who befriended *VVallenſtein*, and was not heartily affected to *Guſtavus*, becauſe he had formerly charg'd him with Cowardice. *Arnheim*, finding that he could not openly take the Elector of *Saxony* off from his Alliance with the *Swedes*, by reaſon of the Services *Guſtavus* had done to that Prince, reſolv'd to compaſs that End by Intrigues, and effectually gain'd his Wiſhes, by putting a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Saxons* in *Bohemia*, and ſuffering *VVallenſtein* to carry an eaſie Victory. This he did, that either by Fear, or by the ſofter Meaſures of Peace, he might ſoften the Elector, who loved Pleaſure and Diverſion, more than the expoſing of himſelf to the Danger, Fatigue, and Inconvenience of a War. Farther, His Electoral Highneſs had ſome Counſellors, who being in the Emperor's Intereſt, whiſper'd him in the Ear, and endeavour'd to perſwade him, That *Guſtavus* aſpir'd at the Imperial Crown; and that it was to be fear'd, That the Elector would not be in ſo good Condition, after ſuch a Change, as he had been under the Reign of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; eſpecially conſidering, That the Dukes of *Saxe VVeimar* had got a great Aſcendant in *Guſtavus*'s Affection, and would not fail, in after-times, to make their Pretenſions to the Electoral Dignity; That *Frederick*, the Elector *Palatine*, whom the K. of *Sweden* meant to reinſtate in his Territories, would certainly endeavour to avenge the Damages he had receiv'd from the *Saxons*; That the Inſtance of the City of *Augsburg* was ſufficient Proof that *Guſtavus* had a Mind to annex all *Germany* to the Crown of *Sweden*; and that it was a Shame for the Elector, who had formerly headed the Proteſtants, to be tied up to the Orders of another. This Scheme was favour'd by the *Dane*, who wanted to make a third Party, to keep an even Ballance oppoſite to *Guſtavus*, and for that End courted an Alliance with *England*, *Holland*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Circles of *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*. In fine, theſe Reaſons made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Elector of *Saxony*, that *Guſtavus* was obliged to ſend Count *Solms*, to intreat him to act more vigorouſly, and to propoſe him more reaſonable Terms. But after all, the Elector would not

not declare himſelf openly, but ſuffered *Arnheim* to entertain a ſecret Correſpondence with *Wallenſtein* in *Bohemia*, who unſeaſonably infus'd into him a Deſire of a haſty and precipitant Peace; which was further inflam'd, when to the great Diſhonour of the *Saxons* *Wallenſtein* expell'd 'em out of *Bohemia*, and oblig'd 'em to retire to their own Country. 1632.

*Pappenheim's* Progreſs in *Lower-Saxony.*

*Pappenheim* had made great Ravages in *Lower-Saxony*, after *Guſtavus* recall'd D. *William* of *Weimar*, and *John Bannier*, to join him in *Upper-Germany*. Beſides, that General had defeated ſeveral of *Guſtavus's* Troops near *Hoxter*, and taken the Town of *Eimbeck*; after which he made an Irruption into the Country of *Bremen*, which the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by the *Swedes*, had conquer'd as far as the City of *Stade*. But the Imperialiſts deſigning to aſſemble all their Troops into a Body, would gladly have given the Country of *Bremen* to the K. of *Denmark*, in order to create a Difference between that King and *Guſtavus*. Upon which, the *Dane*, to try *Guſtavus's* Patience, ſent ſome Troops from *Geluckſtadt* to *Friburg*, under the Pretence of ſubſiſting them there upon his own Charges. But the *Danes* not withdrawing their Troops upon the K. of *Sweden's* Remonſtrances, the Archbiſhop's Troops, by *Guſtavus's* Orders, expell'd 'em by open Force; and at the ſame time had Orders to make an Irruption into *Holſatia*, in caſe the *Danes* made any new Attempt. The K. of *Denmark* obſerving how Things went, would have made his Excuſe to the K. of *Sweden*, upon the Plea, that his Men went to *Friburg* without his Orders: So that this whole Proceeding was of no Conſequence. In the mean time, General *Pappenheim* defeated the Archbiſhop's Cavalry, near *Verden*, and ſurpriz'd the *Swedes* before *Stade*; for *Acke Totte* had neither ſecur'd the Paſſes, nor ſent out Spies to obſerve the Enemy. The Imperialiſts likewiſe routed Three Regiments in the Country of *Kedingen*. But *Pappenheim* retir'd ſoon after, and carry'd off the Gariſon of that Place, after which the *Swedes* laid cloſe Siege to it.

The *Danes* diſlodg'd of *Bremen.*

On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* having enter'd the Palatinate by the *Upper Rhine*, took *Kirckberg*, *Poppert*, *Overt-Veſſel*, and *Altzei*; and after that the

1632. the City of *Spiers*, where they continued for a Month, till they were recall'd to the *Low-Countries*; the Prince of *Orange* having made an Irruption into *Brabant*, of which by and by. When they began their March, Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* purſued 'em with his Troops to *Triers*; ſo that they loſt One Third of their Number, and all their Baggage. On the other ſide, *Guſtavus* had a much harder Game to play: For *VVallenſtein* and the Duke of *Bavaria* march'd againſt him with their whole Force, thinking, that after the Conqueſt of him, they could eaſily ſubdue all the Proteſtants. At that time, indeed, they had a very good Proſpect; for the *Swedes* were then diſpers'd all over *Germany*. *Bavaria* having gariſon'd *Ratisbon* and *Ingolſtad*, march'd with his Troops through the *Upper-Palatinate* to *Eger*, in order to join *VVallenſtein*'s Army. Upon which *Guſtavus* purſued him with all Diligence, in order to weaken him before he arriv'd at *VVallenſtein*'s Camp. But they outmarch'd him by a Day, which oblig'd the K. to return to *Hirsbourg*, to ſecure a convenient Paſs, that ſo the Enemies, who were much more numerous than he, might not be in a Capacity to oblige him either to a Battle, or to retire till ſuch time as his Troops were aſſembled from all Quarters, tho' he could eaſily have reach'd the River of *Mein*, where he had been much ſafer, and where his diſpers'd Troops could have aſſembled more conveniently; yet he choſe rather to poſt himſelf near *Nuremberg*, the Spoil of which *VVallenſtein* had promis'd to his Soldiers, in caſe the *Swedes* had deſerted it, meaning thereby to frighten the other Towns into a Subjection to him: Beſides, that by that Means he hop'd to ſink *Guſtavus*'s Credit, by ſhewing, that he was the Ruin of thoſe who ſided with him. *VVallenſtein* made a Feint of marching to *Saxony*, to oblige *Guſtavus* to quit *Nuremberg*, which he meant afterward to ſurprize. But His Majeſty being well acquainted with his Stratagems, advanc'd near that Place upon an advantageous Ground. However, *VVallenſtein* march'd with a puiſſant Army, conſiſting of 300 Troops of Horſe, and 200 Companies of Foot, boaſting, *That in Four Days Time he would make it appear, whether he, or the*

*Wallenſtein's Deſign upon Nuremburg.*

*the King of* Sweden *were Maſter of the World*; tho' immediately after he added, *That he would go another Way to work, and that there had been Battles enough already.* His Deſign was to cut off the *Swediſh* Proviſions and Forage, in order to force *Guſtavus*, either to ask Peace, or to quit his Poſt, and ſo leave him the City of *Nuremberg* for a Prey. In ſhort, *Wallenſtein* being encamp'd in an advantageous Place, ſent a Body of Horſe to ſecure the Paſſes, which cramp'd the *Swediſh* Foraging very much. But at the ſame time the Town of *Nuremberg* ſupply'd *Guſtavus* with Proviſions. The Parties that were ſent out on both ſides did not ſpare one another, but gave mutual Defeats, till, at laſt, *Guſtavus* having receiv'd from ſeveral Places a Reinforcement of 15000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, ſo that his Army was then 75000 ſtrong, and thinking himſelf oblig'd to do ſomething with ſo conſiderable a Force, drew up his Army in order of Battel in an open Country, in order to draw the Enemy to a Battle. But General *Wallenſtein* being unwilling to venture the Imperial Crown upon a Game of that Uncertainty, mew'd himſelf up in his Camp, and only ſent out a Detachment upon Skirmiſhes. *Guſtavus* finding the Imperialiſts ſtood upon the defenſive, play'd upon them with Guns from Three Batteries, which did but little Service, becauſe moſt of the Soldiers were well cover'd. Then His Majeſty reſolv'd to ſtorm the Imperial Camp, notwithſtanding that his Generals endeavour'd to diſſwade him, upon the Plea, that in ſo doing he would only ſacrifice his Men to no Purpoſe. In fine, they fought for Ten Hours together, till Night came on; one Regiment being always ſupported by another. In this Attack the King loſt 2000 Men, and the Imperialiſts half as many, and a great many Officers of Note were kill'd on both ſides. Some of the *Germans*, particularly *William Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, was diſoblig'd here, becauſe His Majeſty had made the *Germans* charge firſt, as if he had meant to ſpare the *Swedes*, his natural Subjects. On the other Hand, the King of *Sweden* chid the *Heſſians* ſharply, when they ſuffer'd themſelves to be repuls'd, and thereupon they

1632.

The K. attacks the Imperial Army.

1631. they led on the *Finlanders*, who had as little Succeſs as the others. In the mean time, *Pappenheim*, in the *Lower-Saxony*, had Two advantageous Encounters with his Enemies; for he defeated the Troops of *Heſſe*, near *Volck Marcen*, and forc'd *George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, and General *Baudiſz* to break up the Siege of *Callenburg*. After that, he drove *Baudiſz* from *Paterborn* and *Hoxter*. At the ſame time he ſuccour'd *VVolfenbuttle*, and made him Maſter of *Hildeſheim*. This done, he marched toward *Thuringia*, to join *VVallenſtein*'s Army. *Pappenheim*'s Succeſs was owing to the Jealouſie that reign'd among the King's Generals, and the Ambition they had to be at the Head of Affairs. Beſides, ſome of 'em were not well acquainted with the Art of War, particularly *Baudiſz*, who was a good Horſe-Officer, but did not know how to diſcipline the Foot, and who had formerly done very brave Exploits under the Command of other Generals, tho' he was not capable of being a Commander in chief upon an Occaſion of that Importance. Upon the other Hand *Arnheim* entring *Sileſia*, with the *Saxon* Troops, took *Glogon*; and being join'd by the *Swediſh* and *Brandenburg* Troops, under the Command of *James Duval*, had an Army of about 16000 Men: So that he might have gain'd conſiderable Advantages over his Enemy, who were in no Condition to oppoſe him, if he had not deſignedly ſlighted the favourable Opportunity: For he entertain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with *VVallenſtein*, and accordingly drew the *Saxon* Troops out of the Neighbourhood of *Miſnia*, to give the Enemy an Opportunity of invading it, and ſo diſpoſe the Elector to an Accommodation. And, indeed, the *Spaniards* importun'd the Imperialiſts, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts in taking that Prince off from the *Swediſh* Intereſt. But *Guſtavus* was equally careful to manage the Elector, ſo as to keep him on his ſide. And therefore ſent *Auguſtus* of *Sultzbach*, Count *Palatine*, to ſollicite him not to clap up a precipitate Peace, till a firm and ſolid Foundation were laid for their common Safety. This Miniſter repreſented to His Electoral Highneſs, *That there was a Neceſſity of uniting all the Proteſtants in one League, to the end, that if their Enemies ſhould*

*Pappenheim*'s Succeſs in *Lower-Saxony*.

*offer*

*offer to violate the Peace, they might always be in a Condition to keep the Ballance even, which they could never do otherwiſe; That by Conſequence all the Princes of the Proteſtant Side ſhould meet in an Aſſembly; and that K.* Guſtavus *was very willing to accommodate Matters with him upon certain Terms, in order to bring the Negotiation to a Concluſion.* This Count plainly ſet forth, *That the Affairs of the Proteſtants were upon ſuch a Foot, that it was in their Power to chuſe an Emperor of their own ſide; and that they ought to confer that Dignity upon* Guſtavus, *in Conſideration of the Services he had done his Allies, and of his large Conqueſts of the Catholick Countries*; and, in fine, *That* Ferdinand *had forfeited the Imperial Dignity long before.* At the ſame time the Elector of *Brandenburg* preſs'd very much for an Aſſembly and Union of the Proteſtants; being then entirely embark'd in *Guſtavus*'s Party, upon the Hopes of marrying his Son *Frederick William* to Princeſs *Chriſtina*, the King's Daughter; that Marriage then being warmly diſcours'd of: Beſides that, he had a Mind to prevent the Diſputes that were ready to break out upon the Account of *Pomerania.* The Elector of *Saxony* anſwered the Count *Palatine* only in general Compliments, without touching upon the principal Affair, becauſe he ſaw plainly that *Guſtavus* would have the whole Management of it. 1632.

In the mean time *Guſtavus* reſolving to decamp from before *Nuremberg*, becauſe he could not diſlodge *Wallenſtein* of the Poſt he was poſſeſs'd of, he put a ſtrong Gariſon into the City for its Security, in caſe the Imperialiſts ſhould attack it. Upon which *VVallenſtein* immediately broke up with all his Forces toward *Miſnia*, in order to oppreſs the *Saxons*, and by that Means to draw *Guſtavus* out of *Bavaria*, and the Imperial Hereditary Countries. He had ſent before him *Holsken*, with ſome Thouſands of Men, who ravag'd *Voigſland* and *Miſnia* in a terrible manner. After *VVallenſtein*'s Retreat, K. *Guſtavus* divided his Army into Two Bodies, one of which was commanded by Duke *Bernard*, in *Franconia*; and with the other, which was the ſtrongeſt, he march'd towards the *Danube* and *Bavaria*, in order to break the Deſigns of his Enemies, who had

*Guſtavus* divides his Army.

1632. a Mind to make the Proteſtant Countries the Seat of the War. *Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, adviſ'd *Guſtavus* not to depart from that Reſolution, tho' the Elector of *Saxony* ſhould ſuffer ſome Loſs for a ſmall time, becauſe his Country might eaſily be re-conquered, provided he kept but Poſſeſſion of the ſtrong Holds. Purſuant to this Advice, His Majeſty poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Rexin* and *Landsberg* upon the *Leech*. In the mean time there came Courier after Courier from *Saxony*, with Letters from the Elector, intreating the King to come immediately to his Aſſiſtance, and to reſcue him from the imminent Danger that threatned him. *Guſtavus* was very loth to abandon the Work he had already begun; beſides, the Elector of *Saxony* had done ſeveral Things prejudicial to His Majeſty, by which His Majeſty perceiv'd, that Prince would never prove conſtant and true. But after all, notwithſtanding all theſe Conſiderations, he drop'd his other Projects entirely, and march'd to the Aſſiſtance of the Elector, being apprehenſive, that Fear and Conſternation might diſpoſe that Prince to an Accommodation with the Emperor, to the Prejudice of His Majeſty, and all the Allies; and that his Preſence was neceſſary to remedy the Diſorder and Confuſion that then reign'd among the States of *Lower-Saxony*. He left *Chriſtian Berckenfeld*, Count *Palatine*, with ſome Troops in *Bavaria* and *Swabia*, and *Guſtavus Horn* in *Holſace*, a great Part of which he conquered; particularly the ſtrong Fort of *Benfeld*, which he oblig'd to ſurrender. About the ſame time the *Rhingrave Oton* took *Frankendal* by Famine, and then having joined D. *Bernard*, they march'd jointly with all Expedition to *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, where the Imperialiſts had aſſembled all their Forces. The King of *Sweden* had likewiſe recall'd from *Lower Saxony George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, who was already arrived at *Wittenburg*. Upon His Majeſty's Approach to *Maimburg* he receiv'd Advice, that the Enemy was remov'd from *VVeſſenfels*; and thereupon reſolv'd to march thither, in order to attack them in their Quarters: But being inform'd by Priſoners, that *Wallenſtein* had ſent out a Detachment of ſome Thouſands of Men, under the Command of *Pappenheim*, he would not to

He marches towards *Saxony*.

tarry

tarry for the Duke of *Lunenburg* any longer, being resolv'd to fight *VVallenſtein* before *Pappenheim* rejoin'd him. 1632.

This occaſioned the great Battle of *Lutzen*, which was fought on the 16th of *November*, with the Blood of 60000 Soldiers, that in both Armies expos'd their Lives, wherein the Fortune and Glory both of the King and of the *Auſtrians* were to be decided, the Imperialiſts conſiſting of large Battalions of Foot, had their Flanks defended by the Cavalry. The *Swedes* drew up in Two Lines, with Horſe and Foot intermixed, all in excellent Order, and each having a large Train of Artillery in the Front: However, the Fight was alike deferred; the King upon this Occaſion ſeeming irreſolute, and not free from inward Commotions; and yet expreſſed himſelf ſo, that for Reputation-ſake it was fit to engage, but doubting at the ſame time (as *Nani* ſays) that Heaven would puniſh him, by letting many that worſhipped him as a God, ſee that he was but Man: Each kept their Stations all the Night, and *VVallenſtein* making great Advantage of ſome Ditches, juſt before the Enemy, by lining them with Muſqueteers, the hotteſt of the Fight was about theſe, at the firſt Dawn of the Day, and the *Swedes* at laſt having carried them, turned Six Pieces of the Enemies Cannon upon themſelves, which did terrible Excution upon them: But the *Imperialiſts* rallying, drove the *Swedes* beyond the Ditches, and recovered Four of the Cannon; the Left Wing of the *Imperialiſts* conſiſting of *Poliſh* and *Croatian* Horſe, that were more uſed to Incurſions than ſet Battles, being charged by the King's Right, eaſily gave Way, and would have diſordered other Squadrons, if *Pappenheim* had not put a Stop to the Career of the *Swedes*, till being ſtruck with a Cannon-Ball, he died with that Commendation of Conduct and Courage, which, with the Teſtimony of many Scars, appear'd imprinted on his Face. On the other Hand the brave *Guſtavus*, performing the Office not only of a General, but common Soldier, was there alſo ſlain, leaving it uncertain whether in Truth he overcame, or died firſt. Some will have it, that in the beginning of the Battle, as he was riding

Battle of *Lutzen*.

*Guſtavus's* ſlain.

1632. riding with a few Attendants from one Diviſion to another, he fell in, by reaſon of the Miſt that aroſe, with a Troop of the Enemies Horſe; and while unknown he defended himſelf with his Sword in his Hand, he was by a Carbine-ſhot diſmounted, dragged by the Stirrups, and afterwards ſlain with another Shot. Others, that having in the Left Wing beaten the *Imperialiſts*, and being now ſure of the Victory, as he was haſtning elſewhere, he was by a Troop of Horſe, advancing to charge, flung off his Horſe, and as an ordinary Man trampled to death by them. There wanted not ſome who affirmed, that while the King at the Head of Collonel *Verde*'s Regiments of *Finlanders*, ſeconded by Two other of *Swedes*, charged a great Body of Curaſiers, commanded by *Piccolomini*, he received a Piſtol-ſhot in the Arm, for his Curaſs, by reaſon of ſome old Hurt, incommoding him, he wore no Armour that Day; and being neceſſitated at length to retire with a few Followers, he was at that Inſtant ſhot in the Back with a Carbine by a Soldier, who alſo was killed upon the ſame Occaſion; and that *Picolomini* returning to the charged, paſſed over him yet alive, and left him ignobly covered under a Heap of dead Bodies. But as to the *Swedes* themſelves, they ſay the Circumſtances make it very probable, that the Duke of *Saxe Lauwenburg* being retained by the *Imperialiſts*, who placed all their Hopes in the Death of this brave Prince, ſtabbed him behind his Back: However it were, it was never certainly known who could boaſt of ſuch a Blow, either becauſe Chance bears ſuch a Sway in Battles, that confounding the Fate of the Heroe, with that of the common Soldiers, they were no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed after Death, but by Glory or Oblivion, or elſe becauſe in this alſo Providence was minded to ſhew its ſelf favourable, that no mean Perſon ſhould ever boaſt that he had ſlain ſo great a King, and with all ſo excellent Soldier. The *Swedes* continuing the Fight, ended the Victory before they knew of his Death; for *Bernard* Duke of *VVeimar* alone obſerving the King's Horſe to run looſe, and be bloody, and ſuſpecting the fatal Accident, enraged with Grief, would give

give the Soldiers no Time to take Notice of it; but charging with incredible Fury, made the Enemy give Way, ſo that the Horſe of both their Wings being now fled, *Picolomini* alone remained laſt with his Regiment in the Field, and with Proofs of wonderful Valour, had Four Horſes killed under him, and received Five Wounds, which *Wallenſtein* with a generous Preſent of Twenty Thouſand Crowns cured and acknowledged; the *Swedes* would have ſurrounded the Enemy, had it not been for the Miſt which aroſe towards the Evening, and the dark Approach of Night, that after Ten Hours put an end to this cruel Fight. There were Ten General Officers killed in both Armies. *Wallenſtein* was rather menaced than hurt with a Muſquet-ball, that peaceably paſſed between the Saddle and his Buttock, which made him not without an Inſtance of exceſſive Fear let the Bridle fall out of his Hand, and his Horſe ran away with him; the *Imperialiſts* loſt their Cannon, and retired towards *Leipſick*. But amidſt the Triumphs of the *Swedes*, Alas! the General was wanting, which filled the whole Army with bitter Lamentation and Sorrow; ſome deplored the Flower of his Age, others the Vigour and Perfections of his Mind, and all together the Quality of a great Prince, and no leſs a Soldier; his Body was found among the ſlain, mangled with Wounds, bruiſed with the trampling of Horſes, and ſtripped ſtark naked, ſo as that he had not as much as a Shirt left, as a Trophy of ſo many Conqueſts, and ſo great an Empire. This Prince was certainly endued with thoſe Qualities, that have rendred the Conquerors of the World famous, poſſeſſing Prudence and Courage in an equal Degree; and if he ſeemed fierce and violent in his Conqueſts, he was as wiſe and circumſpect in preſerving them. His Vertues were ſolid, and all of a Piece; ſo that it could not well be diſtinguiſhed whether the Prize was to be given to his Knowledge in Military or Civil Affairs; but he having all his Life been uſed to Camps and Feats of War, he ſeemed himſelf to give that the Preference: And indeed, Fortune favour'd him ſo far herein, that having fought many Battles, and always Conquer'd, in this very Inſtant of Death, he

1632.

K. *Guſtavus's* Character.

1632. died victorious after Death, and ſuch a low Courſe of Proſperity has crowned his Funeral Monument, that his Aſhes may be called *Triumphant*. This was the Iſſue of the Battle of *Lutzen*, after which *VVallenſtein* tarrying but a few Moments at *Leipſick*, retired to *Bohemia*, and the *Swedes* carrying the Royal Corps to *VVeiſſenfield*, ſolemnized his Funeral with Arms and Revenge. *Leipſick* was ſurrender'd to *Saxony*, *Chemnitz* to *VVeimar*, *Pleiffenberg* to *Knipbauſen*, and the *Rhingrave* after the Defeat of the Imperial Cavalry in *Alſatia*, had *Rheinfield*, *Calmar*, *Haguenau*, and other Places given up to him; the Elector Palatine *Frederick*, under the Countenance of the *Swedes*, recovered *Frankendall*; but taking the King of *Sweden*'s Death to Heart, he himſelf died not long after. *Baudiſſen* having taken *Andermach*, was troubleſome to the Elector of *Cologn*, and Dutchy of *Berg*.

K. of *Bohemia*'s Death.

As for the State of Affairs in *Flanders*, the Count *de Berg*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Army, having been ſuſpected a long Time of holding Intelligence with the Prince of *Orange* (to whom he was a'kin) without any juſt Cauſe, could at laſt bear the Jealouſie no longer, but ſuddenly retired into *Holland*; and having drawn ſome more Troops over to his Side, removes to *Aix la Chappel*, with an Intention to form a third Party; but that failing, he was neceſſitated with ſome Diſcredit to put himſelf under the Protection of the States. The *Spaniards* were much concerned at this Adventure; and having hereupon aſſembled the States of the Provinces at *Bruſſels*, which had long been diſcontinued, ſome of the Deputies boldly inſiſted upon moderating at leaſt, if not ſhaking off the Dominion of *Spain*, and ſent Perſons to the *Hague*, to treat of an Agreement; but the other, inſiſting that they ſhould drive the *Spaniards* out of the Country, before the Negotiation was entred upon, and That being not in their Power, the Aſſembly was broke up by Order from *Spain*. However, the *Hollanders* taking Advantage of theſe Diſorders, firſt made themſelves Maſters of *Venlo* and *Ruremond*, after which they laid Siege to *Maeſtricht*: The *Spaniſh* General *Santa Croce* knowing himſelf unable to relieve it, gets

Affairs of the *Netherlands*.

*Dutch* take *Maeſtricht*.

gets *Pappenheim* from the Electorate of *Cologn*, to come to his Aſſiſtance, and with incredible Boldneſs attacked the *Dutch* Camp; but not being at all ſeconded therein by the *Spaniards*, he was forced to retire with much Loſs, and leave the Place after a Siege of Three Months, to fall into the Enemies Hands. This Conqueſt was followed with that of the Towns of *Orſoy*, *Limburg*, and other Places, and a tho' new War was not yet commenced between the *French* and *Spaniards*, yet both had Troops on their Frontiers, and obſerved one another with a very jealous Eye. 1632.

Dr. *Donne's* Death, &c.

We ſhould have noted before that the preceding Year put a Period to the Life of that Learned Divine Dr. *John Donne:* He was the Son of a wealthy Merchant, of a good *Welch* Family, and his Mother was related to Sir *Thomas More*. He was ſent to *Oxford* at Nine Years of Age, being ſkilled in the *French* and *Latin* Tongues, he went to *Cambridge* at Fourteen, and at Seventeen to *Lincolns-Inn*. He travelled at Twenty into *Italy* and *Spain*, and return'd Maſter of thoſe Languages; after which he ſtudied the Common and Civil Laws, and at the Command of K. *James* I. writ his *Pſeudo-Martyr*. Shortly after he was made Preacher to *Lincolns-Inn*, and in time Dean of St. *Paul's*, where he was afterwards buried. He had an extraordinary Genius for Poetry, was a good Scholar, and a Perſon of incomparable Parts; and after his entring into Orders, was very Pious and Regular.

Judge *Whitlock's* Death.

This Year, on the 22th of *June*, died our *Engliſh* Judge *Whitlock:* He fell ill of a Cold in *Trinity*-Term, which ſo increaſed upon him, that he was adviſed to go into the Country, and upon his taking his Leave of his Brethren, he ſaid, *God be with you, I ſhall never ſee you again.* By his Death the King loſt as good a Subject, his Country as good a Patriot, and the People as juſt a Judge as ever liv'd, and no Man in his Age left behind him a more honoured Memory. His Reaſon was clear and ſtrong, and his Learning deep and general; he was ſo much a Maſter of the Latin Tongue, that ſitting Judge at *Oxford*, when ſome Foreigners of Quality came to Court to ſee the manner of our Judicature, after he ordered them

1632. to ſit down, he briefly repeated the Heads of his Charge to the Grand Jury in good and elegant Latin. He was alſo well verſed in Greek and Hebrew, and the Jewiſh Hiſtory, but more particularly exact in the Knowledge of the Hiſtory of his own Country, the Pedigrees of People of Quality, Antiquity and Heraldry. None excelled in his own Profeſſion of the Common Law, and being a Graduate in the Civil Law, that alſo was familiar to him.

1633. The King of *England* finding himſelf ſurrounded now with great Tranquility, he reſolved to make a Progreſs into, and be ſolemnly crown'd in his Kingdom of *Scotland*; which he had never ſeen from the firſt time he left it, when he was about Two Years old. The whole Progreſs was perform'd with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable. All Perſons of Quality and Condition, whoſe Seats border'd upon the Northern Road, receiv'd the Nobility and Attendance of the Court, with an Hoſpitality that became 'em. And when the King and his Retinue paſs'd through *Nottinghamſhire*, they were receiv'd and entertain'd by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* in ſo magnificent a manner, as had ſcarce ever been known before in *England*, and would ſtill be thought prodigious, had not the ſame noble Perſon, within a Year or Two afterwards, entertain'd the King and Queen in a more ſtupendious Manner. As ſoon as the King enter'd *Scotland*, all his *Engliſh* Officers and Servants yielded up their Attendance to thoſe of that Nation; all the Tables of the Houſe were laid down by them, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who treated the *Engliſh* with all the Freedom and Courteſie imaginable. The King appeared in no leſs Pomp at *Edinborough* than at *Whitehall*; his Coronation paſs'd with all the Solemnity and Evidence of publick Joy imaginable: The Parliament then held preſented the Acts prepared for 'em with all Demonſtrations of Duty; in which were ſome Laws reſtraining the almoſt unlimited Power of the Nobility, a thing they bore very heavily, tho' at that time little Notice was taken of it; the King being abſolutely directed in all the Affairs of that Nation by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who was at

K. *Charles* goes to *Scotland*.

leaſt

leaſt believ'd then to have the greateſt Intereſt in that Kingdom, and of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. 1633.

The King was highly pleas'd with his Reception there; tho' the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility and Gentry, occaſioned by the Luxury and vaſt Expence, which abounded in all Reſpects, and the Wants and Temptations to which they were thereby reduc'd, very much contributed to the kindling that Fire, which in a little while after broke out into ſo terrible a Combuſtion. His Majeſty, who was a moſt nice Obſerver of the Ceremonies of the Church, and believing it as eſtabliſh'd in *England*, to be inſtituted neareſt to the Practice of the Apoſtles, of any Church in the World, conſider'd that tho' in *Scotland* they had Biſhops in Name, the whole Juriſdiction, and the Biſhops themſelves, were in the main ſubject to an Aſſembly that was entirely Presbyterian: They had no Liturgy in any of the Cathedral Churches throughout the Kingdom, the King's Chappel at *Holy-rood* excepted, for which Reaſon His Majeſty propoſed nothing more to himſelf, than the uniting His Three Kingdoms into One Form of God's Worſhip and Publick Devotion; and there is great Ground to believe, that in this Journey into *Scotland* he carry'd with him the Reſolution of finiſhing that important Buſineſs in the Church. For Dr. *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*, attended him throughout his Journey, being no leſs deſirous to ſee it accompliſh'd than the King himſelf, preach'd in the Royal Chappel of *Edenborough*, (a thing ſcarce any *Engliſh* Man had ever done before) in the King's Preſence, and chiefly upon the Benefit of Conformity, and Reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all imaginable Signs of Approbation and Applauſe. And many wiſe Men were of Opinion, That if the King had then propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, it had been received without any Oppoſition; but upon a mature Deliberation, the King thought it not a proper Seaſon to promote that Affair. However, *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*, being now tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*, in the Room of the Archbiſhop *Abbot*, deceaſed, whoſe Character you have in another Place,

The Seeds of the ſucceeding Commotions then ſown.

1633. His Majesty, by His Advice, began the intended Reform in *Scotland* with the Royal Chapel in these following Articles, to be observed there.

Articles for the Royal Chapel in *Scotland.*

*OUR express Will and Pleasure is, That the Dean of our Chappel that now is, and his Successors, shall be Assistants to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of St.* Andrews, *at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen; That the Book of the Form of our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little Box, and laid into a Standard, and committed to the Dean of the Chappel successively. That there be Prayers twice a day within the Quire as well in our Absence as otherwise, according to the* English *Liturgy, till some Course be taken for making one, that may fit the Custom and Constitution of that Church. That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully that all that receive the Sacrament there, receive it kneeling, and that there be a Communion held in that our Chappel the first* Sunday *of every Month. That the Dean of our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to Prayers on* Sundays, *and such Holidays as that Church observes in Whites, and preaches so, whenever he preacheth there. And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary Occasion of his Diocese, or otherwise, according to the Course of his Preferment. That these Orders shall be our Warrant to the Dean of the Chappel: That the Lords of our Privy-Council, the Lords of the Sessions, the Advocate, Clerks, Writers of the Signet, and Members of our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion once every Year at the least, in that our Chappel-Royal, and kneeling for Example-sake to the Kingdom. And we likewise command the Dean aforesaid to make Report yearly to us, how we are obeyed therein, and by whom; as also if any refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why. That the Copies which are consecrated to our Use be delivered to the Dean, to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that Purpose, and to be used at the Celebration of the Sacrament in our Royal-Chappel.*

These Articles were inforced by a Letter from His Majesty, who would at present, at least go no greater Length with *Laud*, nor any other, but (as my

my Lord *C*---- ſays, was better acquainted with the ill Humour and Practices of the great Men of *Scotland* than any other: That beſides, he had naturally a Love for the *Scotch* Nation, and was as careful as any Man that their Liberties and Privileges might not be invaded by the *Engliſh*, and therefore the Obj-ction, *That it would look like an Impoſition from* England, *if a Form ſettled by Act of Parliament at* Weſtminſter *ſhould be forc'd upon 'em in* Scotland, *made a deep Impreſſion in Him.* 1633.

*Edenborough*, tho' the Metropolis of the Kingdom, was but a Burough-Town, within the Dioceſs of St. *Andrews*, but govern'd in all Church-Affairs by the Preachers of the Town; wherefore the King, that he might leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Eſteem for the Church, tho' it was not yet ripe for the good Order he intended it, by the Approbation and Conſent of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, erected it into a Biſhoprick, plac'd an eminent Scholar to be the firſt Biſhop, and another Perſon of good Fame and Learning he made the firſt Dean of his new Cathedral, ſettling a competent Revenue upon both, not much to the Satisfaction of the People in general, who thought they had too many Biſhops before. But to vindicate 'em from that Contempt, the King made the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* Chancellor of the Kingdom, being the firſt Churchman in that Office ſince the Reformation, and Four or Five other Biſhops Privy-Counſellors, or Lords of the Seſſion. But this Accumulation of ſo many Honours upon them, expos'd 'em to the univerſal Envy of the whole Nobility; for many of 'em, for want of Temper or Breeding, did not behave themſelves in their Debates with that Decency towards the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, as was reaſonably expected from 'em.

*Edenborough* erected into a Biſhoprick by the King.

Some time after the King's Return from *Scotland*, Complaint being made, particularly in *Somerſetſhire*, againſt the Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called in ſome Countries Wakes, and in other Church-Ales; as alſo againſt Revels on the Lord's Day; the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* made an Order for the aboliſhing of them; which Order, upon Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Repreſentation to the

1633. King was revoked in Council; and the Archbiſhop having firſt wrote to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for the Countenancing of them, procured the King's Declaration in Favour of the ſame, Publiſhed *Octob.* 18th, to this Purpoſe.

Book of Sports.

*THAT King* James, *of Bleſſed Memory, in his Return from* Scotland, *coming through* Lancaſhire, *found that His Subjects were debarred from Lawful Recreations upon* Sundays *after Evening Prayers ended, and upon Holidays. And he prudently conſidered, that if theſe Times were taken from them, the meaner Sort, who labour hard all the Week, ſhould have no Recreation at all to refreſh their Spirits. And after his Return, He further ſaw, That His Loyal Subjects in all Parts of the Kingdom, did ſuffer in the ſame kind, tho' perhaps not in the ſame Degree, and did therefore in Princely Wiſdom publiſh a Declaration to all His Loving Subjects concerning Lawful Sports, to be uſed at ſuch Times, which was Printed and Publiſhed by His Royal Commandment, in the Year* 1618. *in the Tenor which hereafter followeth.*

*Whereas upon His Majeſties Return laſt Year out of* Scotland, *He did publiſh his Pleaſure touching the Recreations of his People in thoſe Parts, under His Hand, For ſome Cauſes him thereunto moving, hath thought good to command theſe His Directions then given in* Lancaſhire, *with few Words thereunto added, and moſt applicable to theſe Parts of the Realms, to be publiſhed to all His Subjects.*

*Whereas He did juſtly in His Progreſs through* Lancaſhire *rebuke ſome Puritans and Preciſe People, and took Order that the like unlawful Carriage ſhould not be uſed by any of them hereafter, in the Prohibiting and unlawful Puniſhing of His good People for uſing their lawful Recreations, and honeſt Exerciſe upon* Sundays, *and other Holidays, after the Afternoon Sermon or Service.*

*His Majeſty hath now found that Two Sorts of People, wherewith that Country is much infected,* viz. *Papiſts and Puritans, hath maliciouſly traduced and calumniated thoſe his juſt and honourable Proceedings: And therefore leaſt his Reputation might upon one ſide (tho' innocently) have ſome Aſpertion laid upon it, and*

*that*

*that upon the other Part, His good People in that Country be miſled, by the Miſtaking and Miſrepreſentation of his Meaning, His Majeſty therefore hath thought good hereby to clear and make His Pleaſure to be manifeſted to all His good People in thoſe Parts: It is true that at His firſt Entry to His Crown, and Kingdom, He was informed, and that too truly, that His Country of* Lancaſhire *abounded more in Popiſh Recuſants that any County in* England, *and thus hath ſtill continued ſince, to His great Regret, with little Amendment, ſave that now of late, in His riding through His ſaid County, hath found both by the Report of the Judges, and of the Biſhop of that Dioceſs, that there is ſome Amendment now daily beginning, which is no ſmall Contentment to His Majeſty. The Report of this growing Amendment among them made His Majeſty the more ſorry, when with His own Ears He heard the general Complaint of His People, that they were debarred from all Lawful Recreations and Exerciſes upon the* Sundays *Afternoon, after the ending of all Divine Service, which cannot but produce Two Evils: The one, the hindering the Converſion of many, whom their Prieſts will take Occaſion hereby to vex, perſwading that no honeſt Mirth or Recreation is lawful or tolerable in the Religion, which the King profeſſeth, and which cannot but breed great Diſcontentment in the People's Hearts, eſpecially of ſuch as are peradventure upon the Point of turning. The other Inconveniency is, that this Prohibition barreth the meaner ſort of People from uſing ſuch Exerciſes, as may make their Bodies more able for War, when His Majeſty or his Succeſſors ſhall have Occaſion to uſe them. And in Place thereof ſets up Tippling and filthy Drunkenneſs, and breeds a number of idle and diſcontented Speeches in all their Ale-houſes; for when ſhall the common People have Leave to exerciſe, if not upon the* Sundays *and* Holidays, *ſeeing they muſt apply to their Labour, and win their Living in all working Days. The King's expreſs Pleaſure therefore is, that the Laws of this Kingdom, and the Canons of this Church, be as well obſerved in that County, as in all other Places of this His Kingdom. And on the other Part, that no lawful Recreation ſhall be barred to his good People, which ſhall not tend to the Breach of the aforeſaid Laws and Canons of His Church; which, to expreſs more* 1633.

*parti-*

1633. *particularly, His Majeſties Pleaſure is, That the Biſhops, and all other inferiour Churchmen and Churchwardens, ſhall for their Parts be careful and diligent, both to inſtruct the Ignorant, and convince and reform all them that are miſled in Religion, preſenting them that will not conform themſelves, but obſtinately ſtand out, to the Judges and Juſtices; whom He likewiſe commands to put the Laws in Execution againſt them. His Majeſties Pleaſure likewiſe is, That the Biſhop of that Diocеſs take the like Order with the Puritans and Preciſians within the ſame, either conſtrain them to reform themſelves, or to leave the Country, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and Canons of this Church, and to ſtrike equally on both Hands, againſt the Contemners of his Authority, and Adverſaries againſt the Church: and as for his good People's lawful Recreation, his Pleaſure likewiſe is, That after the end of Divine Service, His good People be not diſturbed, letted or diſcouraged from any lawful Recreation, ſuch as Dancing, either Men or Women; Archery for Men; Leaping, Vaulting, or any other ſuch harmleſs Recreation, nor from having of Maygames, Whitſun-Ales, and Morrice-Dancers, and the ſetting up of May-Poles, and other Sports therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame be had in due and convenient Time, without Impediment, or Neglect of Divine Service. And that Women ſhall have leave to carry Ruſhes to Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old Cuſtom; but withal His Majeſty doth here account ſtill, as prohibited all unlawful Games to be uſed upon* Sundays *only, as Bear, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and at all Times in the meaner Sort of People by Law prohibited Bowling. And likewiſe barrs from this Liberty and Benefit, all ſuch known Recuſants, either Men or Women, as will refuſe coming to Church or Divine Service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful Recreation after the ſaid Service, that will not firſt come to Church and ſerve God: Prohibiting in like ſort the ſaid Recreations to any that (tho' conform in Religion) are not preſent in the Church at the Service of God, before their going to the ſaid Recreations. His Pleaſure likewiſe is, that they to whom belongeth in Office ſhall preſent and ſhall punish all ſuch, as in Abuſe of this His Liberty, will uſe theſe Exerciſes before the end of all Divine Service for that Day. And he doth likewiſe*

*ſtraitly*

*ſtraitly command that every Perſon ſhall reſort to his own Pariſh Church to hear Divine Service, and each Pariſh by it ſelf to uſe the ſaid Recreation after Divine Service. Prohibiting likewiſe any offenſive Weapons to be carried or uſed in the ſaid Times of Recreation; and his Pleaſure is, That this his Declaration ſhall be publiſhed by Order of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, through all the Pariſh Churches, and that both the Judges of the Circuits, and the Juſtices of the Peace be informed thereof.* 1633.

*Now out of a like Pious Care for the Service of God, and for ſuppreſſing of any Humours that oppoſe Truth, and for the Eaſe, Comfort and Recreation of his well deſerving People, His Majeſty doth ratifie and publiſh this His Bleſſed Father's Declaration: The rather, becauſe of late in ſome Counties of this Kingdom, His Majeſty finds that under Pretence of taking away Abuſes, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now His Majeſties expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That theſe Feaſts, with others, be obſerved, and that His Juſtices of the Peace in their ſeveral Diviſions, ſhall look to it, both that all Diſorders there may be prevented or puniſhed, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with Manlike and Lawful Exerciſes ſhall be uſed. And His Majeſty further commands all Juſtices of Aſſize in their ſeveral Circuits to ſee that no Man do trouble or moleſt any of his Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having firſt done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to His Majeſties Laws. And for this His Majeſty commands all His Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, as well within Liberties, as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other Officers, to take Notice of, and to ſee obſerved, as they tender His Diſpleaſure. And doth further will, That Publication of this His Command be made by Order from the Biſhops through all the Pariſh Churches of their Reſpective Dioceſſes reſpectively.*

We ſhall not anticipate the unhappy Effects of this Declaration, but having before given an Account of the Death of the Great *Guſtavus*, we are to add, that it occaſion'd various Commotions in the greateſt Parts of *Europe*, according to the ſeparate Intereſts of

1633. of States. Tho' in the Battle of *Lutzen* the Imperialists were defeated, and loſt a great many brave Men, yet they comforted themſelves with the Joy they received by the Death of the King of *Sweden*; hoping, that the *Swediſh* Army would diſperſe of its own Accord, and that all their Allies would be ſo divided, as to ſubject themſelves to the Imperial Yoke. 'Tis true, *Wallenſtein* adviſ'd the Emperor to publiſh a general Indemnity, in order to an Accommodation: But His Imperial Majeſty, thinking he had then met with an Opportunity of compaſſing the Deſigns he had form'd long before, made all Preparations for that end, as well as the Duke of *Bavaria*. The *Spaniards* likewiſe remitted ſeveral Sums of Money to *Italy*, for raiſing an Army in that Country; which afterwards came to *Germany*, and did the Emperor ſome Service; and after that march'd to the *Netherlands*, to act againſt *Holland*. On the other Hand, the Proteſtants, who had hop'd to ſecure their Religion and Liberty, by *Guſtavus*'s Arms, were then in a horrible Conſternation, becauſe they had no Body qualified to fill *Guſtavus*'s Room, and the Work he had vigorouſly purſued was not yet finiſhed. Add to all this, that ſoon after there aroſe ſome Jealouſie and Miſunderſtanding not only between the Proteſtant Princes, but between them and the Crown of *Sweden*: For they had no mind to lodge the Direction of the Capital Affair in the Hand of the *Swedes*, tho' at the ſame time they were fully convinc'd, that without their Succour they were entirely ruin'd. Beſides, they flatter'd themſelves with the agreeable Name of a Peace, tho' by being overhaſty in procuring it, they gave their Enemies all manner of Advantage. Some of the Allies were willing to make uſe of the *Swediſh* Succours, till they ſhould compaſs their Ends; and after that, would ſend them home. Others alledg'd, That the Alliance made with *Guſtavus* expir'd after his Death; and upon that Plea, were for making ſeparate Treaties for their reſpective Affairs; for they believ'd that whatever had been yet undone was not owing to the Puiſſance of *Sweden*, but to the Valour and good Conduct of their King. Tho' *France* conceiv'd an inward Joy upon

*Guſtavus*'s Death occaſions great Alterations.

upon the Death of *Guſtavus*, yet *Richlieu* was for preſerving the Friendſhip of the *Swedes*; partly out of regard to his private Intereſt, and partly for Fear, leſt the *Swedes* ſhould be forc'd to accommodate Matters with the Emperor, after which the Imperialiſts would not fail to fall upon *France* with all their Forces. Beſides, that Miniſter was apprehenſive that the *Swedes* would expel the Roman Catholicks, by which Means they might raiſe more Money than what *France* ſupply'd 'em with. Farther, the *French* hop'd to fiſh in troubl'd Waters, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole Country between *Baſil*, and the *Moſelle* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Upon all theſe Conſiderations the King of *France* wrote to *Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of *Sweden*, and all the *Swediſh* Generals, exhorting them to a vigorous Purſuit of the Work they had begun, and promiſing all manner of Succours on his Side; they alſo renewed the League with them, as you'll ſee by and by. The *Dutch* likewiſe and the *Engliſh* gave 'em the ſame Aſſurances, tho' in the beginning they were more concern'd for the Elector of *Saxony* than the Crown of *Sweden*. The Jealouſie that the King of *Denmark* had conceiv'd upon the Progreſs of *Guſtavus*'s Arms, began to be much abated; and for that Reaſon he would not give Ear to the great Promiſes made him by the Emperor, to bring him to a Rupture with *Sweden*; for he was not willing to occaſion the Ruin of the Proteſtants in *Germany* with one Blow. Beſides, he thought the Kingdom of *Sweden* had then ſo much upon their Hands, that he would find his Account in the future Events. Farther, he hop'd to marry Prince *Ulric*, his Son, to *Chriſtina*, the young Queen. *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, had ſome Hopes of recovering the Kingdom of *Sweden*; and 'tis poſſible he would have made ſome Attempts for that Purpoſe, if he had not been diverted by a War with the *Muſcovites*. On the other Hand, the Czar of *Muſcovy* was very much afflicted with the Death of *Guſtavus*, having hop'd to find a conſiderable Bulwark againſt *Poland*, in the perſonal Virtues of that Prince. But the *Swedes* were in a particular Conſternation, by reaſon of the unexpected Death of their King, which, in One Inſtant,

1633.

The Inclination of *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Muſcovy*.

*Sweden* in great Conſternation.

1633. Inſtant, as it were, had thrown that State from the higheſt Felicity, to the Fear of Diſſolution and total Ruin. For tho' the States of *Sweden* had ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown upon Princeſs *Chriſtina*, *Guſtavus*'s Daughter, who was then but Six Years of Age, yet they had not made a ſufficient Proviſion of the Authority and Power that was neceſſary for carrying on their important Affairs, both at home and abroad: Beſides, the Revenues were almoſt exhauſted, and the Peaſants would contribute no more towards them, by reaſon of the frequent Convocation of the Arrierban, and other Inconveniencies that they had ſuffer'd in the time of the War. But, after all, the Guardians of the Crown were not diſcourag'd: For having proclaim'd *Chriſtina* Queen, they renew'd their ancient Placarts againſt the Family of K. *Sigiſmund*, prohibiting all the Subjects to entertain any Correſpondence with *Poland*; and wrote to the Governors of Provinces, and to the Biſhops, ordering them to keep their People to their Duty. In fine, they made great Preparations for keeping all Things in order at home, and providing againſt Foreign Dangers. The Regency was, at that time, lodg'd in the Hands of the Heads of Five Colleges; namely, the great Bailiff, the Marſhal, the Admiral, the Chancellor, and the Treaſurer of the Crown. The Direction of the Capital Affairs in *Germany*, was committed to *Oxenſtern*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, whom *Guſtavus*, before his Death, had ſent to the Circles of *High-Germany*, to ſollicite them to make Preparations for the War. When *Oxenſtern* arriv'd at *Hanau*, he receiv'd the News of the King's Death. At that time he was not ſo much alarm'd with the Power of the Enemies, as with their Unanimity and Zeal in acting for the common Cauſe: For being incens'd to the laſt Degree againſt the oppoſite Party, they left no Means untry'd to have their Revenge; whereas the Proteſtants, who were otherwiſe almoſt equal in Strength to their Adverſaries, did not act in Concert; but, on the contrary, every one had his particular Ends: So that it was a difficult Matter to work ſo many different Heads into the ſame Sentiment; for it was *Guſtavus*'s Authority alone that had hitherto

*Chriſtina's* Guardians.

*Oxenſtern* entruſted with the Management of Affairs in *Germany*.

therto kept up a good Understanding among them. 1633.
But the Chancellor had further Difficulties to surmount, in taking upon him the Regulation of the Affairs of *Sweden* in *Germany*. The Electors and Protestant Princes, being invested with Dignity and Grandure, would not probably receive Orders from a Foreign Gentleman. There was likewise somewhat to be fear'd from the Generals, who were most of them Native *Germans*. The Chancellor represented to himself the Affront and Danger that would arrive to the *Swedes*, if they should quit all their Conquests in *High Germany*, without a previous Treaty. He consider'd, That, let Affairs go which way they would, the *Swedes* had better be expell'd by Force of Arms, than betake themselves to an inglorious Flight, without making any Opposition: That the more Vigour and Resolution they display'd, the sooner they might expect an Honourable Peace; That if they suddenly gave over the Pursuit of the Work they had begun, the Affairs of the Protestants would quickly tumble to Ruin, and *Sweden* it self would be in great Danger, before it could be aware of it; That the Safety of *Sweden* depended absolutely upon the Steddiness and Constancy of the Protestant Princes in *Germany*; and in fine, That if they could not compass their Design with so much Glory and Reputation, as they might have done had *Gustavus* liv'd, yet it was in their Power to keep off the Enemy from the Frontiers of *Sweden*, till they met with an Opportunity of obtaining a glorious Peace. In short, *Oxenstern* propos'd all these Considerations to the Four Circles of *Upper Germany*, namely, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper*, and the *Lower Rhine*: And call'd an Assembly to be held at *Ulm* (tho' it afterwards was transferr'd to *Hailbron*) to concert Measures with reference to the common Cause. He press'd for an early meeting of this Assembly, because the Elector of *Saxony* was, at the same time, carrying on a Project of convocating the Protestant Princes, in hopes of being entrusted with the principal Management of their Concerns, and so prevent the Chancellor: And for that end endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to prevent the Assembly at *Hailbron*. The Chancellor,

*Oxenstern's Propos'als to the Circles of Upper Germany.*

1633. lor, in Purſuance of his Deſigns, went firſt to the Elector's Court at *Dreſden*, but could not obtain any poſitive Anſwer; for the Elector only declar'd to him, that he would act for the common Cauſe as he had done formerly; and would not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, without giving Notice to the *Swedes*, and the other Parties concern'd: And, in fine, that he would never forget the great Services *Guſtavus* had done him. At the ſame time *Oxenſtern* perceiv'd that the Elector's Court could not take up any firm or conſtant Reſolution; and many of 'em were diſpos'd for the Emperor's Intereſt. After his Departure from *Dreſden*, he viſited the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who not only declar'd his good Intention of promoting the Common Cauſe, but likewiſe went in Perſon to *Dreſden*, to perſwade the Elector of *Saxony* to comply with the Chancellor's Propoſals; repreſenting to His Electoral Highneſs, among many other Things, *That ſince the Proteſtants were not of themſelves able to repulſe the common Enemy, there was a Neceſſity for calling in of Foreigners, even tho' it ſhould coſt 'em ſome Canton or other of* Germany: *And that they had better do ſo, than loſe their Property and Liberty of Conſcience, and yield the Victory to their Enemies, by dallying upon cold and ambiguous Deliberations.* But *Brandenburg*'s Remonſtrances could make no Impreſſion upon the Elector of *Saxony*, who ſtill complain'd, that *Oxenſtern* aſſum'd too much Authority in *Germany*; and that a little before he had hinder'd the Duke of *Brunſwick*, to aſſemble the Circle of *Lower-Saxony*, under a Pretence, that the Right of Convocating belong'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which was then in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Sweden*. Some time after there came an Ambaſſador from *France* to *Dreſden*, who had made the ſame Remonſtrances to the Elector of *Saxony* that the Elector of *Brandenburg* had done, but with equal ill Succeſs. And after all, the Landgrave of *Heſſe* acquainted the Imperialiſts with all that paſs'd at *Dreſden*. Notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, *Oxenſtern* ſent ſome *Swediſh* Regiments to *Sweden*, leſt that Kingdom ſhould have been too much expos'd. At the ſame time he ſent *Lunen-*

The D. of *Brandenburg*'s Remonſtrance to *Saxony*.

*Lunenburg* with 14000 Men from *Miſnia* (where the Army then lay) to the *Lower-Saxony* and *Weſtphalia*, in order to diſlodge the Enemies that neſted there. The reſt of the Troops were conducted by D. *Bernard* to *Franconia*, who was to act in Conjunction with *Guſtavus Horn* in *Overland*. The old Count *Thurn* was ſent to *Sileſia* (where Things were much out of Order) to eſtabliſh the *Swediſh* Intereſt in that Country; and at the ſame time, to have a watchful Eye over the Countries of *Marck* and *Pomeren*, in order to ſuccour them in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt an Irruption upon 'em. *Guſtavus Horn*, having reduc'd *Alſace*, enter'd *Suabia*, where he beat the *Bavarian* Cavalry, near *Kempten*, and prevented their Quartering in the Country of *Wirtenburg*; beſides that, he cut off a whole Regiment near near *Simmeringen*. At the ſame time the Duke of *Lunenburg* made no ſmall Progreſs in *Weſtphalia*, where he ſubdued ſeveral Places, defeated Count *Mansfeld*, near *Kintelen*, and laid Siege to *Hamel*. Landgrave *William* likewiſe made himſelf Maſter of a great Part of the Country of *Munſter*. But they had not ſo good Succeſs in *Sileſia*, by reaſon of the Diviſion that reign'd between the *Swediſh* and *Saxon* Generals: For *Arnheim* would needs order all Things as he pleas'd, and would not employ the *Swedes* otherwiſe than as Auxiliary Troops, which put Things into ſuch a Confuſion, that the Proteſtants of *Sileſia* knew not whom to ſide with.

1633.

Different Succeſſes of the *Swedes*.

In the mean time the Four Circles of *Upper-Germany*, aſſembled at *Hailbron*, tho' *Saxony* endeavour'd by Letters, to prevent their meeting, and with much Difficulty, *Oxenſtern* carry'd Matters ſo far, that the States of the Four Circles made a mutual League with one another, as well as with the Crown of *Sweden*, joining with him a Council elected by all the Allies by the Name of *Concilium Formatum*, which choſe *Francfort* upon the *Mein*, for the Place of its Reſidence. At the ſame time theſe Circles order'd the neceſſary Preparations for ſubſiſting the Army. It muſt be own'd that the uniting ſo many Heads, and bringing them to ſuch an unanimous Reſolution, coſt the Chancellor a great deal of Trouble and repeated Intreaties, eſpecially if we conſider,

The Aſſembly at *Hailbron*.

1633. that moſt of the Members had their private Intereſt more in View than the publick: For they were oblig'd to grant every one what they deſir'd, or elſe he had been diſoblig'd. *Feuguieres*, Ambaſſador from *France*, aſſiſted likewiſe at this Aſſembly, and with outward Shew, exhorted all the Members to an Union with the Crown of *Sweden*; tho' at the ſame time he underhand perſwaded ſome to clog their Commiſſion to the Chancellor, with ſeveral limiting Clauſes; for the *French* did not love to ſee the Affairs of the Proteſtants and the Arms of *Sweden* upon a firm footing in *Upper-Germany*. On the other Hand, *Denmark* ſet all Intrigues on Foot for obliging the *Swedes* to quit *Germany*, eſpecially the Coaſts of the *Baltick-Sea*. The Emperor had made him large Promiſes, if he could compaſs that End. The *Danes* fancy'd, that a Sum of Money would perſwade the *Swedes* to return home, upon which the King of *Denmark*, by the Emperor's Commiſſion, offer'd his Mediation to the Elector of *Saxony*. *Oxenſtern* would not openly refuſe his Mediation, but propos'd that *France* and *Holland* ſhould be joint Mediators with him; knowing, that the Emperor would either reject 'em, or elſe add *Spain*, which would give 'em a fair Opportunity of rejecting all the Mediations together. The Chancellor perceiving that they Negotiated a ſeparate Peace at *Dreſden*, excluding *Sweden*, oppos'd ſuch Parties to the utmoſt of his Power. At *Hailbron* he re-inſtated the Children of *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Territories and Electoral Dignity, in order to engage *England*, *Holland*, *Brandenburg*, and the whole Houſe of the *Palatinate*, in his Intereſt. But the Elector of *Saxony* would not approve of their Reſtoration, nor of any of the Reſolutions taken in the Aſſembly at *Hailbron*.

Count *Palatin's* Children reſtor'd.

Now when the *Swedes* were expecting a ſeaſonable Opportunity to attack their Enemies; and when D. *Bernard* and *Guſtavus Horn* had jointly made an Irruption into *Bavaria*, there broke out a dangerous Conſpiracy in the Army, near the *Danube*, which had been hatch'd and carry'd on by *Joachim Miſchlauw* and *Pfull*, Two Turbulent and Seditious Men, that got moſt of the Officers to enter into a Com-

Combination, for recovering by Force the Arrears then due, and extorting a Recompence for the great Fatigues they had endur'd. 'Tis certain that *Bernard* had not only a Hand in it, but was even the Author of it, hoping upon that Occaſion to poſſeſs himſelf of the Dutchy of *Franchen*, *Wurtzburg* and *Bamberg*; and have the abſolute Command of the Army. *Oxenſtern* agreed to the firſt of his Pretenſions, but deny'd the ſecond. What oblig'd him to grant the firſt, was the great Intereſt that General had among the Soldiers: And, in effect, as ſoon as he obtain'd his Demand, the Tumult among the Officers of the Army was appeas'd. During theſe Commotions, the whole Summer was ſpent to no Purpoſe; for the Body of the Army had no Action. In *Sileſia* likewiſe a Diſſention happen'd between the *Swedes* and the *Saxons*. 'Twas then apparent, that *Arnheim* and D. *Francis Albert* entertain'd a Correſpondence with the Enemies, and deſign'd to ruin the *Swediſh* Intereſt in that Country. In ſhort, they continued ſo long without any Action, that *VVallenſtein* had Time to recruit, and invade *Sileſia* with a puiſſant Army, there being a ſecret Underſtanding between him and the *Saxon* Generals; and the *Swediſh* Generals, namely, *Thurn* and *Duwal*, being too eaſie and credulous, he amus'd 'em with a ſham Truce and Negotiation of Peace, till he met with a favourable Opportunity: For at a Time when *Arnheim* march'd aſide with the *Saxon* Forces, he fell upon the *Swedes*, and routed them, and almoſt diſlodg'd 'em out of *Sileſia*. In other Parts the *Swedes* had better Succeſs; for General *Baudiſz*, upon the *Lower Rhine*, defeated the Enemy before *Andernach*. *Landgrave VVilliam* took *Paderborn*, and *VVilliam* D. of *VVeimar* maul'd his Enemies in *Franconia*. In the *Palatinate* the Caſtles of *Heidelberg* and *Digsberg* ſurrender'd. D. *Bernard* made himſelf Maſter of *Aichſtad*, but failed in his Attempt upon *Ingolſtad*, which Count *Cratz* was to have betray'd into his Hands. *Guſtavus Horn* carry'd the Cities of *Pappenheim* and *Neumark* in the *Upper-Palatinate*. The *Rhingrave* conquer'd *Reuteben*, and the *VValſteden*, or the *Foreſt-Towns*. But, what was more important, *George* Duke of *Lunenburg* reduc'd the ſtrong Fort of *Hamelen*

1633.

A Conſpiracy in the *Swediſh* Army.

*Arnheim's* Treachery.

The *Swediſh* Conqueſts in *Germany*.

1633. *Hamelen* to Extremity: For when Count *Gronsfeld*, *Merode*, and *Bonighuiſen*, came to ſuccour it with 15000 Men, the Duke having ſecur'd the Principal Poſts before the City, march'd out of his Trenches, and carry'd a glorious Victory over them near *Oldendorp*, killing 3000, and taking almoſt as many Priſoners; whereas the *Swedes* loſt only 300 Men. Thereupon that important Place Capitulated and Surrender'd.

But, after all, *Oxenſtern* did not think they had imploy'd their Time to good Purpoſe enough; for he imagin'd that it had been better to have taken the Field with all their Troops in One Body, in order to fight and diſperſe the Enemies. Not long after *Dodon Knipbuiſen* ſubjected the City of *Oſnabrug* to the *Swedes*. In the mean time, *Horn* having a Deſign upon the City of *Conſtance*, march'd by the Bridge of *Stein*, through *Swiſſerland*, which occaſion'd great Diviſions between the Proteſtant and Catholick Cantons. However, he had gain'd his Deſign, if he had had a ſufficient Quantity of Cannon to play upon the Town. But not long after his Arrival the City being reinforc'd with ſome Thouſands of Men, he choſe rather to quit the Siege, than fatigue his Troops by an uſeleſs Blockade. Much about the ſame time, the Count *Palatine* having made himſelf Maſter of *Dachſtein*, march'd into *Suabia*, to join *Guſtavus Horn*, upon Advice, that *Feria* was arriv'd from *Italy* with 14000 Men, and had join'd General *Altringer*, in order to Winter in the Country of *VVirtenberg*. When the *Swediſh* Army ſtopp'd this General's Paſſage, he march'd towards the *Rhine*, and after Relieving *Briſac*, which was then block'd up, enter'd *Alſace*, whither *Horn* follow'd him, to prevent his raiſing the Siege of *Philipsburg*. The Duke of *Feria* and *Altringer* having ſuſtain'd ſome Loſſes on one Side and another, and perceiving they could do nothing, Re-paſs'd the *Rhine*, and enter'd *Suabia*, deſigning to make an Irruption into the Country of *VVirtenburg*; but *Guſtavus Horn* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they had not Time to make any Attempt, and incommoded 'em ſo much upon their March, that they were oblig'd to fly to *Bavaria*; their Army, which was at firſt 30000 Men, being then

*Feria's Army worſted.*

then reduc'd to 12000; and at laſt *Feria* dy'd of Grief, for not being able to worſt the *Swedes*. About the ſame time, D. *Bernard* continuing ſtill upon the *Danube*, play'd a Trick with *John de VVeert*, an Imperial Colonel, in feigning to go to attack *Munick*, when at the ſame time he march'd with all Expedition to *Ratisbon*, which was then but ſorrily provided. In this Deſign he ſucceeded the ſooner, that the Governour and Lieutenant-Colonel being kill'd in the beginning of the Siege, the Government was lodg'd in the Hands of a young unexperienc'd Officer. Thus it was that this General maſter'd a Place of that Importance; after which, he ravag'd *Bavaria* mightily. He likewiſe took *Stranbinger* and *Deckendorf*. However, he would not go too far, becauſe he had Advice, that General *VVallenſtein* had march'd from *Bohemia* to attack him. For *VVallenſtein* having defeated the *Swedes* near *Steinau*, and ſubdu'd the Cities of *Lignitz*, *Great Glogau*, *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, and *Landsberg*, intended to have penetrated as far as the *Baltick-Sea*; but his Deſigns were quickly thwarted by D. *Bernard*'s Progreſs, which oblig'd him to return towards the *Danube*. 1633. *Ratisbon* taken.

Tho' the Arms of *Sweden* were hitherto ſucceſsful, making Abatements for *Sileſia*, where Treachery was more ſerviceable to the Enemies, than their own Valour; yet the War began to be burdenſom and uneaſie to the *Swedes*: For the Four Circles of *Upper-Germany* were very weary of it, and that particularly upon the Account of the Inſolencies they ſuffer'd from the Soldiers, who could not be kept under good Diſcipline, becauſe they were not in a Condition to pay 'em their Arrears: To which we muſt add, That the Landgrave kept both his Army and his Conqueſts to himſelf; That the *French* pretended to impropriate all the Country on the other Side of the *Rhine*, that extends from *Baſil*, to the *Moſelle*, and were diſpleas'd with *Oxenſtern*, becauſe he would not do every thing according to their Fancy. At the ſame time *Holland* was jealous of *Sweden*, and *England* did not much concern themſelves with the Affairs of *Germany*; but above all, *Saxony* did moſt harm to the common Cauſe; for he would not ſuffer The State of the Affairs of *Sweden* in *Germany*.

1633. fer *Oxenſtern* to have the Management of Affairs. Upon which View he was precipitantly forward for Peace, which could ſerve for nothing but to kindle a new War. Beſides, he made uſe of *Arnheim*, as an Inſtrument to thwart the *Swediſh* Deſigns. As for *Brandenburg*, there could be no great Streſs laid upon him, becauſe the Marriage of his Son to Queen *Chriſtina* could not be concluded: So that in ſhort, *Pomerania* was much againſt *Sweden*: But after all, *Oxenſtern* uſed all his Endeavours to ſupport the Intereſt of the common Cauſe, and in the Aſſembly of the Circles of *Lower-Saxony* at *Halberſtad*, imploy'd all his Care to retain the Confederates in the Union, and perſwade them to make Preparations for War, with which we terminate the Affairs of the Year in theſe Parts.

*French treat with Sweden.*

We have already mentioned the renewing of the Alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, whereby the former promis'd Queen *Chriſtina* ſhould receive the yearly Sum of a Million of Livres to continue the War in *Germany*. The Two Crowns obliged themſelves to make no Treaty, but with mutual Conſent, and to ſupport all their Allies. At the ſame time *Richlieu* ſet his Engine at work to break off the Negotiation that was on Foot at the *Hague*, between the States-General and the Envoys of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, concerning a ſecond Truce between them; and having at laſt effected it by Money and good Management, he brought the States to take the Field, and begin the War again by the taking of *Rhinberg*. *France* properly ſpeaking was now neither at Peace nor open War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Two Crowns were inclined to follow that Side which carried the greateſt Advantages with it. They croſſed one another's Deſigns all they could, but the Count Duke, who governed *Spain*, being nothing comparable in Dexterity to the Cardinal Duke, who was, as it were, the Soul of all the Counſels of *France*, the Affairs of *Spain* went every Day worſe and worſe. Now to prevent a Communication between the ſeparate Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Roan*, who had reſided at *Venice* ever ſince the Peace was concluded with the *Hugonots*, had Orders to go to the *Griſons*, in quality of the King's Ambaſſador and

and Lieutenant-General of the Troops deſigned to be raiſed there, in order to ſecure himſelf of all the Paſſages of the *Valtoline*: The *Spaniards* made loud Complaints hereof, and farther inſiſted, That as the *French* pretended to obſerve the Treaties of *Queraſque* and *Ratisbonne*, they ought to deliver up *Pignerol*, abandon *Caſal*, the Paſſes of the *Valtoline*, withdraw their Gariſons out of *Treves*, reſtore what they had taken from the Duke of *Lorain*, and intermeddle no more with the Affairs of the Empire. The *French* were not wanting for Excuſes on their Part, and at the ſame Time forgot nothing that might irritate the Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt it; they promiſed the States General to carry on the War, and ſent Money to *Roan* to diſtribute among the *Griſons*, who complained they were not paid, and to make new Levies, in order to ſecure the Paſſes; nay, ſo far their blind Intereſt prevailed over the *French* Miniſtry, that under divers Pretences of the Duke of *Lorain*'s having made Infractions of the Treaty of *Liverdun*, his Ruin was reſolved on, and the King muſt treat him like a Vaſſal, and confiſcate his Dutchy of *Bar*, becauſe he had not done Homage to the Crown for it; and when the Attorney-General had aſſigned this Matter to the Parliament of *Paris*, he on the 30th of *July* obtained a Decree for it. 1633. Dutchy of *Bar* confiſcated.

At this time the Neighbourhood of the *Swedes* furniſhed the Duke of *Lorain*, with a Pretence to give out Commiſſions to raiſe 8000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, hoping to be powerfully aſſiſted by the *Spaniſh* Army under the Duke of *Feria*, who had now joined the Imperial Troops in *Alſatia*: But the *Swedes* ſoon having entirely defeated the *Lorain* Troops near *Haguenau*, and the Duke being affrighted at this Accident, and the King's Preparations, who marched towards *Lorain* at the Head of his Army, ſent the Cardinal his Brother to wait upon him at *Chaſteau-Thierry*, to endeavour to appeaſe him: He made many large Propoſals to *Richlieu*, and offered to diſſolve the Marriage lately contracted between the Duke of *Orleans* and his Siſter *Margaret*, at which the *French* Court was much diſguſted; nay, he would have married *Combalet*, *Richlieu*'s Niece, and his Brother upon that would conſent to leave *Nancy* in the

1633. King's Hands, becauſe they ſhould be then ſecure of its Reſtitution: But this not ſatisfying neither, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* having farther propoſed, that ſince the Duke his Brother was ſo unfortunate, as not to be able to engage His Majeſty to put a Confidence in him, he was reſolved to reſign his Dominions over to him, in caſe the King approved of it; *Richlieu* was ſtill inflexible, and ſo evaded it. The Cardinal of *Lorain* foreſeeing now, that *Nancy* would be ſoon inveſted, took Care to ſecure the Eſcape of his Siſter *Margaret* into *Flanders*, where *Orleans* then was; at which the *French* King and Cardinal were much concerned.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorain* having made but little Preparation for the Defence of his Capital City, his Brother the Cardinal obliged him to ſign a Treaty on the 6th of *November*, whereby he promiſed to give it up in Three Days to the King, to keep ſuch a Gariſon there as he ſhould think fit, till ſuch time as his own good Behaviour or the Peace of *Germany* ſhould convince His Majeſty, that he had nothing to apprehend on that Side: Beſides which he conſented, that the Marriage of the Princeſs *Margaret* ſhould be declared null in all the Forms, and that within Fifteen Days ſhe ſhould be put into the King's Hands, who had agreed that ſhe ſhould tarry at *Nancy*, that he might inform himſelf upon the Place of all the Circumſtances of her Marriage. This done, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* having obtained the King's Leave to go and find out the Duke his Brother, that he might ratifie the Treaty, *Lewis* in the Interim takes *Charmes*, whither the Duke adventured to go in Perſon, and ſtood with much Waveringneſs to what his Brother had agreed; tho' after he had paid the Cardinal with a great many fine Words, he thought to retire, without putting *Nancy* actually into the King's Hands; and therefore wrote to the Governor, *That notwithſtanding any Letters he might ſend him, he ſhould not open the Gates to the French, unleſs he ſaw a certain Mark therein, which he had agreed:* But the Cardinal as cunning as he, having under Pretence of Honour ordered the King's Guards to attend him and the Duke now growing ſenſible he had no Hope of Eſcape, inſerted the Mark in his Letter, and ſo the

the *French* Forces entring the Town on the 24th of *September*, ſeized all the conſiderable Poſts, built a ſort of a Fort upon the Baſtions of the old City, and diſarmed the Inhabitants, who were too well affected to the Duke. 1633. *Nancy* ſurrendred to the *French*.

There were ſome Negotiations now on Foot for reconciling the Queen-Mother to the King; but an Accident hapned, which muſt needs rather widen than cloſe the Breach; for while the King in his Return from *Lorain* ſtaid at *Metz*, that Parliament condemned one *Alfeſton* to be broke upon the Wheel alive, for having formed a Deſign to kill Cardinal *Richlieu*, if he paſſed through ſuch a Place. He had not been long come from *Bruſſels* with Two more in Company, who had belonged to the Queen-Mother's Guards; nay, his Horſe he rode on coming out of her Stables, ſhe was ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have been privy to the Deſigns; and now, under Pretence of defaming her, the Beaſt was ſent back to her in the King's Name, with a Deſire ſhe ſhould not ſuffer any ſuch wicked Deſign to be laid in her Houſe for the future, becauſe that beſides that the Perſon of the Cardinal was infinitely dear to him, ſuch profligate Wretches, as this was, were capable of making ſeveral Attempts of the like Nature.

Towards the end of the Year the Cardinal of *Lorain* went to *Paris* about his Brother's Affairs, and to treat of his own Marriage with *Richlieu*'s Niece, but met with little Succeſs in either, and was at laſt forced to return without any Determination as to the Marriage; and all that he carried as to the Duke his Brother, was, the Reſtitution of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Bar*, and a Prorogation of Two Months for him to do Homage to the King for them.

But enough of this Subject now. In *England*, ſome time this Year, died *George Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He was born at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, bred at *Oxford*, where he became Maſter of *Univerſity* College, and nominated to the See of *Canterbury* by K. *James* I. He was a good Preacher, and a very grave, learned and pious Man; but being a great Stickler againſt Arminianiſm, and the Innovations of thoſe Times, he was ſuſpended ſome little Time by K. *Charles* I. as ſome will have it, for Remiſneſs Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Death.

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1633. in ſome of the Functions of his Government, but the Cauſe already aſſigned, and his Unactivity in promoting the Loan, according to Mr. *Ruſhworth*, ſeems to have had the greateſt Influence upon his Misfortunes. He erected a large Hoſpital at *Guilford*, with a liberal Maintenance.

1634. We are entred now upon another Year, and all Things in *England* were in a manner governed by Archbiſhop *Laud:* My Lord *C*----- ſays, He was a Man of Exemplary Parts and Virtues, which yet were allay'd with ſome unpopular nutural Infirmities; the chief of which (beſide a haſty froward Way of Expreſſion) was, that he believ'd an Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, was a ſufficient Guard to conduct a Man through the World, be his Company what it would. From a Scholar in St. *John*'s College in *Oxford* he became Fellow, and then Preſident. He had been oppoſed all along by the Calvinian Party, who according to an old Cuſtom among 'em, call'd every Man they did not love Papiſt; under which Appellation they rais'd him many Troubles and Vexations, and ſo far ſuppreſs'd him, that the Vigour of his Age was paſt, before he had any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, the worſt endow'd at that Time of any in the Univerſity. He retain'd, it may be, when he came into Authority, too ſharp a Memory of thoſe by whom he had been ſo uncharitably proſecuted; and was but too guilty of the ſame Paſſion he complained of in his Adverſaries, that as they accuſed him of Popery, for maintaining ſome Doctrinal Points they diſliked, ſo he look'd on ſome Perſons as Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they agreed with *Calvin* in ſome Points of Doctrine; tho' they at the ſame Time liked not his Diſcipline, but loved the Government of the Church, and pray-ed for the Peace of it equal with any in the Nation, as appeared afterwards in their Sufferings with it, and for it. As ſoon as ever he came into Power, he did all he could to hinder the Progreſs of that Party; but having a Superiour in the Church, who could ſlacken the Reins according to his own Humour and Indiſcretion, he had not Power to go through

through that difficult Reformation as effectually as he desired; but being at length Primate himself, he thought it his Duty to apply speedy and seasonable Remedies to those Diseases which he saw would increase daily. His first Care, after his Promotion to *Canterbury*, was, that the Place from whence he was removed might be filled with a Man of his own Stamp, and so prevailed with the King to make his old Friend and Fellow-Collegiate, Dr. *Juxton*, Bishop of *London*. Now tho' the Nation in general bore no ill Will to the Church, either in the Point of Doctrine or Discipline, yet were they jealous that Popery was not sufficiently discouraged, and were easily perswaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which they call'd Innovation, was admitted purely to please the Papists. The Archbishop had all his Life-time vigorously opposed *Calvin*'s Doctrine, and thereupon, for want of another Name, (for *Arminius* was hardly known, or his Opinions heard of) his Enemies called him Papist. He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and being conscious to himself that he proposed nothing in all his Actions and Designs, but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest Ways of attaining it. If the Faults and Vices deserved to be inquired into, be the Persons who they would that had committed 'em, they were sure to find no Favour or Exemption from him. He resolved to make the Discipline of the Church felt, as well as spoken of, and applied it, without any Respect of Persons, as much to the greatest, as meanest Offenders. 1634.

The Remisness of *Abbot* and others gave Birth to a Negligence, which no doubt offended very many pious Men. The People were grown so careless of the Churches, and the Parsons of the Chancels, that instead of beautifying or adorning them, they were kept with more Indecency than they would willingly allow in the ordinary Offices of their own Houses; and the Sacraments themselves were suffered to be administred where the People had most Mind to receive 'em. This prophane Liberty the Archbishop resolved to reform with all speed, requiring the other Bishops to join with him in so good a Work.

1634. Work. Yet I know not how the Profecution of it was managed ſo unluckily, that the Enemies of the Church took Advantage by it, as ſoon as they had an Opportunity of making the worſt uſe of it.

Biſhop *Williams.* The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had been formerly Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was ſince his Diſgrace at Court grown very popular; and having ſeveral Faults objected to him, and being daily threatned to be called to an Account, he thought it ſafe to ſhift the Scene, and be brought upon the Stage for oppoſing thoſe Innovations in Religion. Thereupon he publiſh'd a Book, ſo learned, cloſe and ſolid, that he gained Reputation enough by it, as to be able to do Hurt: He us'd all the Wit, and all the Malice he was Maſter of, (ſays my Lord *C*-----) to inſinuate into the People a Jealouſie of theſe Agitations, as if they aim'd at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a Name; and he endeavour'd to perſwade the World, that the Archbiſhop was his declar'd Enemy, for that he had been always againſt his being preferred to any Government in the Church, being well acquainted with his hot and haſty Spirit. And ſo certainly he was his Enemy to the higheſt Degree, if we believe Dr. *Hacket* in the Life of *Williams*.

Archbiſhop *Laud* had not been long in that Poſt, when the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High-Treaſurer of *England*, made another great Alteration in the Court, without much Grief to the Archbiſhop, who was thereby rid of an Enemy, and made One of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and Revenue; which engaged him in Civil Buſineſs, and Affairs of State, wherein he had but ſmall Experience, and which he had hitherto declined. But being now engaged in it by his Truſt, he applied himſelf with his uſual Heat and Earneſtneſs to it, making it his his main Care to advance, and improve the Revenue, and ſo gave Ear to all Informations and Propoſitions of that Kind, which often miſled him to think better of ſome Projects than they deſerved, and made him countenance too much the Commiſſion concerning Depopulation, which was very troubleſome and expenſive to the People, and was likewiſe thrown upon his Account.

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However the Archbiſhop himſelf was highly pleaſed with what was done, and never remitted any thing of his Severity towards Men of all Conditions, nor the Sharpneſs of his Language, which was ſo natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without Paſſion, nor ſuffer himſelf to be contradicted in Debate, which Imperfection expoſed him too much to thoſe who wiſhed him not well, eſpecially the Lord *Cottington*, who would lead him into a Miſtake, drive him into Choler, and then expoſe him; and this he choſe moſt to do in the King's Preſence, and then he would dine with him the next Day. My Lord goes on, and ſays. 1634.

The King had a great Mind to make a Park for Red as well as Fallow Deer, between *Hampton-Court* and *Richmond*, where he had large Waſts of his own, but as ſome Pariſhes had Commons in thoſe Waſts, ſo ſeveral Gentlemen and Farmers had fair Houſes, and good Farms intermingled with 'em, which His Majeſty was willing to purchaſe, and that upon higher Terms than they could be ſold for to any Body elſe. The major Part of the Proprietors were in a ſhort time prevailed with, but many very obſtinately refuſed; and a Gentleman who had the beſt Eſtate, with a convenient Houſe and Gardens, would by no Means comply. The Biſhop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the firſt entring upon it very much oppoſed the Deſign; eſpecially the Lord *Cottington*, who was more ſolicited by the Country People, endeavoured all he could to divert His Majeſty from it, and put all the Delays he could well do in the Bargains that were to be made, 'till he made the King angry with him, who told him, *He was reſolved upon it, for he had ordered Brick to be burnt, and Part of the Wall to be built upon his own Land.* Upon which the Chancellor thought it prudent to acquieſce.

The Thing made a great Noiſe as well among thoſe who were not concerned, as thoſe that were; and the Archbiſhop meeting with it, went and ſpoke with the King about it, who gave him ſuch an Anſwer, that he thought His Majeſty rather not ſufficiently inform'd of the Inconveniencies of the Thing, than poſitively reſolved to perſiſt in it. Whereupon

1634. on one Day, taking the Lord *Cottington* aſide, he told him with his uſual Heat, *He ſhould do very well to adviſe the King againſt a Reſolution, in which his Honour and Juſtice was like to ſuffer.* Cottington replied very gravely, *He thought the King very much in the right, and approved of his Reſolution, for the Place lay very convenient for his Winter-Exerciſe, and that no Body ought to diſſwade him from it.* The Archbiſhop upon this flew into a great Paſſion, and told him, *Such Men as he would ruin the King in the Affections of his People.* *Cottington* glad to ſee him ſo ſoon hot, reſolved to inflame him more, and replied, *That he did not know but they who hindered the King from purſuing his Reſolutions, might be guilty of High-Treaſon, ſince it muſt proceed from a Diſaffection to his Perſon.* The other asked him in great Anger, *Who taught him that Doctrine?* He ſaid with the ſame Calmneſs, *They who did not wiſh the King's Health, did not love him; and ſince his Health was preſerved by his Recreations, they who went about to hinder 'em were, for ought he knew, guilty of the higheſt Crimes.* Upon this the Archbiſhop left him in great Rage, and either preſently, or upon the firſt Opportunity, recounted to the King the Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, bitterly inveigh'd againſt him and his Doctrine, and beſought His Majeſty, that his Counſel might not prevail with him. The King ſaid no more, but, *My Lord, you are deceived*; Cottington *is too hard for you. He has not only diſſwaded me from this Buſineſs, but obſtructed the Work by not doing his Duty according to my Commands; you ſee how unreaſonably you are tranſported by your Paſſion.* By this he ſaw how much he had been abuſed, and reſented it accordingly. Whatever was the Reaſon of it, *Laud* from the Time of his Promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, or rather from that of his being Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, extreamly provoked, or ſuffer'd the Envy, Reproach, and Malice of Men of all Qualities and Conditions; of all which, tho' he was very ſenſible, yet did he not conſider it enough, believing the Government ſo ſtrongly built, that nothing could ſhake it from within or without, nor any thing leſs than a general Confuſion of Law and Goſpel hurt him, but then he

he did not foreſee how eaſily that Confuſion might be, and was afterwards brought about. 1634.

About this Time Mr. *Prynn*, Barriſter of *Lincoln's-Inn*, having publiſhed a Book, called, *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, licenced by Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Chaplain, levelled againſt Plays, and a Reference in the Table to this Effect, *Women-Actors Notorious Whores*. It hapned the Queen about Six Weeks after acted a Part in a Paſtoral at *Somerſet-Houſe*, when *Laud* and ſome other Prelates, whom *Prynn* had angred by ſome Books of his againſt Arminianiſm, and the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, as alſo ſome Prohibitions he had moved, and got into the High Commiſſion Court, took the Opportunity to ſhew the King *Prynn*'s Book, and particularly informed both His Majeſty and the Queen that the forementioned Paſſage was writ on Purpoſe againſt Her Majeſty and Her Paſtoral. However there was no Proſecution directed againſt him by the K. till *Laud* ſet his Enemy, Dr. *Heylin*, at Work to peruſe *Prynn*'s Book, and to collect the Scandalous Paſſages in them, which *Heylin* did, tho', as *Prynn* affirms, not at all warranted by the Text of his Book. Hereupon the Archbiſhop carrying the Notes to *Noy*, required him vigorouſly to proſecute *Prynn* in the Star-Chamber, and in the mean time got him committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*. The Particulars of the Trial will not quadrate with our Deſign, it's enough to obſerve that his Sentence was Impriſonment during Life, a Fine of Five Thouſand Pounds, to be expelled *Lincolns-Inn*, disbarred and diſabled to practice, degraded of his Degree in the Univerſity, to be ſet in the Pillory, his Ears to be cut off, and his Book to be burnt by the Common Hangman; which in all the Parts of it was ſeverely executed; but before the Fine was eſtreated, *Laud* and other High Commiſſioners, by Warrant, cauſed *Prynn*'s Books and Papers to be ſeized, and brought away; of which *Prynn* complaining in the Star-Chamber, *Whitlock* ſays, the Archbiſhop denied any ſuch Warrant. However it were, during *Prynn*'s Impriſonment, Dr. *Baſtwick*, a Phyſician, was brought into the High Commiſſion Court, for his Book, called, *Elenchus Papiſmi*, and *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialitium*,

*Prynn's Hiſtrio Maſtix*, and Proſecution.

*Baſtwick's Elenchus*, &c.

1634. *um*, in Anſwer to one *Short*, a Papiſt, who maintained the Pope's Supremacy, Maſs and Popery; and tho' *Baſtwick*'s Epiſtle to his Book declared, he intended nothing againſt the Biſhops of the Church of *England*, but thoſe of *Rome*, yet the High Commiſſioners ſentenced him to pay a Thouſand Pound, to be Excommunicated, debarred his Practice of Phyſick, his Book to be burnt, and himſelf to be impriſoned till he had made a Recantation. If all this was for maintaining the King's Prerogative againſt Papacy, (as the Doctor pleaded) it was an unaccountable Procedure; as was alſo on the other ſide, that of the Archbiſhop towards one *Chowney*, a fierce Papiſt, who had wrote a Book in Defence of the Popiſh Religion, and the Church of *Rome*, averring it to be a true Church, and dedicated the ſame to *Laud*, who patronized it, ſo that the Author was never ſo much as called to Queſtion for it, but on the contrary, *Whitlock* ſays, the Archbiſhop maintained that the Church of *Rome* was a true Church, and erred only in Fundamentals. But it was not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* alone that ſhewed perhaps ſo much indiſcreet Zeal for the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, his Creature Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, did about this time not only deſign to impoſe the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Diſcipline, upon the *Engliſh* Companies and Regiments in Foreign Parts, but alſo upon the Churches of Foreigners being in *England*, and repreſenting to the Lords of the Council, his Advice therein in ſeveral Propoſitions; the Archbiſhop thought fit to purſue the ſame, and wrote a Letter to the Merchants at *Delph* accordingly, tho' I think it had not the deſired Effect.

His Sentence.

Ship-Money. In the mean time the Government wanting Money, and the Merchants of *London*, and other Parts (as they would have it) complaining that Trade was obſtructed for want of good Convoys againſt the *Turkiſh* Rovers, and other Pirates that infeſted the Seas. This Opportunity was fatally laid hold on to ſupply the King's Coffers: The Adviſer of it was Attorney-General *Noy*, who inſiſting upon a Precedent to this Purpoſe, backed it with this Reaſon, That when a King of *England* wants Money to

to ſupply his own Neceſſities, or to enlarge his Dominions, he ought to be beholding to his People for it; but when the Kingdom is in imminent Danger, he might raiſe Money by his own Authority, without hazarding its Ruin by tedious Formalities in raiſing it otherwiſe: The purſuing of this Advice may be ſaid to have been one of the wrongeſt Steps the King ever made, and did not a little contribute to that fatal War that enſued, and finally his Ruin; the City of *London* particularly petitioned againſt it in vain. However it were, my Lord *C*---ſays, This and other Errors were not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit and Overforwardneſs of the Lawyers themſelves. That there were Two of that Profeſſion, by whoſe ſeveral, and diſtinct Conſtitutions thoſe Miſchiefs were firſt introduced, Mr. *Noy*, Attorney-General, and Sir *John Finch*, firſt Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and then Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal. That the firſt was by great Induſtry and Importunity from Court, perſwaded to be made Attorney-General; a Place for which all other Men laboured. The Court made a greater Impreſſion upon his Mind than Manners; That he affected a Moroſity, which render'd him unapt to flatter other Men, but made him the moſt liable to be flatter'd himſelf that can be imagined; by which Means the great Perſons, who then ſat at the Helm, wrought upon him by Degrees to be an Inſtrument in all their Deſigns; for whilſt they extolled his Judgment, and admired his Parts, he thought he could not give the World a greater Proof of 'em, how much he excelled other Men in the Knowledge of the Law, than by maintaining that to be Law, which all other Men believed not to be ſo. So he moulded, framed, and purſued the odious abominable Project of Soap, and drew up, and prepared with his own Hand the Writ for Ship-Money; both which remain to Poſterity the laſting Monuments of his Fame. That Sir *John Finch* had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. He had a good Stock of Wit and Natural Parts, but a ſmall Knowledge in the Profeſſion he embraced, and by which he was to grow. He took up Ship-Money where Mr. *Noy* left it; and whilſt he

1634.

*Noy*, Attorney-General.

Sir *John Finch*.

1634. was a Judge, carried it up to that Height, from whence he had like to have broken his Neck. To which muſt be added, a Declaration he made afterwards when he was Lord-Keeper, upon a Demur put into a Bill, founded upon no other Equity than an Order of Council, *That whilſt he ſat in that Poſt, no Man ſhould preſume to diſpute thoſe Orders, but the VViſdom of that Board was, and ſhould be Ground enough for him to make a Decree in Chancery.*

From the ill Seeds ſown in our Native Soil, let us ſee what the Produce is of other Countries, *Germany* ſhall be the next Stage, where now the *Swedes* conceiv'd great Hopes, when they heard that *VVallenſtein* was diſgrac'd by the Emperor, and deſign'd to come over to them. After the Battel of *Leipſick*, that General had recruited the Emperor's routed Army, and put a Stop to the great Progreſs of *Guſtavus*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Services, thoſe who envy'd him did not fail to blacken him in the Emperor's Ears, alledging, *That he had ſpent the whole Summer to no Purpoſe, in vain Negotiations, when he might have invaded* Pomerania *and* Mecklenburg; *That by his Negligence he had ſuffer'd* Ratisbon *to be loſt, and in VVintering his Army, had oppreſſed the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *tho' his Troops could have ſubſiſted elſewhere.* Beſides, the Jeſuits were his mortal Enemies, becauſe he look'd upon them as Diſturbers of the Publick, and was of Opinion, that they ought not to meddle with Srate Affairs. Further, the Duke of *Bavaria* had an inveterate Grudge againſt him; and the *Spaniards* were mightily incens'd againſt him, becauſe he contemn'd all their Counſels, and ridiculed the whole Nation. In earneſt, 'tis certain that General Treated underhand with *France*, to Debauch the Imperial Army, upon the Condition of having the Kingdom of *Bohemia* for his Recompence: And beſides, deſign'd to carry on a Negotiation with Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, by the Interceſſion of General *Arnheim*, who had gone the Year before to *Gulenhuiſſen*, to have an Interview with the Chancellor; but this Miniſter found his Propoſals to be groſs and ſuſpicious. Moreover, when *VVallenſtein* Treated in *Sileſia* with the *Swediſh* Generals,

General's and the Elector of *Saxony*, he utter'd ſome rude aukward Expreſſions againſt the Emperor; as, for inſtance, *That if he would not accept of Peace, they would ſend him to the Devil*, &c. But *Oxenſtern* proteſted, that he could never penetrate into the Deſigns of that General. Indeed, the moſt probable Account of the Matter is, That by the feign'd Negotiation, and pretended Revolt, *Wallenſtein* meant to cheat the *French* and the *Swedes*, and ruin their Armies; and that 'twas upon that View, that in outward Appearance he Treated the Emperor after that Rate, with whom he had a private Underſtanding. However, he endeavour'd to keep his Army on his Side, to ſecure him from his Enemies at Court, and to impower him to diſpoſe of the Peace and Empire of the *Romans* as he pleaſed. But after all, his Enemies having a greater Intereſt at the Imperial Court than he, perſwaded the Emperor to Diſgrace *VVallenſtein*, and give the Command of his Army to his Son, who was then King of *Hungary*. 'Tis probable that General might in that Juncture have a ſerious Deſign of ſiding with the Proteſtants, and joining in with D. *Bernard*, to whom he had ſent *Francis Albert*, D. of *Saxel-Lauwenburg*; and *Ferdinand* being ſatisfied of this traiterous Intention, firſt ſent privately to have the Officers of the Army refuſe him Obedience, and afterwards order'd ſome ſelect Perſons to ſecure him. *VVallenſtein* having Intelligence of this, neglected no Means to incline the Emperor to believe him innocent; as a Token whereof, he immediately went to *Egra*, accompany'd only by the Counts *Tertzkey* and *Kintzky*, and ſome few Attendants. There he thought himſelf ſecure, by reaſon of the *Iriſh* Gariſon, who were his Friends, and the Commodiouſneſs of the Place for calling the *Swedes* to his Aſſiſtance in caſe of Neceſſity. At his Arrival a Courier came to him from the Elector of *Saxony*, to let him know, that it was requiſite he ſhould immediately join Duke *VVeimar*. *Leſley*, who commanded the Guard, having div'd into the Buſineſs of this Courier, and finding that *VVallenſtein* had determin'd to comply with the Elector's Advice, immediately plotted with the Two Colonels, *Butler* and *Gourdon*, to ſtop his Jour- 1634.

1634. ney. According to their Contrivance, *Gourdon* invited the Two Counts that *VVallenſtein* had brought along with him, to a Debauch. When they began to be pretty merry, upon a Signal given the Two Counts were Aſſaſſinated and Murder'd, and at the ſame time *VValter Devereux*, one of *Butler*'s Captains, breaking into *VVallenſtein*'s Room, took him unawares, and brought him dead at his Feet. This was the unhappy Deſtiny of *Albert* of *VVallenſtein*, Duke of *Friedland*, who had formerly ſubdued the Empire by Arms, aud frighted *Europe* with his Name. He exalted the Nobility of his Military Vertues, which, from the loweſt Degrees of Condition, raiſed himſelf to a great Fortune, which was ſo much the more honourable, in that he was carried to it by his own Merit, and aſcended not upon the Ruin of others. Amidſt his many Faults, of Ambition, Cruelty and Violence, with which he afflicted even his own Friends, his Enemies extolled his Prudence, Warineſs and Diſcipline. He ſeemed always to be above Fortune and Accidents, or rather foreſeeing and maſtering every thing in his own Mind, he prevented Difficulties and croſs Adventures: He was accuſtomed to overcome in Battel; and when at any time he ſeemed to have the worſt of it, the World, out of the Felicity of his Fortune, was perſwaded he had no mind to overcome. Some there were, who condemned a certain Raſhneſs in his Actions, that render'd him precipitate; however, being always guided by hidden Motives, it was eaſily diſcerned, that leaving little to Chance, he did not reward without Judgment, nor puniſh without Diſtinction. Whatever the Cauſe might be, he certainly lived in Glory, and died with Contempt. But to return to the Thread of our Hiſtory. The Duke of *Saxe-Lauwenburg* knowing nothing of what had happen'd, and coming to *Egra*, was ſeiz'd, and ſent Priſoner to *Vienna*. The Duke of *VVeimar* alſo was like to have been taken; but upon Advice retir'd out of danger: However, ſeveral Officers having been convicted of that Conſpiracy, were afterwards Beheaded. The Emperor, by the Diſcovery of this Plot, facilitated his Treaty with the Elector of *Saxony*; who now believing that

*Wallenſtein's Death and Character.*

*Sweden*

*Sweden* only ſought its particular Advantage, hearkened to Propoſals of Accommodation: Whereof, more hereafter. 1634.

In the Interim the Emperor ſent his Son *Ferdinand*, King of *Hungary*, to ſucceed *VVallenſtein* as *Generaliſſimo*. As ſoon as he was come to the Army, he caus'd the Officers and Soldiers to enter in o new Oaths of Fidelity to him and his Father; by which Means, through his Prudence and good Conduct, he ſoon remov'd the Spirit of Faction which had before been inſtill'd into them. A Body of the *Swedes* were now expelled out of the *Upper-Palatinate*, and the *Bavarians* diſlodged another out of *Strantingen*, but *Guſtavus Horn* in *Suabia* ſubdued the Cities of *Kempten*, *Biberach*, and *Memmingen*, and maul'd the Enemies twice ſucceſſively. The Rhingrave likewiſe Defeated the Imperialiſts, and took ſeveral Places in *Upper-Alſace* and *Sundgau*. At the ſame time *Lewis Schmiedberg* took *Philipsburg* by Famine, and *Alexander Leſly* diſpoſſeſs'd the Imperialiſts of *Landsbergh*. But no Progreſs was made in the Aſſembly at *Francfort* upon the *Maen*, where Chancellor *Oxenſtern* had towards the end of laſt Year call'd together the Proteſtants, either to renew the League, or to concert Meaſures for an honourable and ſolid Peace. 'Tis true, a great Number of the States were preſent, but the Duke of *Holſace*, and the Counts of *VVeſtphalia* ſent their Excuſe. Moſt of the Members had their particular Intereſts in their View. The Elector of *Saxony* adviſ'd to a Peace, and oppos'd with all his Vigour any other Reſolutions. Excepting that Prince, all the Circles of *Saxony* were willing to enter into an Alliance with the other Four Circles of *Upper-Germany*; but ſo, as to employ their Troops and their Money for their private Advantages; whereas, the other Four Circles, being more oppreſs'd by the Power of their Enemies, made preſſing Inſtances for being ſuccour'd in the firſt Place. The greateſt Diſpute was, upon the Satisfaction they were to give to *Sweden:* For all of 'em acknowledg'd, that they ow'd 'em a Recompence for the great Services that *Guſtavus* had done to all the Proteſtant States in general. The greateſt Part of the Members had *Pomerania* in their View, as being

The Imperialiſts routed by the *Swedes*.

Nothing done at the Aſſembly of *Francfort*.

1634. a Province conveniently ſituated for the *Swedes*, and not far diſtant from the Seat of their Government. This Motion was vigorouſly oppos'd by the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Mean while, the *French* contributed not a little to put Things in Diſorder, by ſolliciting vigorouſly for the Town of *Philipsburg*'s being given them, tho' the *Swediſh* Arms had reduc'd it with ſo much Difficulty. They engag'd the Landgrave of *Heſſe* on their ſide, and us'd all their Efforts to depreciate the Chancellor's Authority, and embroil the Affairs of *Sweden*. Thus was the whole Summer waſted in fruitleſs Conteſts, till at laſt there happen'd a Battle at *Nordlingue*, by which the Confederate Intereſt was entirely ruin'd in *Upper-Germany*.

The King of *Hungary* takes *Ratisbon*.

In the mean while the K. of *Hungary*, to ſignalize himſelf upon his Acceſſion to the General's Poſt, laid Siege to *Ratisbon*, with a puiſſant Army. 'Tis true, D. *Bernard*, accompany'd by *Guſtavus Horn*, endeavour'd to Succour that Place, as he paſs'd through *Bavaria*; but he arriv'd too late, becauſe *Larzſe Kagge*, the Governor, having made a valiant Defence, was at laſt oblig'd to Surrender upon Capitulation. Beſides, theſe Two Generals had the Mortification to ſee their Army harraſs'd with the bad Ways; and there was a Neceſſity of keeping their Troops in a Body, becauſe the Enemy being poſted before *Nordlingue*, had receiv'd a Reinforcement of *Spaniſh* Troops, which coming from *Italy* to the *Netherlands*, had a mind to do the Emperor ſome Service as they paſs'd along. The *Swediſh* Army encamped near *Ropfinguen*, in a very convenient Ground, having behind 'em the Country of *VVirtenburg* to ſupply them with Proviſions. At the ſame time the *Swedes* put ſome Foot into the City, within View of the Enemy; and 'tis probable they thought the *Spaniards* would march on to the *Netherlands*, after which they might hazard a Battle with the thus divided and weaken'd Enemy, tho' they ſhould thereby loſe the Town of *Nordlingue*, which was not of ſo great Importance: To which we may add, That the *Swediſh* Affairs ſtood not amiſs in the other Countries: For in *VVeſtphalia* the *Swedes* had maſter'd their Enemies; *Hildeſheim* had ſurrender'd

to

1634.

to D. *George* of *Lunenburg*, after the Battle near *Sarſted*, in which he defeated thoſe that came to relieve the Town; *Arnheim* had likewiſe cut off 4000 Imperialiſts near *Lignitz*: *John Bannier* having taken *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, had march'd to *Bohemia* to oblige the Enemy to a Diverſion. In fine, the Rhingrave had reduc'd *Briſac* and *Rhinfield* to the laſt Extremity. In the mean time *Guſtavus Horn* was of the Opinion that they ſhould not put any thing to Riſque, without a preſſing Neceſſity; or at leaſt, that they ſhould wait the Arrival of *Cratz* and the Rhingrave, who were already upon their March towards them with 5000 Men apiece. But the other Generals being eager for an Engagement, reſolv'd to approach to *Nordlingue*, and poſt themſelves upon a Mountain, call'd *Arensberg*, from whence they might conveniently ſuccour the Beſieged. In executing this Deſign, D. *Bernard* having the Command of the Van-Guard, charg'd the Imperial Advanc'd-Guards, who were poſted upon that Mountain, and they retiring a great Way with Loſs, oblig'd him to advance further than he had formerly deſign'd: Tho' *Guſtavus Horn* wiſh'd that the Duke had ſtood to the firſt Reſolution of taking the Poſt of *Arensberg*; yet the other Generals branding his Prudence for Cowardice, and *Hofkirck* particularly ſpoke of it in a petulant manner, this oblig'd *Horn* to comply with the other Generals, to ſhew that it was not Cowardice or Fear that influenc'd him. Beſides, he undertook to take Poſſeſſion of a Hill, where the *Spaniards* had in a hurry fortify'd themſelves that very Night, and without which they could not keep the Poſt they then had. From break of Day, till the Afternoon, *Horn* us'd all his Efforts to diſlodge the Enemies; but obſerving that after a Bloody Engagement he could not force 'em from their advantageous Poſt, he reſolv'd to return through the Valley, and poſſeſs himſelf of the other Mountain. And, indeed, in all Appearance, he had compaſs'd his Deſign without great Loſs, if at the ſame time the Left Wing, commanded by D. *Bernard*, had not been put to Flight; which running away with a full Career, together with the Enemies that purſued, put the Infantry into Diſorder, inſomuch, that 6000 of the *Swediſh* Foot fell upon the

The *Swedes* routed near *Nordlingue*.

1634. Spot, a great many Priſoners were taken, among whom was *Guſtavus Horn*, and the Enemy took 130 Colours, with all the Ammunition and Baggage. However, moſt of the *Swediſh* Horſe eſcap'd, by reaſon that the Rhindgrave being but Three Miles off with his Troops, march'd up, and put a Stop to the Purſuit. The News of this Defeat gave a ſecond Shock to *Oxenſtern*, and indeed after this, the League of *Heilbron* was in a manner upon its laſt Legs; for every one of the Confederates were overwhelm'd with Deſpair, and waited with Impatience to know the Conquerors Laws. They all cry'd out againſt the *Swedes* and *Oxenſtern*, as being the Authors of their Misfortune, tho' formerly they cry'd 'em up to the Heavens, as being the Deliverers of the Oppreſſed. In effect, the Chancellor, who would not obtain a Glorious Peace, by reaſon of the Intrigues and Artifices of his Enemies and Allies, had in this Juncture but very little Hopes, conſidering the Haughtineſs of the Imperialiſts, who were puff'd up with the Advantage they had gain'd. However, to avoid the Infamy of ſuffering the Intereſt to drop on a ſudden, and lying altogether idle, he reſolv'd to keep it up as long as he could, and to endeavour to engage the *French* in the War. Upon whoſe Affairs we ſhall next enter.

D. of *Lorain* oppreſſed. The Duke of *Lorain*, by the Treaty of *Charmes*, formerly mentioned, having in the Space of Three Months been obliged to deliver his Siſter, the Princeſs *Margaret*, into the King's Hands; the *French* Court talked of nothing but to make void the Marriage of *Orleans* with her, which they founded upon this vain Reaſon, that the Princes of *Lorain* had ſtole the Duke of *Orleans*; wherefore they reſolved to cite the Duke of *Lorain* before the Parliament of *Paris*, to produce his Reaſons for this pretended Rape. The Cardinal of *Lorain* did all he could to moderate Things, but *Richlieu* was ſtiff, and at the ſame time Orders were ſent to the Parliament of *Metz*, to prohibit the Inhabitants of thoſe Places, that had been lately take from the Duke, to own him for their Lord: They did not ſhew much better Nature towards the Queen-Mother and *Orleans*, againſt which laſt the Attorney-General now preſented a Requeſt to the Parliament, to declare his Marriage null. In the mean time the Duke of *Lorain* being

now

now oppreſs'd more and more, and ſtudying an Opportunity to retaliate the Injuries he had received, on the 19th of *January* made a Donation of his Territories to his Brother *Nicholas Francis*, the Cardinal, who immediately gave Notice of it to the *French* Court, in Hopes they would now act with much more Moderation towards the Brothers, but it ſignified very little; nothing but the Cardinal Duke (as he now ſtiled himſelf) his Marriage with *Richlieu*'s Niece could ſave him, which after all, not taking Effect, he married his Couſin *Claude de Lorain* publickly, from which Match was produced that great Hero of our Age, *Charles* V. Duke of *Lorain*. As ſoon as the Mareſchal *de la Force* heard of this Marriage, he cauſed *Luneville* to be inveſted, and conducted the new married Couple, with the Dutcheſs of *Lorain*, and the Princeſs of *Phaltsburg*, to *Nancy*, where they were confined, tho' with much Reſpect. Upon this, Duke *Nicholas* ſent to Court, to acquaint the King with his Marriage, to deſire *Luneville* to be reſtored, and himſelf and his Princeſs to be ſet at Liberty, ſince he was ready to obſerve all the Treaties made with His Majeſty; but the *French* were ſo far from giving up any thing, that tho' Duke *Charles* offered to ſurrender *La Mothe* and *Bicbe*, Two ſtrong Places which he ſtill kept in Poſſeſſion, into the King's Hands, if he would ſet his Brother and the Princeſſes at Liberty, yet they choſe rather to take them by Force. In order to this, *La Force* was ordered to block up *La Mothe*, while Duke *Charles*, who was in *Alſatia* with the Imperial Army, deſigned to ſurprize the *French* Camp before it; wherefore having obtained ſome Troops of the Imperial Generals, he joined them with his own, and marched on that Side; but the Rhinegrave *Otho*, who commanded the *Swediſh* Army, prevented him, and cut his Men in pieces, ſo he eſcaped very narrowly with a few Followers into the *Franche Compte*, there to pick up the Remainder of his Army. I ſhould have told you before, That the Princeſs of *Phaltsburg* had made her Eſcape out of *Nancy* into *Beſanſon*; and now Duke *Nicholas* and his Wife having found a Way to do the ſame, from whence they went to *Florence*, they were much concerned at it in *France*, where they reſolved

1634.

D. of *Lorain* defeated.

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1634. now to profecute the Matter of *Orleans*'s Marriage with the Princeſs *Margaret*, and to make it void; for the better effecting of it, ſome Overtures were made of Reconciliation between the Queen-Mother and the King, leſt ſhe might join Intereſt with *Orleans*, and ſo create them more Trouble, but this came to nothing; while *Monſieur* fearing the worſe, obtained a Decree of the Univerſity of *Lovain*, whereby they adjudged his Marriage with *Margaret* valid. Wherefore the Cardinal and other Miniſters finding themſelves gravell'd with theſe Procedures, concluded it would be the ſureſt Expedient to get *Orleans* into *France*, as ſuppoſing they could there make him do whatever they had a mind to; for which Reaſon they laboured privately to effect it, tho' this Prince pretended to be as far from entring into any Reconciliation as ever he had been. It would be to long to give the Particulars of the Negotiation; it's ſufficient to obſerve, That as it was neceſſary it ſhould be concealed from the *Spaniards*, leſt they ſhould detain the Duke's Servants, he had ſo much Artifice as to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with them, which had it been real, might in time be of great Advantage to them, but indeed did only haſten the Treaty for his Return: The Subſtance of which was, *That the King and he agreed to be determined, as for what related to the Marriage of the latter, by thoſe Laws which the other Subjects of the King were uſed to be judged by in the like Caſes; the King allowing full Liberty to* Monſieur, *to ſatisfie his Conſcience in that Point by the uſual* Methods; *That if the Marriage happned to be diſſolved, he promiſed the King not to marry again without his Conſent; as on his Part, the King gave his Word not to conſtrain him to act againſt his Inclinations, and in what Place* Orleans *reſided with the King's Leave, he promiſed to behave himſelf like a true Brother, and a good Subject, without maintaining any private Correſpondence which might offend the King; That His Majeſty granted an Amneſty for him and all his Domeſticks, except Three or Four; That* Monſieur *ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all his Goods, Appenages and Penſions; and that the King ſhould give him immediately upon his Arrival in* France 400000 *Livres, to pay off his Debts at* Bruſſels *and elſewhere, and* 100000 *Crowns Fifteen Days after to ſet up his Equipage; That the*

Treaty between *Lewis* XIII. and his Brother.

*the King ſhould give him the Government of* Auvergne, *inſtead of that of the Province about* Orleans *and* Blois; *That he ſhould keep for him a Company of Gens d'Arms, and another of Light Horſe, conſiſting of* 100 *Men each, for Six Months, and afterwards for Fifty, till ſuch time as* Monſieur *returned to Court.* The King performed his Promiſes to his Brother; but at the ſame time, both by himſelf and others, the beſt of his Divines, would have perſwaded him to conſent that his Marriage ſhould be declared null: but how weak and unconſtant ſoever *Orleans* might have been reputed to be, he was very honourable and ſtanch in this Matter, and would by no Means give way to it. 1634.

Having therefore no farther Occaſion to mention this Affair, at leaſtwiſe for the preſent, we are here to take Notice, that the Dutcheſs of *Lorain* being commanded to go for the *French* Court, *de la Force*, while ſhe was there, took the Caſtle of *Biche*, and afterwards *La Mothe* in *July* ſurrendered upon Articles; after which there being no other Places in *Lorain*, that durſt hold out for the ancient Lords of that Country, the Parliament confiſcated the Dutchy of *Bar*, and the Cardinal cauſed the Decree to be executed with all imaginable Rigour. He erected a Court of Juſtice at *Nancy*, which adjudged to the King Abundance of Places in *Lorain*, as having been alienated from the Three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*; he likewiſe got the Remainder of *Lorain* to be ſolemnly ſeized on towards the Expences of the War, and obliged the Clergy, Nobility and People to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King. The *Swedes* all this while carried the War on in *Germany*, and were for the moſt part encouraged therein by the *French*; but being defeated at the great Battel of *Nordlingue*, as before noted, Orders were immediately ſent to *de la Force*, to advance towards the *Rhine*, to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Imperialiſts, who already threaten'd to join the Army of the Marqueſs of *Ayton* and Prince *Thomas*, and with them to enter *Lorain*. Several Places of *Alſatia* and the *Palatinate*, which the *Swedes* were forced to abandon, to form an Army out of their Gariſons, put themſelves under the Protection of *France*. *La Force* encamped

*French* ſeize *Lorain.*

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1634. between *Coblentz* and *Briſac* with 25000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe: And in the Interim a new Treaty was concluded with the Proteſtant Confederates, who were promiſed great Supplies of Men and Money: In Conſequence of which Treaty the *Swedes* delivered *Philipsburg* to the *French*.

It's a great Way from *France* into *Turkey*, where *Amurath* IV. growing up to Maturity, began to ſhew the Cruelty of his Nature; and tho' the Peace had not been long concluded with *Poland*, the Sultan now reſolved upon a War; and therefore *Abaſſa* by his Orders having made his Levies, ordered 15000 *Tartars* to enter *Poland*; whoſe Country, about *Cochin* and *Rinezug*, they ravaged with great Celerity, tho' they were overtaken with their Booty on the 4th of *July* by the *Poliſh* General only with 2500 Horſe; who for all that, ſurprizing them as they fed their Horſes, put them into ſuch Confuſion and Diſorder, that he eaſily recovered all their Booty. In the mean time *Abaſſa* with 6000 Men, having paſſed the *Danube*, reſolved to attack the ſmaller Army of the *Poles* in their Camp; of which, the *Poles* being aware, they advantagiouſly planted their Cannon, lined the Hedges and Ditches, and drew their Army into Battalia, while the *Turks* fell into the Ambuſh, and loſing 500 Men, *Abaſſa* orders the *Tartars* to charge the Right, the *Moldavians* and *Wallachians* the Left, while himſelf with the *Turks* would fight the main Body; but the *Poles* ſtanding bravely to it, ſo repuls'd the Enemy, that they immediately retreated homewards, while *Abaſſa* at the ſame time pretended a great Victory to the Sultan; which went the better down, becauſe the *Poles* at that time being engaged in a War againſt the *Muſcovites*, ſent an Ambaſſador to the Port to treat of a Peace. It was ſome Time before he had Audience of the Grand Seignior, and even then he ſeemed to Inſult him, and in ſhort proclaimed a War againſt *Poland*, ſuppoſing thereby to bring them to his own Terms; then proceeded to *Adrianople*, to make Shew of all Preparations for his Expedition, before which the Famous City of *Conſtantinople* was, by a moſt terrible Fire, One Third of it reduced to Aſhes,

Fight between the *Poles* and *Turks*.

*Conſtantinople* burnt.

Aſhes, there being no leſs than 25000 Houſes burnt, 200 Moſques, the Mufti's Library, the Habitations of the Janizaries, and an incredible Damage done to the poor Inhabitants, with which Sultan *Murat* was in ſome Meaſure affected, ſince he diſtributed conſiderable Sums of Money for the Support of the diſtreſſed People, and to raiſe the City from its Aſhes again. *Murat* not unmindful of the War, made all this while great Preparations againſt *Poland*, wherein he was not a little encouraged by *Abaſſa*, who perſwaded him it was the propereſt Time he could engage therein, ſince *Uladiſlaus* was involved in a War with the *Muſcovites*; but theſe People in the Series of it having loſt very conſiderably, and ſuing hard for Peace to the *Poles*, and the ſame being at length granted to them; the unexpected News thereof cauſed *Murat*'s Bravado's againſt *Poland* to ceaſe, and turned the Stile of his Fury againſt the *Muſcovites*; and therefore he thought fit to diſpatch an Ambaſſador quickly into *Poland*, to renew the ancient League. But the King and Diet ſo reſented the Perfidy of the *Turks*, in reſpect to the late Articles, and the ſame was ſo aggravated by the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador, now returned from *Conſtantinople*, that the Ambaſſador was ſent home, while the King went to review his Army in *Polodia*, which he found to be 80000 ſtrong, and all in a good Condition. *Murat* was very uneaſie hereupon, and beſides that, one of the Viſiers, *Moretza*, was continually with the *Poliſh* General, ſolliciting with Letters and Expedients for a Peace. *Abaſſa* was ſtrangled, and given a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Fury of his Enemies; ſo that at length the *Poles* recollecting a better Diſpoſition, agreed to the following Articles. 1634.

Peace between the *Poles* and *Turks*.

I. *That the* Vayvods *of* Moldavia *and* Wallachia *ſhould be confirmed by the Sultan, with the Conſent and Recommendation of* Poland.

II. *That* Cantemir *and his* Tartars *ſhould leave* Budziack, *and in Caſe of Refuſal, the* Turks *and* Cham *to join their Forces, to expel them.*

III. *The* Poles *to ſuppreſs the Hoſtilities of the* Coſſacks *in the* Euxine.

IV. *The* Turks *to renounce all Tribute from* Poland, *and to build no new Forts on the Frontiers.*

Laſtly,

1634. Laſtly, *That Navigation on the* Nieper *ſhould be free to the* Poles.

This Year is remarkable for the Death of the Oracle of the *Engliſh* Law, Sir *Edward Coke*, Knt. ſometime Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, a Perſon of a very great Reputation among the People, but of leſs at Court, whoſe illegal Proceedings he earneſtly oppoſed in Parliament. Being uſually a Member of the Houſe of Commons, after he was put out of his Publick Affairs. He was a Man of great Learning and Induſtry, and was valued as a juſt and impartial Magiſtrate: His Inſtitutes and other Works have eternized his Memory.

Sir *Edward Coke's* Death.

1635. Having concluded the Year in this manner with the Death of one of the greateſt *Engliſhmen* of the Age, *Laud's* Intereſt was now ſo prevalent as to get Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, to be made Lord-Treaſurer. His Character, according to Sir *P. W.* is, That he was a Perſon of a meek Spirit, and of a ſolid and ſteddy Judgment; and having addicted his firſt Studies to the Civil Law, (from which he took his Title of Doctor, tho' he afterwards took on him the Miniſtry) this fitted him the more for Secular and State Affairs. His Temper and Prudence wrought ſo upon all Men, that tho' he had the Two moſt invidious Characters both in the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State; one of a Biſhop, the other of a Lord-Treaſurer; yet neither drew Envy on him, tho' the Humour of the Times tended to brand all great Men in Employment. He found the Revenue low, and much anticipated; yet withal, meeting with Times peaceable and regular, and his Maſter inclined to be frugal, he held up the Dignity and Honour of His Majeſties Houſhold, and the Splendor of the Court; and all Publick Expences, and Juſtice in all Contracts; ſo as there was a few Diſſatisfactions in his Time as perhaps in any, and yet he cleared off the Anticipations on the Revenue, and ſet his Maſter beforehand. The Choice of this good Man ſhewed (continues Sir *P.*) how remote it was from this King's Intentions, to be either tyrannical or arbitrary; for ſo well he demeaned himſelf through his Seven Years Imployment, that neither as Biſhop or Treaſurer, came there any one Accuſation againſt him

*Juxton's* Character.

him in that laſt Parliament 1640. whoſe Ears were opened, nay, itching after ſuch Complaints. Nay, even after the King's being driven from *London*, he remained at his Houſe, belonging to his Biſhoprick, in *Fulham*, and ſometimes was viſited by ſome of the Grandees, and found Reſpect from all, and yet walked ſteddily in his old Paths. And he retained ſo much of his Maſter's Favour, that when the King was admitted to any Treaty with the Houſes Commiſſioners, he always commanded his Attendance on him; for he ever valued his Advice. Then he adds, *I remember that the King, being buſie in diſpatching ſome Letters with his own Pen, commanded me to wait on the Biſhop, and to bring him back his Opinion in a certain Affair: I humbly pray'd His Majeſty, that I might rather bring him with me, leſt I ſhould not expreſs His Majeſties Senſe fully, nor bring back his ſo ſignificantly, as he meant it; and becauſe there might be need for him further to explain himſelf, and leaſt he ſhould not ſpeak freely to me:* To which the King replied, *Go, as I bid you; if he will ſpeak freely to any Body, he will ſpeak freely to you: This* (the King ſaid) *I will ſay of him, I never got his Opinion freely in my Life; but when I had it, I was ever the better for it.* But not to make ſo large an Excurſion, Archbiſhop *Laud* ſtill purſuing an Uniformity, or rather Conformity to the Church of *England*, as much as might be in his Metropolitan Viſitation, ſummoned the Miniſters and Elders of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches to appear before his Vicar-General, who enjoined all the Natives to repair to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and to perform all Duties and Payments required on that Behalf. They petitioned the Biſhop of their own Dioceſe, and after him the Archbiſhop, without any Redreſs; and therefore leaving this unhappy Deſign, which with other Proſecutions made many of the uſeful Subjects of *England* to ſeek a quiet Retirement in *America*; we cannot but take Notice, that the Archbiſhop's ſetting up Pictures in the Church-Windows of his Chappel at *Croyden* and *Lambeth*, whoſe Portraicture was made according to the *Roman* Miſſal, gave great Offence; and all that he afterwards could ſay in his own Defence, when he came to be queſtioned for the ſame in Parliament, ſtood him in little Stead. If

1635.

1635. If the People thus diſrelliſhed this Pace in the Archbiſhop, His Majeſties Kindneſs to ſome Romaniſts about this time, you may be ſure, did not tend to better the Opinion about his Conduct; for beſides, that there were ſome Perſons of that Communion allowed to be Privy-Counſellors, he granted his Letters of Grace to divers Popiſh Recuſants, whereby all Proſecutions at Law againſt them, upon the Account of Recuſancy were ſtopped. There was a great Buſtle about the Archbiſhop's ordering the Communion-Table to be removed to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, which we ſhall not trouble our ſelves about; but obſerve, That in the mean time the Privy-Council wrote Letters to all the High Sheriffs in *England*, directing them to Tax and Levy Ship-Money, but yet with great Care and Equality, much beyound what was obſerved in following Taxes; but this guilded Pill would not ſo eaſily go down; a great many People expreſſing their Diſcontent at it, as an Impoſition againſt Law, and the Rights of the Subject. However the King ſet out a gallant Fleet, which was fitted up by the Aid of Ship-Money, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, Admiral, and the Earl *Eſſex*, Vice-Admiral, who ſecured the Trade of *England*, by ſcowring the Seas of Pirates, and render'd the King's Power formidable to his Neighbours. In *September* the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London*, out of *Shropſhire*, one *Thomas Par*, as the Wonder of his Time, who was 152 Years of Age, and in all Probability had ſurvived ſome Years longer, had he not been incommoded by the Fatigue of ſo tedious a Journey, and the Change of his wonted Courſe of Diet. Now it was that *Charles* Prince Elector *Palatine* came into *England* to viſit his Uncle, and to conſult with him about his Reſtoration to the *Palatinate*, and a while after his Brother Prince *Rupert* came alſo.

Letters for Ship-Money.

Old *Par.*

Leaving theſe Princes in *England*, as for *France* we have told you in the preceding Year how Matters ſtood both at home, and between them and the *Swedes* in *Germany*; the laſt of which were forced for their own Support to give up *Philipsburg* to the *French*; in the Poſſeſſion of which however they did not long continue, for the Imperialiſts under *Braun-*

*Braumberger*, about the beginning of this Year surprized it in this manner. Some Soldiers were dreſs'd like Peaſants, and driving ſome Waggons laden with Wine, cut the Throats of the *Corps de Garde*, while *Braumberger* ſcaled the Place on the other Side; and this was done with ſo much Expedition, that the *French* Gariſon were made Priſoners. The *French* Court was much concerned at this Miſadventure; but to prevent the ill Conſequence thereof, *La Force* and *Breze* were ordered not to ſtir from *Bergſtrat* till *Manheim* and *Heidelberg* were fortified as well as the Situation would allow; the *French* Generals opened the Campaign, by attacking *Spire*, which they took and diſmantled; but their Joy was ſoon mortified by the Governor of *Luxemburg*'s ſurprizing *Brezes*. At this the *French* expreſs'd a mighty Indignation againſt the *Spaniards*, as if it had not been as lawful for them to aſſiſt the Emperor, as it was for the *French* to ſupport the *Swedes*; and they talked of carrying on the War into the *Netherlands*, but yet quickly cooled upon the Matter, and the rather, ſince their Army had ſuffered not a little by their early Campaign upon the *Rhine*; ſo that out of 28 Royal Regiments that had paſſed that River, there were ſcarce 10000 ſound Men left among them. *Weimar*'s Army was not in much better Circumſtances; ſo that beſides ſome other Reinforcements, *Feuquieres* had Orders to raiſe 12000 *Germans*. 1635.

Imperialiſts ſurprize *Philipsburg*.

Now *Oxenſtern*, the Chancellor of *Sweden*, going in *April* this Year to *Paris*, to renew the former Treaties, and concert Meaſures how the Armies were to act in *Germany*, there was another concluded on the 28th of *October*, which confirmed the reſt, and the Two Crowns obliged themſelves reciprocally to aſſiſt their Allies, and to make no Peace nor Truce without one another. The *French* for all their bouncing upon this Occaſion, were ſo far from being able to make Head againſt the Imperial Army at this Time under *Galas*, that had it not been for the great Vigilance and Dexterity of the Duke of *Weimar*, they had in all Probability not only penetrated into, but alſo recovered all *Lorain*: And they were governed by a ſtrange ſort of Policy, to put the Command of their Army into the Hands of the Cardinal *la Valette*,

1635. notwithſtanding ſo many Mareſchals and Generals they had, who knew ten times more of War than he. However, the Cardinal in Conjunction with *Weimar* forced 14000 Imperialiſts to quit the Siege of *Mentz*, which was reduced to that Extremity, that they muſt have ſurrendred in Four or Five Days for want of Proviſions: But *Galas* having ſoon after re-united all the Imperial Forces about the *Rhine*, obliged the Cardinal and Duke to retire, even with the Loſs of their Artillery; and having cloſely followed them over that River, he forced the *French* to abandon their Baggage, and to retire under the Cannon of *Metz*: So that Things now looked with no very good Aſpect upon *France*, neither could the King's Preſence in the Army in *Champagne* much mend the Matter. However ſome Days after his Return to *Paris* the Duke of *Weimar*'s Agent made a new Treaty for his Maſter, and for the reſt, whoſe Troops he commanded, whereby the King obliged himſelf not to make any Treaties without the Allies in *Germany*, and the Duke promiſed the ſame thing in relation to the King: *Weimar* likewiſe engaged to have 12000 Foot and 6000 Horſe in *Germany*, with a Train of Artillery proportionble, upon Condition the King would cauſe to be paid to him Four Millions of Livres a Year; that if in fighting he happened to loſe his Army, the King ſhould raiſe him another; and that if he was taken Priſoner, he ſhould take the ſame Care of him as of One of his own Generals; beſides which the King promiſed him by a ſecret Article the Title of Landgrave of *Alſatia*, and 50000 Crowns Penſion for ever.

*French* King's League with *Weimar*.

With the States-General.

This League being thus concluded, both Sides had brought conſiderable Forces into the Field; there was no Action of Moment happened between them. In the mean time the Cardinal ſtill remembring the Aſſiſtance the *Spaniards* had given the Imperialiſts, and fearing the States-General might, as being well tired with the War, and would at laſt make a Peace or Truce with *Spain*; he concluded a League offenſive and defenſive with the States, whereby they obliged themſelves to enter into the *Spaniſh* Provinces on Two Sides, with 25000 Foot and 5000 Horſe each, if the *Spaniards* did not agree to reaſonable Terms of Accom-

Accommodation: The Conqueſts were to be divided amongſt them, ſo that the King was to have the County of *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Haynault*, *Artois* and *Flanders*; and the States the Marquiſate of the Sacred Empire, where *Antwerp* is, the Lordſhip of *Malines*, the Dutchy of *Brabant*, *Hulſt*, and the Country of *Dam*. This Treaty was to be kept ſecret till the very time of the Execution of it, when *France* ſhould declare War againſt *Spain*, upon Occaſion of the ſeveral pretended Infractions which the *Spaniards* had made of the Peace of *Vervins*. In the Interim the *Spaniards* happening to ſurprize *Triers*, and carried away the Archbiſhop Priſoner, this was looked upon as a plauſible Pretence to declare War againſt them. 1635.

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The Battel of *Avein*.

On the other Hand, while they were treating with the States-General about attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Low-Countries*, their Ambaſſador *Bellieuvre* was forming a League in *Italy* with the Dukes of *Savoy*,

1635. notwithſtanding ſo many Mareſchals and Generals they had, who knew ten times more of War than he. However, the Cardinal in Conjunction with *Weimar* forced 14000 Imperialiſts to quit the Siege of *Mentz*, which was reduced to that Extremity, that they muſt have ſurrendred in Four or Five Days for want of Proviſions: But *Galas* having ſoon after re-united all the Imperial Forces about the *Rhine*, obliged the Cardinal and Duke to retire, even with the Loſs of their Artillery; and having cloſely followed them over that River, he forced the *French* to abandon their Baggage, and to retire under the Cannon of *Metz*: So that Things now looked with no very good Aſpect upon *France*, neither could the King's Preſence in the Army in *Champagne* much mend the Matter. However ſome Days after his Return to *Paris* the Duke of *Weimar*'s Agent made a new Treaty for his Maſter, and for the reſt, whoſe Troops he commanded, whereby the King obliged himſelf not to make any Treaties without the Allies in *Germany*, and the Duke promiſed the ſame thing in relation to the King: *Weimar* likewiſe engaged to have 12000 Foot and 6000 Horſe in *Germany*, with a Train of Artillery proportionble, upon Condition the King would cauſe to be paid to him Four Millions of Livres a Year; that if in fighting he happened to loſe his Army, the King ſhould raiſe him another; and that if he was taken Priſoner, he ſhould take the ſame Care of him as of One of his own Generals; beſides which the King promiſed him by a ſecret Article the Title of Landgrave of *Alſatia*, and 50000 Crowns Penſion for ever.

*French* King's League with *Weimar*.

With the States-General.

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1635. *Mantua* and *Parma*, to fall upon the *Milaneſe*; whereby the King, beſides the Troops he ſet on Foot in the *Valtoline*, obliged himſelf to ſend 12000 Foot and 5000 Horſe againſt the *Spaniards*; the other Three Princes promiſed their reſpective Proportions, of all which *Savoy* was to have the Command. Accordingly the Mareſchal *de Crequi* inveſted *Valencia* upon the *Po*, who was ſoon joined by *Parma*; but *Savoy* making a longer Stay before he came to the Rendevouz, the *Spaniards* found an Opportunity to throw 4000 Men into the Town; and at the ſame time having formed an Army under *Carlo Colonna*, to march to the Relief of it, they were attacked by the Confederate Forces at firſt very vigorouſly, and forced to recoil; but then the other giving them Time to intrench, they were not to be beaten from thence; and not only ſo, but they threw freſh Succours into the City, through a Place where the Lines of Circumvallation were not compleated; ſo that what with this and the Increaſe of the mutual Jealouſies between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Crequi*, they were forced to raiſe the Siege, leaving their Cannon and Part of their Baggage behind them. Thus the Cardinal's great Expectation of conquering the Dutchy of *Milan* vaniſhed into Smoak, tho' 'tis certain he could not have choſen a fitter Time for the Enterprize, if it had been well executed, for the King had made himſelf Maſter of the Paſſes of the *Valtoline* beforehand, to hinder any Troops from coming to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* from *Germany*. *Roan*, who was in *Alſatia*, was ordered in the Spring to go to *Switzerland*, to take 6000 Foot, and Four Troops of Horſe, and conduct them into the *Valtoline*, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that Country, which he happily executed, and firſt bravely beat 8000 *Germans* under *Fernamond*, that attack'd the Paſs on *Tirol* Side, and was preſently after no leſs ſucceſsful againſt *Serbellon* on the Side of *Milan*.

Confederates beſiege *Valencia* in vain.

*Roan* in the *Valtoline*.

The Conteſts in *Tranſilvania* between *Stephen*, *Bethlem* and *George Ragotzi*, about that Principality, being not ſo conſiderable as to require us to undertake ſuch a long Journey into thoſe Parts, let us once more ſee how the *Swedes* fare in *Germany*; there the Chancellor

cellor called an Aſſembly of the Confederates at *Worms*, where ſome of them met; but after all their Deliberation, they could think of no Expedient for their Relief, after the Defeat of *Nordlingue*; however, D. *Bernard* finding no Subſiſtence for his Troops on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, paſs'd that River, and march'd through *Wateravia* to *Bergſtrat*, where he halted; the Imperialiſts took the Cities of *Schwienfurt*, *Wurtzburg*, *Winſheim*, and *Weiſſenburg*; and the Emperor Sequeſtred the whole Country belonging to the Marqueſs of *Anſpach*; in Compenſation of which, *Minden* was adjudg'd to D. *George* of *Lunemburg*. 'Tis true, *John Banier* might have contributed much to retrieve the *Swediſh* Affairs, ſince he had been all Summer at the Head of a powerful Army in *Bohemia*, and after the Defeat of *Nordlingue*, had march'd to *Thuringia*, in order to be in a Readineſs for ſuccouring the Confederates: But he thought it not proper to advance further, for fear the Enemy ſhould take Poſſeſſion of that Country, and ſo cut off his Retreat to the *Baltick-Sea*, which by all Means was to be prevented. Wherefore that General choſe rather to keep the Poſts he was poſſeſs'd of, and obſerve the Enemy, and in the mean time to Re-inforce his Army, ſince he could lay no Streſs on the Electors of *Saxony* or *Brandenburg*: For the firſt of theſe Princes had already concluded a ſeparate Peace with the Emperor, which was to be confirm'd and ratify'd at *Prague*. After which, he recall'd his Troops from the Emperor's Territories, and began to penetrate into the Country where General *Banier*'s Army was Canton'd. In this Juncture the Archbiſhop of *Bremen* died, and D. *Frederick*, the Son of *Chriſtian* IV. K. of *Denmark*, made Uſe of that Opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of that Archbiſhoprick, notwithſtanding that the *Swedes* had reſcu'd it from the Hands of the Enemies, and ſtill kept Garriſon in *Stade* and *Buxtenhude*. On the other Hand the Imperialiſts proſpered; for beſides their having a firm Footing on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and that the *Spaniards* their Confederates maſter'd *Triers*, and took the Elector Priſoner, (as before noted) to the great Diſhonour of the *French*, who had a Gariſon in that Place, the City of *Augsburg* was conſtrain'd by Famine to ſurrender

1635.

The Confederates Aſſemble at *Worms*.

*Saxony*'s ſeparate League with the Emperor.

1635. upon very hard Terms: And the Caſtles of *Wurtzburg*, *Pappenheim* and *Coburg*, fell into their Hands. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was reduc'd to the laſt Extremity; D. *Bernard*'s Arms made no Progreſs; and the Elector of *Saxony* having pull'd off his Mask, forſook the *Swedes*, and offer'd by Force to poſſeſs himſelf of their Quarters in *Thuringia*, and retake from them the Cities of *Halberſtadt* and *Magdeburg*. Upon this Occaſion *Sweden* was oblig'd to yield a great many Points to that Elector, to avoid the Troubles that would have incommoded her very much in that Juncture. A great many were ſurpriz'd, to ſee the Elector of *Saxony* making Preparations for War, after the Concluſion of a Treaty with the Emperor, ſince that Prince could have no other View in this Matter, than that of diſloding the *Swedes* by open Force, in caſe they would not be gone with good Will. At the ſame time this Elector ſolliciting the other Confederates to accommodate Matters with the Emperor; the Elector of *Brandenburg* foreſeeing the Pernicious Conſequences that might enſue upon that Treaty, would not hear of it at the firſt. But afterwards the Elector of *Saxony* having promis'd that *Pomerania* ſhould be adjudg'd to him by the Treaty, over-perſwaded him. All this affected *Sweden* the more, becauſe the Truce they had made with *Poland* was e'en almoſt exſpir'd; and they were oblig'd to ſend a puiſſant Army to *Pruſſia*, under the Command of *James de la Gardie*, to back and fortifie their Negotiation, or elſe to be in a Poſture of Defence, in caſe of a Rupture. But the *Swedes* being unable to make Head againſt Two ſuch formidable Enemies at once, and being at a Loſs how to diſengage themſelves with Honour of their Concerns in *Germany*, were at laſt oblig'd to ſubmit to very hard Terms, and purchaſe a Peace of Twenty-ſix Years, by the Ceſſion of *Pruſſia* to *Poland*; to which they were ſollicited by the *French*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

*Swedes* yield *Pruſſia* to *Poland*.

In the mean while the Cities of *Nuremburg*, *Ulm* and *Memmingen*, having accepted of the Peace of *Prague*, *Oxenſtern* had great Difficulties to encounter with at *Magdeburg*, for he could not depend upon any of the Confederates, and the Officers of *Banier*'s Army

Army in the Neighbourhood of *Magdeburg* began to Mutiny, and there was no Poſſibility of finding Money to appeaſe 'em. On the other Hand, the Elector of *Saxony* ſent Deputies to demand of the Chancellor the Reſtitution of the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which the Emperor, as he alledg'd, had given to his Son; and to deſire him to retire gently with his Troops. By the ſame Deputies he offered him 2500000 *Miſnia* Livres for a Recompence. *Oxenſtern* would not accept of any ſuch Propoſals; but perceiving that the Elector had no Regard to his Remonſtrances, and was preparing to attack the *Swedes*, he reſolv'd to put the *Swedes* into a Poſture of Defence; tho' after all, both he and *Banier* were not ſo much afraid of the Elector of *Saxony*'s Arms, as of their own Officers, whom that Prince endeavour'd to debauch by Promiſes and other Intrigues, inſomuch, that they had the Preſumption to enter into a Negotiation with him; and when he took one part after another, they made no Reſiſtance. But when the Chancellor obſerv'd that the Elector of *Saxony*, having paſs'd the *Elbe*, march'd gradually down that River, and plainly ſhew'd, that he deſign'd to cut off *Banier*'s Paſſage towards the *Baltick*; he then thought it not ſafe for him to ſtay there any longer, but ſet out in Night-time with all Expedition for *Wiſmar*. Upon the Road he made himſelf Maſter of *Donitz* with what Troops he had, there being no Gariſon in that Place. On the other Hand, the Imperialiſts had already ſurpriz'd *Gartz*, and made an Irruption into *Lower-Pomerania*, and *Banier* perceiving that the Officers of the Army continu'd to Treat with the *Saxons*, who approach'd very near to him, march'd from *Magdeburg* to the Country of *Brunſwick*, in order to baulk them, and to obſerve the *Saxon* Troops at a Diſtance, as well as eaſe and refreſh his Men. Hereupon the Elector poſſeſs'd himſelf of the lower Part of the *Elbe* on both Sides, in order to diſpoſſeſs *Banier* of the Poſt he had on that River; this oblig'd *Banier* to draw all his Forces together with all Diligence, to prevent his Army's being enclos'd or routed by the *Saxons*. But all the Difficulty was, how to be firſt Maſter of the Paſſage of

1635.

The *Saxons* prepare to attack the *Swedes*.

1635. the *Elbe*, which he happily gained, tho' the Enemy march'd Fourteen *German* Leagues in Two Days. *Banier* arriving at *Altenburg*, Defeated the Advanc'd Guards of the *Saxons*, before he paſs'd the River. But, at the ſame time, 7000 *Saxons* had paſs'd the *Elbe* near *Domitz*, in order to Maſter that Place: Upon which, *Rudwen* was Detatch'd with moſt of the *Swediſh* Cavalry, and 1000 Foot, to Succour that City. The *Saxons* being deſtitute of Cavalry, the *Swediſh* Horſe fell upon 'em, cut moſt of 'em off, and took 2500 Priſoners, whom they forc'd to ſerve in the *Swediſh* Army. This Victory prov'd a conſiderable Acceſſion to General *Banier*'s Reputation, and his Army's Courage; after which the *Swedes* having demoliſh'd *Lentzon*-Bridge, the *Saxons* were oblig'd to return as far as *Werben*, in order to repaſs the River. Thereupon *Banier* poſſeſs'd himſelf of an advantageous Poſt near *Malchin*, in order to wait the Arrival of ſome Troops from *Pruſſia*. The Country of *Mekelburg* being at that time the Seat of War, D. *Adolphus Frederick* offer'd to be Mediator between the *Swedes* and the Elector of *Saxony*, without Effect. On the other Hand, Mr. *Chaumont*, Ambaſſador from *France*, us'd all his Endeavours to retard the *Swedes* from coming to an Accommodation. At the ſame time, the *Swediſh* Army return'd to their wonted Obedience to their Generals, and receiv'd a conſiderable Reinforcement of Troops from *Pruſſia*. Proviſions being ſcarce in the *Swediſh* Camp, and *Banier* deſigning to advance further towards the *Baltick*; he fell upon the *Saxons*, who had already entred the Country of *Meckelburg*, and forced them haſtily to repaſs the *Haval*, which gave him an Opportunity of diſperſing his Troops up and down the Country of *Marck*. There was nothing elſe of Moment done the reſt of the Year, only about the end of it the Imperialiſts maſtered *Koningſhgoren*, *Frankeldal* and *Mentz*.

The *Swedes* obtain a Victory at *Domitz*.

The Duke of *Mekelburg*'s Mediation ineffectual.

*Herbert*'s Death. This Year, as I take it, died *George Herbert*, a famed *Engliſh* Poet. He was a younger Brother of the noble Family of the *Herberts* of *Montgomery*, born in 1593. He was of a florid Wit, obliging Humour, fluent Elocution, and great Proficiency in the Arts; ſo that he was choſen Univerſity Orator at *Cambridge*,

*Cambridge*. At length entring into Orders, became Parſon of *Bemerton*, near *Salisbury*, where he led a Seraphick Life, and writ thoſe Divine Poems, called, *The Temple*, and his *Country Parſon*.

1636. Judges Opinion about Ship Money.

The nibblings at the raiſing of Ship-Money came not to a Criſis in *England* till this Year. It muſt be juſtly allowed, that the *Dutch*, now grown potent in Navigation, challenged a Freedom in our Seas, without any Acknowledgement, or taking Licenſe for the ſame, as in former times; and *Hugo Grotius* in Juſtification hereof, having written his *Mare Liberum*, the Incomparable *Selden* anſwered the ſame in that, call'd, *Mare Clauſum*; but Arguments not being ſufficient to defend the King's Right, there were Sixty Sail of ſtout Ships fitted out under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, now Lord High Admiral of *England*; and as this Navy was larger than that in the Year before, ſo the Charge of it was much more: And therefore the laſt Years Writs for Ship-Money being only ſent to the Maritime Countries, they were now directed to all the Counties and Places in *England*; and becauſe ſome refuſed to pay their Proportions, the King wrote to the Judges for their Opinion in it, and incloſed the Caſe in a Letter in this manner, *viz. That when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concern'd and the whole Kingdom in Danger, whether may not the King, by Writ under the Great Seal of* England, *command all his Subjects in his Kingdom at their Charge to provide and furniſh ſuch a Number of Ships with Men, Victuals, and Munition, and for ſuch a time as he ſhall think fit for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom, from ſuch Danger and Peril, and by Law compel the doing thereof, in caſe of Refuſal or Contradictorineſs? And whether in ſuch a Caſe is not the King the ſole Judge both of the Danger, and when, and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided?* The Judges, to whom this Caſe was referr'd, anſwered in the Affirmative, and their Names were

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *John Bramſton*, | *Richard Huton*, | *George Vernon*, |
| *John Finch*, | *William Jones*, | *Robert Berkley*, |
| *Humphry Davenport*, | *George Crooke*, | *Francis Crawley*, |
| *John Denham*, | *Thomas Trevor*, | *Richard Weſton*, |

Mr.

1636.

*Hampden's* Trial about Ship-Money.

Mr. *Hampden*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Buckinghamſhire*, and of a great Eſtate and Parts, did more particularly (beſides divers others) refuſe to pay this Ship-Money as an illegal Tax; but the King having now obtained the Judges Opinion in Favour of it, there were Orders given to proceed againſt Mr. *Hampden* in the Exchequer; about which, beſides the Council's Pleadings on each Side, the Judges afterwards more particularly argued this great Point upon the Bench, and all of them, except *Hutton* and *Crooke* gave their Judgments for the King. *Whitlock* ſays, That the latter to his Knowledge had prepared his Arguments, to deliver his Opinion for the King; but that upon the Repreſentation of ſome of his neareſt Friends, and eſpecially of his Wife. That he ſhould do nothing againſt his Conſcience, for Fear of Danger or Prejudice; he altered his Opinion and Argument, and gave his Judgment for the Defendant.

We ſhall not meddle here with the Conteſts between the Archbiſhop and the Two Univerſities about his Power of viſiting them metropolically, in which the King appear'd a Party againſt himſelf, in whom the Univerſities pleaded the Right was lodged; but once more viſit Foreign Parts.

We left the *Swediſh* Affairs in *Germany* the preceding Year in an indifferent State; but beginning to retrieve it now, 'twas reſolv'd, That General *Banier* ſhould command the Body of the Army upon the *Elbe*; that *Vrangel* ſhould Command a Detachment upon the *Oder*; and that *Alexander Leſly* ſhould act in *Weſtphalia*, upon the *Veſer*; however, the Foot of the War was quite alter'd; not only becauſe thoſe who had been hitherto the Allies of *Sweden*, were now its Enemies; but becauſe the former Foundation of it depended abſolutely upon the League that the *Swedes* had made with the Proteſtants in *Germany*. Now this had always been the Occaſion of ſeveral Difficulties, ſince no Action of Moment could be undertaken, without a great many Diſputes and Conteſts, every one of the Confederates ſtriving to eaſe their Country of the Burthen and Inconvenience of the War, and all of 'em voting for different Marches, purſuant to their va-

A new State of the War.

rious

rious Intereſts: Whereas in the preſent State of it the *Swedes* were at Liberty to turn their Arms where they pleas'd. 'Tis true, their Force was not ſo great as formerly; but then they had the Advantage of acting more in Concert. And 'twas upon this View, that they did not court any longer the Alliance of the Proteſtant-States of the Empire; for according to the Meaſures of War, they might uſe the more Liberty in what Countries they poſſeſs'd. To this we muſt add, That *Sweden* kept up a good Underſtanding between the Houſe of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and ſome other *German* States, in order to retain the *German* Soldiers in their Service, and not to diſcourage them, in fancying that *Sweden* had an Eye upon the whole Empire in general. 'Tis true, Orders were given to General *Banier*, to give good Words to all the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, excepting the Elector of *Saxony*; but at the ſame time he was allow'd to make his Troops ſubſiſt upon their Territories, according as he thought fit, and purſuant to the Neceſſities of the War. In the mean time *Banier* obſerving that the Elector of *Saxony* advanc'd gradually towards *Pomerania*, and meant to draw him thither, where his Troops might die for Want, reſolv'd to fruſtrate his Deſigns by a Stratagem, it being improper, at that time, to run the Riſque of a Battle. Accordingly making his Infantry to paſs the *Elbe* near *VVerben*, and ordering the Cavalry to repair with all Diligence to *Magdeburg* on this Side of the ſame River, and to ſecure the Bridge, in order to rejoin the Foot, the *Swedes* met ſome *Saxon* Troops upon their March, and defeated 'em; and *Banier* went and poſted himſelf near *Hall*. In the mean while, the *Saxons* having Advice of *Banier*'s Deſigns, diſcontinued their March to *Pomerania*, and return'd with the utmoſt Expedition to the Country of *VVirtenberg*, in order to attack the *Swedes* near *Hall*. The Two Armies continu'd ſome time in ſight of one another; being poſted, the one on one ſide, the other on the other ſide of the *Sala*. The *Saxon* Troops attempted to paſs the River, in order to attack the *Swedes*, but were ſeveral times repulſed with Loſs, and beſides ſeveral other

1635.

1636. other Loſſes of the Elector of *Saxony*, *Banier* Routed Twelve Regiments of his Men near *Petersberg*, while General *Knyphuiſen* defeated the Imperialiſts near *Haſelemen* in *VVeſtphalia* in a very obſtinate Battle, cutting off above 1000 of their Men on the Spot, tho' he was kill'd in this Encounter; after which, his Forces were oblig'd to retire, and repaſs the *VVeſer*. But *Alexender Leſly* having recruited them with ſome Troops he had brought out of *Pomerania*, put himſelf in a good Poſture; and having gathered all the diſpers'd Regiments, repaſs'd the *VVeſer*, and became Maſter of *Minden*, the Garriſon whereof had till then been ſubject to *George* D. of *Lunemburg*, adding to his Army the *Swediſh* Troops, which were before in the Service of that Prince. The Affairs of *Sweden* carrying thus a good Face in *VVeſtphalia*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe* reſolv'd to take the Field, and join the *Swedes*, and relieve the City of *Hanaw*, which *Lamboi* had ſo ſtreightly Block'd up, that there was no Entrance into it. The Enterprize ſucceeded, for they compell'd the Imperialiſts to retreat with much Loſs; after which *Leſly* returned towards the *VVeſer*. But on the other Hand the *Swediſh* Affairs in *Saxony* went backward, ſince, contrary to the Sentiments of the whole World, the City of *Magdeburg* ſurrender'd to the Elector, the Officers of that Place having needleſly ſpent all their Powder with diverting *Banier*'s Deſign, of aſſiſting the Beſieged; and that General (finding himſelf too weak to ſtand againſt his Enemies, and perceiving that *VVrangel* had Employment enough againſt *Marozin* in *Pomerania*) recall'd *Leſly* from *VVeſtphalia*; and, that he might join him with greater Safety, he departed from *VVerlin* towards the Country of *Lunemburg*, where he took the City of that Name, and put Gariſons in *Kaleckberg* and *VVinſen* on the *Elbe*, intending afterwards to march towards *Miſnia*, and attack *Weſt-Saxony*, and was already got as far as *Saltzwedes*; but upon Notice that the Elector on the other Side of the *Elbe*, had taken *Havelberg*, the Fort of *VVerben*, *Ratenau*, and the City of *Brandenburg*, he bent his March towards *Donitz*, to hinder the Enemy from carrying that Place alſo. However, the *Saxons* making their Way towards the

*Banier* Routs 12 *Saxon* Regiments.

*Magdeburg* ſurrendred to the *Saxons*.

Country

Country of *Mecklenburg*, and encamping with a powerful Army near *Perleburg*, General *Banier* alſo paſs'd the *Elbe*, and poſted himſelf near *Parchini*, in Expectation of *VVrangel*, who was coming from *Pomerania* to join him: The Elector's Troops on the other ſide, had poſſeſſed themſelves of a very advantageous Poſt near *Perleburg*, believing they might ruin the *Swediſh* Army, and invade at the ſame time the Dutchy of *Slinburg* and *Pomerania*. In ſhort, the *Saxons* intended to reduce the *Swedes* and their Gariſons by Famine, and being recruited by the Imperial Troops, and thoſe of *Lunemburg*, thought they could overpower *Banier*'s Army with their great Numbers, if he ſhould attempt to break in upon them. 1636.

But *Banier* having received the Recruits which *VVrangel* brought him from *Pomerania*, his Army then conſiſting of 9000 Horſe, and 7000 Foot, he reſolv'd to attack the Enemy before they had augmented their Forces; ſo, taking his Way towards *Perleburg*, he beat back Four Regiments of Curaſiers towards the *Saxon* Army, wieh the Loſs of 400; and tho' the Enemy had 13000 Foot, and 15000 Horſe, they would not quit the advantageous Poſt they were poſſeſſed of; wherefore *Banier* endeavour'd to draw them out of their Camp, by ſtopping the Paſſage of the *Elbe*, and on this Account attack'd *Havelburg*, and the Fort of *VVerben*, which brought the *Saxons* at length to leave their Camp before *Parleburg*, and to call back a Detachment of 3500 Men, whom they had ſent under *Klitzing*'s Command, to ſeize *Old Brandenburg*. But *Banier* thereupon immediately advancing againſt 'em, ſtrove to poſt himſelf upon a riſing Ground, near *VVitzſtok*, and march with all Expedition, in order to ſet upon them before they could join *Klitzing*; and by reaſon that the *Saxons* had before them a Wood, with ſome Holds, and Pieces of Artillery, he caus'd the Left Wing of his Army to march along the Wood, and charge them in the Flank, and wheeled off himſelf with the other Wing towards the Right, to draw the Enemies from a Poſt ſo advantageous. After which, the *Saxons* pouring upon him with all their Forces, began a furious Fight; ſo that the *Swediſh* Regiments having

1634. having rallied Ten times, One Part of them began to fly; the Blame whereof might, in Truth, be laid on *VVitzdom*, who came up too ſlowly with the Troops under his Command; however, as ſoon as he arrived, and that the Left Wing of the *Swediſh* Army had charg'd the *Saxons* on the other Side, they were preſently put to the Rout, and the *Swedes* make ſuch miſerable Slaughter, that 5000 of them fell on the Place, beſides ſuch as were kill'd in the Purſuit, and 150 Standards and Colours were taken; the *Swedes* loſt no more than 1100 Men, not including the wounded, who amounted, in all, to above 3000. Next Day they took 2000 Priſoners, and cut many of them in Pieces. In fine, ſuch a Victory obtain'd over an Enemy, conſiderably ſtronger in Number of Men, and ſo advantageouſly poſted, rais'd the Thoughts of all *Europe*; ſo that the Arms of *Sweden* regain'd their Primitive Glory, and the States of *Germany* conceiv'd freſh Hopes of ſettling Affairs.

*Banier* Engages, and Routs the *Saxons*.

Fluſhed with Succeſs, *Banier* entred *Thuringia*, and drove the Imperialiſts through *Heſſe*, as far as *VVeſtphalia*; and afterwards turning back, made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Erford*, and then took good Winter Quarters for his Troops in *Thuringia*, *Miſnia*, and the neighbouring Provinces, with which we terminate the Campaign in *Germany* for another Year, and having but only touched upon *Ferdinand* III. King of *Hungary*, his being elected King of the *Romans*, we'll ſee how Matters go in other Countries.

Affairs of *Italy*.

The open Rupture between *France* and *Spain* laſt Year, and the Exploits performed in the Field, we have before related, we ſhould have alſo added, that the *Spaniards* with their Fleet had ſeized the Iſles of S. *Margaret* and S. *Honorat* in the *Mediterranean*, whereby they might very much infeſt the Trade of *Provence*; and now they were oblig'd in *France* to create Abundance of new Offices to get Money for the Expences of the War, and in order to ſupport the Duke of *Parma* in Confederacy with the *French*, whoſe Country, during his Abſence in *Florence*, was ravaged by the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Modena*: The King gave him Leave to command a ſmall Army, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to furniſh him with, for

for his Defence; but while the Duke and *Thoiras*, whom he would take along with him, was preparing to aſſiſt him, the *Spaniards* and *Modena* had Time to fortifie themſelves in the Places they had taken from him; and *Leganez*, Governor of *Milan*, had placed the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Novara*, *Pavia* and *Alexandria*, and laid a Bridge over the *Po* at *Girola*, in order to hinder *Savoy* from coming into *Parma*'s Country. On the other Hand the Confederates, full of Diſcord among themſelves, at length came before *Oleggio*, which *Crequi* next Day forced to ſurrender; then having paſſed the River, they began to make a Retrenchment to cover the Bridge, which they deſigned to make in that Place. At the ſame time *Savoy* marched to *Foutanci*, which upon his Arrival he found to be ſtronger than he expected, and before which Place the brave Mareſchal *de Thoiras* was hit full in the Breaſt with a Muſquet-Ball, and ſlain upon the Spot. *Foutanci* ſoon after ſurrendred; and then *Crequi* joining the Duke of *Savoy* without Oppoſition; the *Spaniards* abandoned all the Places along the *Teſin*, which the other poſſeſſed themſelves of; and marching on the Banks of the ſaid River to fortifie ſome Poſts there, they received Advice that *Leganez* was marching towards them on that Side where *Crequi* was; ſo that *Savoy* ſet his Men to work all Night on a Bridge, which was ready by the next Morning, that he might join the Mareſchal. The *Spaniards* began the Charge in the Morning, and the Fight laſted with much Reſolution on both Sides till Night parted them, when the *Spaniards* retired in the dark, leaving the Enemy nothing more than the Field of Battel to boaſt of. In the mean time the brave *Roan* forced the Paſſes along the Lake of *Como*, while *Savoy* returned home; and the *French* Army diminiſhed conſiderably by perpetual Deſertions; whereas the new Levies of the *Milaneze* and of the Kingdom of *Naples* daily augmented that of the *Spaniards*; ſo that *Parma*'s Country was almoſt entirely ravaged by them.

1636.

*Thoiras* ſlain.

Fight between the *Spaniards* and Confederates in *Italy*.

On the other Side *Conde* had now an Army given him to endeavour the Conqueſt of the *Franch Comte*, with which he had Siege to *Dole*. The *Swiſs* who would have concerned themſelves about the Defence of

*Conde* attacks *Dole* in vain.

1636. of it were ſilenced with a little Money, but for all that the Place had made an admirable Defence; and the Prince after he had taken the Outworks Inch by Inch, ordered a general Aſſault to be made on the 14th of *June*, but could not poſſibly carry it. In the mean time *Lorain* and *Lamboy* entring the *Franch Comte* with 8000 Foot, and as many Horſe, encamped within a League of the *French* Lines, deſigning to attack them next Day; but the Prince not thinking fit to ſtay for their coming up, raiſed the Siege immediately, and retired into the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, being followed by the Imperialiſts, who committed great Ravages there, and in *Breſs*. *Lorain* went after to beſiege St. *John de Lone*, while *Galas*, who had joined him, ravaged the Province at Pleaſure: But this Place having at firſt made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and afterwards receiving a conſiderable Relief, the Duke was obliged to raiſe the Siege; and *Galas* withdrew into the *Franch Comte*, and from thence into *Germany*.

The *Spaniards* on their Part formed a Deſign upon *Bayonne*, which met with no better Succeſs: 'Tis true the Admiral of *Caſtile* made himſelf Maſter of the Field, and at the ſame time of St. *John de Luz*, and the Fort of *Socoa*; but inſtead of advancing ſpeedily to attack that City, *La Valette* had Time to fortifie and provide it with Victuals, and his Deſign miſcaried. But on *Flanders* Side they had better Succeſs, by the taking of *Chapille* and *Catelet* from the *French*, and by *Roye* not long after falling into their Hands. The *Pariſians* were put into a very great Conſternation, and *Richlieu* was almoſt curſed by every Body, as being the ſuppoſed Cauſe of their Danger: But the *French* not to be wanting to themſelves upon ſuch a Conjuncture, preſently raiſed 40000 Foot and 12000 Horſe with a good Train of Artillery; the Command of which Army was given to *Orleans*, and *Soiſſons* made his Lieutenant-General. And the King having at the ſame time concluded a new Treaty with the States, whereby he promiſed them a Million and a half of Livres, to be paid at Three ſeveral Payments in a Year, he went in the beginning of *September* to the Army himſelf; they quickly recovered *Roye*, and on the 19th of *November*

Affairs of *Flanders*.

*November* had *Corbie* delivered to them. During the Siege of this laſt Place the King lodged in a Caſtle near *Amiens*; and the Cardinal lying in the City, *Orleans* and *Soiſſons* hired Four Men to aſſaſſinate the Cardinal, who had certainly fallen one Day by their Hands, had not *Monſieur* relented, and refuſed to give the Signal; but then the Deſign taking Air, *Orleans* retir'd to *Blois*, and *Soiſſons* to *Sedan*: Hereupon there was a Negotiation ſet on Foot for reconciling the King and his Brother; to effect which, a Writing was brought from the King to *Monſieur*, wherein he approved of his Marriage, if he abſolutely deſired it, upon Condition the ſame time he would not eſpouſe the Duke of *Lorain*'s Intereſt, nor entertain any Correſpondence prejudicial to the Welfare of the Kingdom. 1636.

Things thus ſeemed not ſo much to be amicably compoſed in *France*, as they tended to Diſtraction in *England*; it's a Shame to mention the Proſecution of *Snelling* and others, for not reading the Book of Sports in the Churches, and it cannot be mentioned much to the Honour of Archbiſhop *Laud* (tho' certainly a great Man) that he ſhould procure an Order from Council for baniſhing *Archibald*, the King's Fool, from Court, becauſe he told him as he was going to Council, *Vvheas Feule now? Doth not your Grace hear the News from* Striveling *about the Liturgy?* Now it was alſo that Mr. *William Prynn*, an utter Barriſter of *Lincolns-Inn*; *John Baſtwick*, Dr. of Phyſick; and *Henry Burton*, a Clergyman, were Cenſured in the *Star-Chamber*; Mr. *Prynn*'s Offence was for Writing and Diſperſing Libels againſt the Eſtabliſhed Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; Dr. *Baſtwick*'s for inveighing againſt the Proceedings of the High Commiſſion Court againſt him, before which he had been accuſed for Writing a Book, called, *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, and other Things which the Court called Libels; that of Mr. *Burton*, for Publiſhing of a Sermon which he Preached on the 5th of *November* before; wherein he charged the Prelates for introducing ſeveral Innovations into Divine Worſhip, which was alſo called a Libel. For theſe Offences 1637. *Jan.* 14. Mr. *Pryn*, *Baſtwick* and *Burton* Cenſured.

1637. the Judgment of the Court was, *That they ſhould loſe their Ears in the Palace-Yard at* Weſtminſter, *each of them to pay* 5000 l. *to the King, and to be Impriſoned during Life, in Three remote Places.* All which was thought by ſober Men to be too great and ſcandalous Severities to be inflicted upon Gentlemen of the chiefeſt and moſt reputable Functions in the Kingdom, and was a certain Prognoſtick that that Court was not long lived.

Biſhop *Williams*'s Troubles. We need not repeat here the Enmity of *Laud* againſt Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who falling firſt into *Buckingham*'s Diſpleaſure, and conſequently into the King's, had afterwards Spies ſet upon him to effect his Ruin; at which the Biſhop admiring, he ask'd the Earl of *Holland* from whence the Diſpleaſure of the Court ſhould proceed? To which the Earl replied freely, *That he muſt expect worſe than being diſmiſt the Council, becauſe he was ſuch a Champion for the* Petition of Right, *and that there was no Room at the Table for them that liked it.* The Biſhop ſtill declining in Favour, was ſurrounded by a Multitude of leſſer Troubles, and ſeveral would needs be pecking at him, tho' it were but to ingratiate themſelves at Court.

Since his Retirement from which time he lived very hoſpitably at his Palace at *Bugden* in *Lincolnſhire*, under Variety of Troubles; and being often viſited by Sir *John Lamb*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden*, Two Proctors, once at Dinner there was much Diſcourſe about Nonconformiſts, and the Biſhop knowing theſe to be all buſie Men in the Proſecution of them, he adviſ'd them to abate their Severity, for he knew the King would treat them more mildly for time to come, being a conſiderable Party that much influenced Parliamentary Affairs; adding further, *That the King Communicated this to him with his own Mouth.* A few Years after, *Lamb*, upon ſome Difference with the Biſhop, informed againſt him for *Revealing the King's Secrets*; whereupon an Information was exhibited in the *Star-Chamber* againſt him: And any Body that will take the Pains to read his Life, by Dr. *Hacket*, who beſt knew him, will certainly conclude, that ſome of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians

ſtorians have groſly abuſed that Reverend Prelate, and that he had very hard Meaſure to be Fined in that *Court* 10000 *l. to the King, to ſuffer Impriſonment during His Majeſty's Pleaſure, and be ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion Court from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions.* 1637. Biſhop *Williams* Cenſured.

At the ſame time a thick Cloud was gathering apace in the North; for the better underſtanding of which we muſt look a little back.

The King, upon his Return from *Scotland*, gave Order to ſome of the Biſhops there, to provide ſuch a Liturgy, and ſuch Canons, as might be acceptable to the better Sort of People, to which the reſt might readily ſubmit; a Work thoſe Biſhops enter'd upon with ſome Difficulty; for the Proceedings in Parliament, during the King's Preſence there, had ſowred the Spirits of many among the Nobility, who waited only for an Opportunity to enflame and exaſperate the People: And Two Years, or very near ſo much, elaps'd, before they had prepar'd any thing for the King towards their intended Reformation; and even then they inverted the proper Method, preſenting a Body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which as yet they had not got ready; the Conſideration of theſe Canons was referred by the King to the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of *London* and *Norwich*, who after ſome Alterations made, by the Conſent of the *Scots* Biſhops, return'd 'em to the King; and His Majeſty, without any other Ceremony, iſſued out His Proclamation, for the due Obſervance of 'em throughout all *Scotland*; and that before they had been ſo much as ſeen by the Aſſembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, or the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom, which was a fatal Overſight, proceeding, (ſays my Lord *C*----) from the unhappy Craft of thoſe Biſhops, who perſwaded the King, that the Work would be acceptable to the moſt conſiderable of the Nobility, Clergy and Commonalty, as believing His Majeſties Approbation and Authority would ſo far countenance the Matter, that they ſhould find no Oppoſition in it; and therefore they did not indeed dare to ſubmit thoſe Canons to any other Examination, than what the King ſhould appoint in *England*. Being there-

1634. fore publiſhed in this manner, before the Liturgy was prepared, for a punctual Compliance with which Three or Four of them were purpoſely framed, and without the Approbation of the Clergy, or Privity of the Council, they were look'd on as ſo many new Laws, impoſed upon the whole Nation by the King's ſole Authority, and contrived by a few private Men, Strangers to the Kingdom. This they thought no other than a meer Subjection to *England*, ſince they received thoſe Laws from thence, and an Introduction to Popery.

Some of theſe Canons defin'd and determin'd ſuch an extenſive Power and Prerogative to be in the King, ſuch a full Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and more unlimited, than had been pretended to by their former Kings; that it wrought ſtrangely upon Men of all Tempers, Humours and Inclinations: Other Things contained in 'em, ſeemed rather to be Matters of State, than of Religion, and thwarted their Laws and Cuſtoms, which had been long obſerved by em, *None were to receive the Sacrament, but upon their Knees; nor cover the Head during Divine Service; the Prieſt was forbid to make* extempore *Prayers, and obliged to pray by the Form preſcribed in the Liturgy*, (which by the Way was not then framed) with ſeveral other Injunctions, that made them appear to many an entire new Model of Government, introduced in Church and State, and that the Church was nothing, but what the Biſhops were pleaſed to have it; yet were they too cunning to ſuffer any Diſorders to break out upon theſe Occaſions, expecting ſuch an Improvement of theſe Seeds of Jealouſie from the Canons, as would in due Time produce the Reception for the Liturgy they wiſhed for: Which being peruſed by the above-mentioned Biſhops in *England*, then approved and confirmed by the King, was in *July*, this Year, publiſhed and appointed to be read in all the Churches. And in this Particular were they guilty of the ſame Omiſſion they had been before; the Clergy not at all conſulted in it, nor all the Biſhops acquainted with it; nor had the Privy-Council any other Notice than what the reſt of the Kingdom had of it, by

The Scottiſh Liturgy.

by which they were leſs obliged to foreſee or provide against any Obſtructions that might happen. 1637.

The manner of its Reception in *Edenborough*.

On the *Sunday* Morning appointed for the Work, the Chancellor of the Kingdom being with other of the Council preſent, the Dean began to read the Liturgy in the Cathedral Church, but was quickly interrupted by a Noiſe and Clamor, and a Shower of Stones directed at his Head. The Quarrel which uthered in that Tremendous Civil War which enſued, began, as they tell us, by one *Janet Gaddis*, an old Woman, who flung a little Folding-ſtool, on which ſhe ſat, at the Dean's Head. Upon this the Biſhop went up into the Pulpit, from thence to remind 'em of their Duty to God and the King, but was treated as rudely as the Dean, till the Chancellor commanded the Provoſt and Magiſtrates of the City, by their Authority to ſuppreſs the Riot; which with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rioters out of the Church, and ſhutting the Doors upon 'em; and ſo the Dean went on in the Service. When all was ended that for the preſent could be done, and the Council and Magiſtrates returned from the Church home, the Rabble followed the Biſhops, and revil'd 'em with all the Scurrilous Language their ill Manners could ſuggeſt; as the Patrons of Superſtition and Popery, and Enſlavers of the People; at the ſame time throwing Dirt and Stones upon 'em, inſomuch, that the Biſhop of *Edinborough* eſcaped with great Hazard of his Life. This Entertainment the Liturgy met with in all other Churches of the City.

Hitherto no Perſon of Diſtinction appeared to countenance the Seditious Confuſion; nor was any one of the Rabble apprehended for it. The Biſhops, it ſeems, contenting themſelves, without applying to the Council, to ſend an Expreſs away to the King, with a full Account of all that had paſſed, and a Deſire, that His Majeſty would take what Courſe he thought beſt for the carrying on his Service. Very few in *England* had heard of theſe Diſorders in *Scotland*, till the Arrival of this Advertiſement; when ſuch a Diſpatch was made into *Scotland* upon it as expreſs'd the King's Diſpleaſure, and obliged the Privy-Council there vigorouſly to appear in

1637. Vindication of His Majesties Authority, and Suppression of the Tumults. But all was then too little. That People, after they had once begun, persisted with all imaginable Contempt of the Government, insomuch, as in few Days the Bishops durst not appear in the Streets, but were in great Danger of their Lives; and those Lords that were seen in their Company, or endeavour'd to rescue 'em from Violence, had their Coaches torn in Pieces, and their own Persons assaulted. So that e'er new Orders could arrive from *England*, there was hardly a Bishop left in *Edinborough*, nor a Minister who had Courage enough to read the Service in any Church. The whole Kingdom flock'd to *Edinborough*, as upon a general Concern that related to their Salvation, resolved themselves into a Form of Government; drew up a Petition to the King, in the Name of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy and Burgesses in the Kingdom, complaining of the Introduction of Popery, and several other Grievances. But of these Things more hereafter.

In *France* we find, notwithstanding all the King's Condescension, in Favour of *Orleans*, as before mentioned, that he insisted upon a Place of Security for himself, and *Soissons* would have the same; so that this created new Troubles, tho' at length all was happily terminated to the seeming Satisfaction and Reconciliation of them all. But to the Affairs of War between them and *Spaniards*, the *French* having fitted up a good Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, made an Attempt upon the Isle of *Sardinia* in vain, and then went to attack the Isles lately possess'd by the *Spaniards* on the Coast of *Provence*: They soon mastered that of St. *Margarets*, notwithstanning the Brave Resistance of the *Spaniards*, and the Isle of St. *Honorat* was not long after forced to capitulate. *La Valette* also quickly drove the *Spaniards* out of *Guyenne*, neither did their Attempt upon *Languedoc* meet with any good Success; for the Duke of *Halwin* having quickly drawn 10000 of the Militia together, attacked them in their Camp, out of which he soon forced them to fly without their Ammunition and Baggage; and in Recompence of this Brave Action, and several other Services, the Duke was made

made a Mareſchal of *France*, and was ever after called Mareſchal *Schomberg*, as his Father was before him. But the *French* did not only defend themſelves with a great deal of good Succeſs in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, but alſo took *Landrecy* in *Hainault* and *Capelle*. Their Armies were likewiiſe ſucceſsful in the taking of *Yeoix* and *Damvilliers* in the County of *Luxemburg*, beſides what they took in the *Franche Comte*, where their Army was commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*. But the Loſs which *France* ſuſtained of the *Valtoline*, which had given them ſo much Trouble and Expence, very much diminiſhed that Joy which their great Advantages in other Places gave them; and all that the Famous Duke of *Roan* could do againſt the *Griſons*, who now entred privately into a League with the Governour of *Milan*, and Arch-Duke *Leopold* for the Expulſion of the *French*, was to ſave the Lives of his Soldiers, and his own Honour, which he bravely effected, notwithſtanding *Richlieu* had been ſo far from giving him Support, that it was thought he had a Deſign to ruin him. 1637.

We have little to ſay of the *Turkiſh* Affairs in *Europe* all this while, Sultan *Morat*'s time being in a manner wholly taken up in his Preparations of War againſt the *Perſians*; inſomuch, that *Aſoph* fell now eaſily into the Hands of the *Muſcovites* and *Coſſacks*; ſo that we muſt give *Germany* another Viſit: Where the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. paying his laſt Debt to Nature, *Feb.* 25. in the 59th Year of his Age, and after a Reign of Seventeen Years: He was ſucceeded by his Son *Ferdinand* III. in whoſe Time the *Swediſh* War was ſtill on Foot, and General *Banier* received Orders from the Government of *Swedeland* to do his utmoſt, to diſarm the Princes of *Lunemburg*, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, that he might afterwards carry the War into the Hereditary Dominions of the Emperor; and the Imperialiſts on the other Hand join'd all their Force in a Body, to pour in upon the *Swedes*, and cut them off at One Blow; after which, they doubted not but to reduce the *French* with much Eaſe.

1637. However *Banier*, without remaining too long in Winter Quarters, at the beginning of the Spring routed Eight *Saxon* Regiments near *Eutenburg*, purſuing them to *Torgaw*, where he forced them to ſurrender; releaſing all the Officers, but taking the Soldiers amongſt his Troops. After that, he reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Leipſick*, but could not effect it, by reaſon that *Hatsfeld* and *Götz*, the Emperor's Generals, came from *Weſtphalia* into *Thuringia*, which made him draw his Troops together, and endeavour to put a Stop to the Imperialiſts, at the Paſſage of the River of *Unſtrut*, and that of *Sala*. But they having paſſed it, he was forc'd to return to *Eulenburg*, having firſt defeated 2000 of them near *Pegaw*, and beaten ſeveral Parties, which he met in his Way. But obſerving that the Enemy advanc'd more and more, he haſted to his Army near *Torgaw*, where his Camp was well fortify'd, and caus'd the greateſt Part of his Horſe to paſs the *Elbe*, for the better Subſiſtence of his Troops. Then found he himſelf in a bad Condition, becauſe the Imperialiſts, unwilling to hazard a Battle, gather'd together all the Troops diſpers'd in *Germany*, in order to hem him in on all Sides, and ſo ſuppreſs him at once. He departed from *Torgaw* in Precipitation, leaving behind him as much of his Baggage as the Army could ſpare; and tho' the Enemy purſued him, without any Loſs paſs'd the *Oder* to *Furſtemberg* with his Artillery, and made his Way towards *Landſperg*; but being once come thither, he was advertiſed, That the Imperialiſts had already outmarched him, by paſſing a Bridge near *Cuſtrim*, and that they were encamped on the other ſide of the River *Warta*; ſo that having cut off his Paſſage that Way, he was oblig'd to pretend to take the Way of *Poland*, to make the Enemy march thitherward, but in the Night he return'd towards the *Oder*, which he paſs'd about a League above *Cuſtrim*, and got to *Stetin* without Loſs, and without giving the leaſt Suſpicion to the Imperialiſts, who ſuppos'd they had him in their Power; this made him repaſs the *Oder*, and march towards *Upper-Pomerania*, which *Wrangel* had undertook to defend; and *Banier*, on the other Hand, retir'd into *Lower-Pomerania*, the Two Generals being reſolv'd to hinder the Enemy from invading that Country.

The

The Imperialiſts at firſt were for entring it by the Way of *Anclain*, but that Deſign failing them, they went to *Ribenitz*, where the *Swedes* had already ſtopp'd their Paſſage. Now *Banier* believing that by making an Inroad into *Neumark* and *Sileſia*, he ſhould oblige the Enemy to withdraw from the Coaſts of the *Baltick*, did ſo far ſucceed, as to compel *Gallas*, with the Imperial Army, to quit *Pomerania*, and retire to *Marck*; whereupon *Wrangel*, ſuppoſing he had nothing to fear, took the Way of *Gripſwald*; but a Gentleman of *Pomerania* bringing *Gallas* back again, by promiſing to ſhew him a Way near *Tribleſz*, to enter *Pomerania*, as ſoon as the Imperialiſts had got an Entrance, they over-run all the flat Country in ſuch a manner, that the *Swediſh* Affairs were in a very bad Condition; for they made themſelves Maſters of the Iſle of *Uſedom*, took *Wolgaſt* by Aſſault, and *Demmin* ſurrender'd on Articles; yet *Banier* ſtopp'd them from entring *Lower-Pomerania*, and Winter drawing on, *Gallas* quitted *Upper-Pomerania*, after having made exceſſive Spoil there, and almoſt intirely ruin'd it; and having put Gariſons into *Wolgaſt*, *Demmin*, *Loitz*, and *Nakermonde*, he went to Winter-Quarters, in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, and *Lower-Saxony*. 1637.

The Imperialiſts Ravage *Pomerania*.

Thus were the *Swedes* this Year incloſ'd, and moreover, loſt all the Places they had on the *Havel*, with *Donitz*, *Lunemburg* and *Winſen*. In the mean time the Landgrave of *Heſſe* took *Eaſt-Friezland*, where he died. But, on the other Hand, *George* Duke of *Lunemburg* openly declar'd for the Imperialiſts: Whereto we may add, That the *Swedes* had much Trouble in holding *Erfort*. True it is, D. *Bernard* had paſs'd the *Rhine*; but becauſe the *French* did not aſſiſt him as they ought, he was oblig'd to repaſs it: So that the Imperialiſts retook the Forts which the *Swedes* had on the *Rhine*, to the great Diſhonour of *France*. And *Bogiſlaus* XVI. Duke of *Pomerania* dying, the *Swedes* had a World of Trouble to hinder the Elector of *Brandenburg* from taking Poſſeſſion of that Country, which, indeed, belong'd to him of Right. Many offer'd their Mediation, for concluding a Peace; but it being at preſent very unſeaſonable, the *Swedes* began, by degrees, to treat about an Alliance with *France*; that being thereby ren-

1637. render'd more powerful, their Enemies might the more readily be brought to an Accommodation. In fine, after long Deliberation, perceiving the Emperor had no Inclination to Peace, and that there was no Security in ſeparate Treaties, there was an Alliance concluded with *France* for Three Years.

*Sennertus his Death.* But before this, happened the Death of *Daniel Sennertus* of the Plague at *VVirtemburg* in *Germany*. He was born at *Breſlau* in *Sileſia*, ſtudied at *VVirtemburg*, travelled, and upon his Return was made a Doctor, and afterwards Profeſſor of Phyſick: He was celebrated for his Writings and Charity to the Poor; his Opinion concerning the Original of Souls gave much Offence, importing, that the Seed of Animals was animated, and that the Soul of that Seed was the Plaſtick Power which formed the Organs: He alſo attributed the Production of Mines and Minerals to Spirits which dwell in Mines, and in Quarries for that Purpoſe.

1638. We left *Scotland* in a very tumultuous and diſorderly State. It were to be wiſhed we could find Things better now; but every thing unhappily tending to the Ruin of poor *Britain*, the overhaſty Zeal, or what ſhall I call it, of that Nation, not allowing them to confine themſelves within the Meaſures already aſſumed, they now erect Four Principal Tables or Councils in *Edinborough*, whoſe Acts were put in Practice with ſtrict Obedience over all the Kingdom; the firſt of which was drawing up a Covenant, wherein they ſwore the mutual Defence of one another, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, the K. not excepted. It was firſt taken by the Tables, and afterwards impoſed upon all Sorts of People, wherein great *Violence* and *Menaces* were uſed in many Places, with *Beating*, *Tearing of Cloaths*, *drawing Blood*, *and expoſing Men to Thouſands of Injuries and Reproaches at* Edinborough, *St.* Andrews, Aberdeen, Glaſco, Lanerick, *and many other Places.* All thoſe Profeſſors in Colleges, and Miniſters, who did either perſwade others, or could not be perſwaded to take it themſelves, were put out of their Places. The King much diſpleaſed at theſe Proceedings, and their Refuſal of that Satisfaction which he offer'd to redreſs

*Scotch Covenant.*

redreſs their Grievances, reſolved to effect that by Power which he could not accompliſh by Perſwaſions; but the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who was then very prevalent with him, diverted that Courſe, by offering his Service to Accommodate the Differences. Upon his Arrival at *Edinborough* he made Two Propoſals to them. 1638.

The Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Propoſitions, and the Presbyters Anſwer.

Firſt, *VVhat they expected from him to ſatisfie their Complaints, and next what might be expected from them for their returning to Obedience, and Renouncing and Delivering up their late Covenant.* To which, after ſome Time, they made Anſwer, *That they requeſted a General Aſſembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which Two Judicatures they would repreſent and diſcuſs their Grievances.* To the ſecond they ſaid, *They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their Obedience; and for their* Covenant, *they would rather renounce their* Baptiſm, *than abate One VVord or Syllable of it.*

The Marqueſs hereupon thinking the beſt Expedient to reclaim the People was to Publiſh a *Proclamation*, which he brought with him, for reſtoring to the City of *Edinborough* the ſitting of the Seſſion, and all Courts of Juſtice, as a thing that would be very acceptable to the *Judges*, *Advocates*, and to all Dependants upon the Law, but eſpecially to the City of *Edinborough*, which complained much of being impoveriſhed by their Abſence; and the firſt ſitting of the Seſſion being appointed to be held on the 3d Day of *July*, it gave a general Satisfaction; but the Heads of the Faction would not receive it as ſatisfactory, unleſs Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Preſident of the Seſſion, and Sir *John Hays*, Maſter of the Rolls, were removed from their Places, tho' in the end they could find nothing againſt them. Now the Seſſion being ſettled, the Marqueſs cauſed the King's Proclamation to be read at *Edinborough-Croſs*; wherein the K. took Notice that many Diſorders had lately happen'd upon the Introduction of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commiſſion Court, which had cauſed many to fear Innovations in Religion and Law, and therefore aſſured his good Subjects, *That he was reſolved to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, and not hereafter preſs the uſe*

The King's Proclamation.

*of*

1638. *of the Canons and Service-Book, nor any thing of that Nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal Way, as ſhould manifeſt he never intended Innovation in Religion and Laws.*

The Presbyters Proteſtation.

But this Proclamation was encountred with a *Proteſtation*, importing, *That what the King granted them was not ſufficient, becauſe it did not wholly aboliſh the Service-Book, nor the High Commiſſion.* The Marqueſs diſapproving theſe Proceedings, went immediately for *England* to the King, to whom he related all the particular Tranſactions. The King yet offended at their Inſolencies, was perſwaded it was poſſible to reduce them by fair Means; therefore he ſent the Marqueſs back with new Inſtructions, and gave him Order to call a *General Aſſembly*, and after that a *Parliament*; but in his Abſence the Factions were were grown to ſuch an exorbitant Heighth, that they rejected all his Propoſals, and inveſted themſelves with the Power of calling an *Aſſembly*, by a Book publiſhed for that Purpoſe; which gave the Marqueſs the Trouble of another Journey to the King, at which Time further Conceſſions were made to Accommodate the Differences; but all to no Purpoſe, for at the Marqueſs's Return he found them more inſolent than ever: Whereupon he was reſolved to try the laſt Remedy, and publiſh a Proclamation at the Market-place to this Effect: *That the K. did Annul and Reſcind all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-Book, Book of Canons and High Commiſſion, and the uſe of them; and that the Marqueſs, the K.'s Commiſſioner, had a Warrant from him to Summon a free General Aſſembly to be holden at* Glaſcow *the 21th of* November, *and a Parliament at* Edinborough *the 15th of May.* But this did not ſatisfie neither, for the Lords, Miniſters, and others of the *Tables*, made a Proteſtation againſt it, and gave a Copy of it to the King's Herald, at the ſame time the Proclamation was read, which imported, *That what the K. granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their juſt Fears and Apprehenſions, and was not ſufficient to Cure the Wounds of the Church and State*; and concluded with an Appeal from the Lords of the Council, to the next General Aſſembly; exhorting all to ſubſcribe their Confeſſion and Covenant.

The King's Condeſcentions.

The

1638.

The Marqueſs and the Lords of the Council ſaw by this Proteſtation that the Confederated *Presbyterians* endeavour'd all they could to blaſt the King's good Intentions, and wonder'd extreamly at their Appeal from the Council to the Aſſembly, which by an Act of the 8th Parliament of King *James* was made High-Treaſon. Several other extrajudicial Acts they made againſt the Biſhops, and in the Choice of their Members of the Aſſembly; but the Marqueſs had yet a deeper Reſentment of their Behaviour in another Caſe, for the King having nominated Six Lords of the Privy-Council to be Aſſeſſors to him, his Commiſſioner in that Aſſembly, they abſolutely refuſed to admit them, or allow their Suffrages, affirming, *That if the King himſelf were preſent he ſhould have but one Voice, and that no Negative one neither.* The Marqueſs concluding from theſe Practices that no Good was to be hoped for by continuing this Aſſembly, he went among them, and ſaid, *You are now about ſettling the Lawfulneſs of this Judicature, and the Competency of it againſt Biſhops, neither of which I can allow. I am glad I have ſeen this Aſſembly met, which was ſuppoſed His Majeſty never intended; and therefore for the further clearing his Intentions, let this Paper which I deliver to the Clerk to be read bear Witneſs.* The Paper was the ſame in Subſtance with the Declaration for diſcharging the Service-Book. After this the Aſſembly was Diſſolved by Proclamation, which was no ſooner publiſhed, but it was encountred with a Proteſtation of the Confederates, declaring, *That it was lawful for them to ſit ſtill, and continue the Aſſembly, and that they would ſtill adhere to all their former Proteſtation.* And in Purſuance of this Reſolve, they declared Six former General Councils to be Null, Deprived all the Biſhops, ſome of which they Excommunicated, and ſometime after aboliſhed Epiſcopacy it ſelf, as inconſiſtent with the Laws of that Church.

The Aſſembly met.

The Marqueſs's Speech.

The *Scots* Proteſtation.

But not to make too far an Excurſion about this fatal Affair, beyond the Limits of the Year, we might have take taken notice before that *Victor Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, died laſt Year; and being ſucceeded firſt by his Son *Francis Hyacinthus*, and preſently after by *Charles Emanuel*, a Child of

Four

1638. Four Years old; the Dutcheſs-Dowager was Regent, who having one Father *Monod* for her Confeſſor, and a Perſon that had a great Aſcendency over her Mind, he by ſome Means or other ſollicited the Return of the Queen-Mother into *France*, at which *Richlieu* was ſo incenſed, that the Dutcheſs at laſt was forced to have him apprehended. In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Princes of *Savoy*, Cardinal *Maurice*, and Prince *Thomas*, ſent the Dutcheſs Word, that if ſhe obſerved the Neutrality, they would not make the leaſt Attempt upon *Piedmont*, while *France* on the other Side ſollicited her to renew the League Offenſive and Defenſive, made with *Victor Amadeus* in the Year 1635, which was to expire in 1638. This the Dutcheſs would fain evade, as being very unwilling to expoſe her Son's Territories to the Danger of a new War; and while on the other Hand the *French* poſitively inſiſted upon it, the Governour of *Milan* beſieged the Fort of *Breme*, upon the *Po*; to defend which, *Crequi* went thither in Perſon, and as he approached the *Spaniſh* Camp with ſome Horſe, to obſerve them more nearly, he alighted with his Proſpective-Glaſs in his Hand, and leaning on a large Tree, to view their Lines, a *Spaniſh* Gunner ſeeing ſome Horſe on that ſide, and a Man in red Cloaths move forward, he fired a ſmall Piece directly at the Tree where the Mareſchal was, which killed him forthwith; and ſome have been ſo vain as to ſay, the Ball was inſcribed with theſe Words, *This for the Mareſchal* de Crequi. And *Bremen* hereupon ſurrendred.

*Crequi* ſlain.

In the mean time the Cardinal *la Valette* being ſent to command in *Italy*, and the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* finding her ſelf uncapable of oppoſing the Forces of *France*, was at laſt forced to comply with the Cardinal; but all the Force ſhe could make in Conjunction with the *French*, could not hinder *Verceil* from falling into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. Then if we come to obſerve the moſt remarkable Occurrences in other Parts, we ſhall find the Cardinal ordered the Duke of *Roan*, who was at *Geneva*, to retire to *Venice*, leſt out of Revenge for his baſe Uſage he might carry on ſome Deſigns againſt him: But the Duke pre-

pretending it was impoſſible for him to go to *Venice*, the Ways being all ſtopp'd, he went to confer with the Duke of *VVeimar* in *Switzerland*, and afterwards came to him in his Army; where at preſent we ſhall leave him, and come to the War between *France* and *Spain* in the *Netherlands*, and other Parts. 1635.

The Mareſchal *de Chatillon* having beſieged St. *Omer* in vain, did however take *Renty*, and raze it to the Ground, while *du Hallier* retook *Catelet* by Aſſault; but the Prince of *Conde* was not ſo ſucceſsful in the Siege of *Fontarabia*. Indeed *Eſpernon* took *Paſſage*, where he found Six Galeons, and Five *Spaniſh* Men of War, furniſhed with all manner of Proviſions, which he ſeized on; Five more of their Galeons fell into the Hands of the *French*, and the Admiral of this Fleet was ſunk. This was a great Encouragement to the *French*, and *Fontarabia* in all Probability muſt very ſhortly fall into their Hands, eſpecially ſeeing the Governour was yet abſent, and that the Gariſon and the Inhabitants could ſcarce make up 700 Men fit to bear Arms. The Prince opened the Trenches about the beginning of *July*, and on the 2d of *Auguſt* the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 42 Veſſels full of Soldiers, to be ſet on Shoar, appeared before the Port. They immediately took or put to flight ſeveral *Spaniſh* Pinnaces that came thither, and gave Chace to a Fleet of 50 Sail that brought Succours and Refreſhments to the Beſieged. The Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, who commanded the *French* Fleet, deſtroyed alſo a great many Ships in the Road of *Getari*, where Abundance of *Spaniards* were loſt, and among others the Two old Regiments of *Caſtile*, that made up 3000 Men. *Fontarabia* having thus loſt all Hopes of being relieved by Sea, the Archbiſhop offered to guard Port *Paſſage*; but *Conde*, that he might not divide the Army, thinking fit to abandon it, the *Spaniards* under the Admiral of *Caſtile* had an Opportunity to march up, and poſſeſs themſelves of the tops of the neighbouring Mountains, within Musket-ſhot of the advanced Guard of the *French*, who carried the Siege on vigorouſly by Attacks, Minings, and the like; but failing to carry the Place in a general Aſſault, thro' the

*Conde* beſieges *Fontarabia*.

1638. the Fault, as they would have it, of the Duke *de la Valette*, the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* would have undertaken his Poſt, when the *Spaniards* finding the Place was reduced to the laſt Extremity, with 15000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe only, and moſt of them Militia, advanced by broad Day-light to attack the *French* Lines, they beat back the advanced Guards at the firſt Onſet; and as they retired within the neareſt Redoubts, by leaping over the Ditch, the *Spaniards* bravely followed, preſently carried *de la Force's* Quarters, and turned their Cannon upon the *French*; Things were brought to ſuch Confuſion amongſt them, that the Prince in good Time embarked on a ſmall Veſſel, which carried him to St. *John de Luz*, while the other Officers brought off the Army by their Shipping alſo with no great Loſs of Men, but they were forced to leave all their Baggage, Artillery and Ammunition behind them. We cannot leave the Affairs of *France* without obſerving, that Q. *Ann* of *Auſtria* in the Spring of this Year perceived ſhe was big with Child, after ſhe had been now married 22 Years, yet *Richlieu* for all that wrought her many Mortifications, upon the Account of an innocent Correſpondence ſhe kept with the Cardinal *Infanta*, her Brother; for preventing of any farther Deſolation, and the Effuſion of Blood between the Two Kingdoms; however ſhe bore all bravely, and on the 5th of *September* was delivered of a Son; which ſerving as an Augury of future Felicity, the Arms which had hitherto been managed with Equality and Ballance between the Two Nations, brought Fortune afterwards to incline in Favour of *France*.

*Spaniards* force the *French* to quit the Siege.

*Lewis* XIV. born.

In the mean time the *Swediſh* General, *Banier*, in *Germany*, being this Spring obliged to lye quiet till his Recruits came out of *Sweden*, the Imperialiſts in the Interim ſurprized *Gartz*; but their Army was in ſuch Want of Neceſſaries, that of 120 Regiments which they pretended to have on Foot, it was reduced (according to the *Swediſh* Account) to 11000 Horſe and 4000 Foot; on the other ſide, *Banier* having received the Reinforcements he expected, firſt recovered *Gartz* by Aſſault, then entering

entring into the *Upper-Pomerania*, he regained the Paſſages of *Loitz*, *Tribleſz*, and *Damgarten*; and having made his Way into the Dutchy of *Meklenburg*, he put the *Imperialiſts* ſo to it, that he forced *Gallas* to retire with the Loſs of above 3000 Men; and purſuing his Succeſs in ſeveral Places, neceſſitated him at laſt to paſs the *Elbe*, near *Werben*, with his Army in great Diſorder, to refreſh himſelf in the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, and *Banier* followed him; while *Lewis*, Elector-Palatine, endeavouring to Reeſtabliſh himſelf in his own Country, and having rais'd ſeveral Regiments in the *Low-Countries*, gain'd the City of *Meppen* by Treaty; where he intended to lay up his Stores; but that Place was ſurpriz'd by the *Imperialiſts*, for want of a Gariſon. After which, joining the *Swediſh* Forces in *Weſtphalia*, he was beaten by *Hatsfeld*, near *Flota*, inſomuch, that with great Difficulty he ſav'd himſelf by paſſing the *Weſer*, and Prince *Rupert*, his Brother, was taken Priſoner by the Enemy. The *Imperialiſts* afterwards grew more Powerful in *Weſtphalia*, and took *Veit*, by reaſon that the Houſe of *Lunemburg* loſt their Time in fruitleſs Negotiations; and the *Swedes* beſides loſt the City of *Hanaw*, the only Place they had left in *High-Germany*. 1638.

The Duke of *Weimar* having beſieged *Rhinfeld*, *John de Wert*, the Duke of *Savelli*, and other Imperial Generals, marched to the Relief of it, bravely attacked the *Swedes* in their Trenches, and obliged them to riſe with the Loſs of their Cannon. In this Encounter the brave Duke of *Roan*, who was come into the *Swediſh* Camp from *Switzerland*, yet refuſed to have any Share in the Command of the Army, put himſelf at the Head of the Left Wing, and was one of the firſt that began the Onſet, and fought like a common Soldier, till wounded by Two Muſquet-Balls, of which he died *April* 23. leaving the Arms he uſually wore to the Republick of *Venice*, as a Mark of his Eſteem, and a Monument of that Renown which enrolled him amongſt the Famous Captains of the World. The *Geneveſe* were at the Charge of erecting a noble Monument for him, who without Vanity was one of the Greateſt and Beſt Men of his Time, being both a Soldier

Duke of *Roan's* Death and Character.

1638. and a Stateſman, and above all, a good Man, and indeed ſcarce left his Equal behind him. The *Imperialiſts* not contenting themſelves with this Succeſs, in purſuing the Victory, loſt it, whilſt at *Laufenburg*, whither *VVeimar* was gone; they attacked him, and he made it appear of what Importance the Courage of an excellent Commander is; for tho' inferior in Reputation and Forces he encountred and fought with ſo much Reſolution, that he defeated them, putting almoſt all to the Sword, taking their Cannon and Baggage, with all their Colours; among the Priſoners were *John de VVert* and *Enchefurt*, nay, ſcarce one Officer of Note in the Imperial Army was ſaved, but many ſtaid on the Place of Battle, where moſt of them were made Priſoners of War.

This done, *Rhinfelden* Surrender'd to the Duke, as did *Reutelen* and *Friburg* in *Briſgaw*; whereupon *VVilderholt*, Commander in *Hohentwiel*, was in a Condition to preſerve that Place in the Intereſt of *Sweden*: But the Duke of *VVirtemburg* had, by a Treaty, engag'd himſelf to deliver it to the Emperor. Afterwards, D. *Bernard* march'd towards *Briſack*, with a Deſign to ſtarve them out; as on the other Hand, the *Imperialiſts* did all they could to relieve it. The Famine increaſed the more, by reaſon that the Govenour, out of Avarice, had ſold a good Quantity of Corn; and ſome Rogues had fired a Cask of Powder, and blown up the Magazine, with Store of Ammunition. When *John Gotz* came with an Army, and a Thouſand Load of Proviſions for its Relief, he engaged in a Bloody Battle near *VVitterweir*, where the *Imperialiſts* met with ſuch a Defeat, that of 12000 Men, which *Gotz* brought with him, he could ſcarce Rally 2500. But tho' *Briſack* was ſtraitly block'd up on both Sides of the *Rhine*, yet the Enemies did not forbear attempting to relieve it. The Duke of *Lorrain* march'd with 3500 choſen Men, to join the other Troops, that were encamped near *Swartewoud*; but D. *Bernard* marching to attack him near *Than*, ſo routed his Troops, that he ſav'd but a few Hundred of them, which were all afterwards cut in pieces near *Enſiſheim*. On the other ſide, Endeavours were uſed to force the Works which the *Swedes* had made before *Briſack*,

*D. Bernard* Defeats the *Imperialiſts*.

*Briſack*, and to throw in Proviſions; but they were repuls'd with much Loſs. Whereupon, that Place, having for a long time endur'd a grievous Famine, was oblig'd to Surrender to D. *Bernard*, who reſolv'd hereby to make his Fortunes. After that General had put the Place in good Order, he ſent his Troops into Winter-Quarters; which, after a Campaign of Eleven Months, many Toils and Fatigues, and ſeveral Sieges and Battles, were yet ſtronger by 6000 Men, than when they took the Field. 1638. *Briſac* ſurrendred to D. *Bernard*.

We conclude the Year with the Death of *William Blaeu*, a famous Printer of *Amſterdam* in *Holland*, and a Diſciple and Friend of *Tycho Brahe*'s, who departed this Life on the 8th of *October*, in the 77th Year of his Age. His Atlas, Treatiſe of the Globes, Aſtronomical Inſtitutions, and fine Impreſſions, have procured him a laſting Fame; his Sons, *John* and *Cornelius*, have finiſhed what he had ſo happily begun. *Blaeu*'s Death.

This Year proved alſo fatal to the Famous *Ben. Johnſon*. He was born at *Weſtminſter*, his Father-in-Law being a *Bricklayer* there; however he was put to School firſt at St. *Martins*, then to *Weſtminſter*, under the Learned *Camden*, and was entred in St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*; but wanting Friends and Maintenance, he quitted it for his Father-in-law's Trade, and aſſiſted in building the new Structure in *Lincolns-Inn*: He carried a Trowel in his Hand, and a Book in his Pocket; whereupon ſome Gentlemen put him into a Capacity of following his Studies: His Parts were extraordinary, yet in learned Company he would be ſilent; he was ſharp at Repartees, and reckoned the moſt Learned, Judicious and Correct Comick Poet of his Time. *Ben. Johnſon*'s Death.

Having already ſhewed you to what a deſperate State Things were brought to in *Scotland*, where Forces were raiſed with the utmoſt Diligence, the King on his Part failed not to raiſe an Army; after which he made the Earl of *Arundel* General, as 'tis thought for his Negative Qualities; he did not love the *Scots*, nor the Puritans; Qualifications allay'd by another Negative, he did not much care for any Body elſe; but his Rank was ſuch, that no Man could de- 1639. The King raiſes an Army againſt the *Scots*.

1639. cline ſerving under him. The Earl of *Eſſex*, the moſt popular Man in the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men, was made Lieutenant-General. What between Hatred and Contempt, he was ſo ill affected to the *Scots* Nation, that he began to love the King the better for this Promotion, and was capable from that Hour of any Impreſſion His Majeſty would have fixed upon him. The Earl of *Holland* was declared General of the Horſe, who was not then thought wanting in the leaſt of Affection and Zeal for His Majeſties Service. In the beginning of the Summer the King advanc'd towards the Borders of *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army, conſiſting of near 6000 Horſe, and about as many Foot, all well diſciplin'd Men, and led by Officers of as great Experience, as were at that Time to be found in Chriſtendom. His Majeſty alſo had a good Fleet equipp'd on Board of which a Body of 3000 Foot were embark'd, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, who was to infeſt the Country by Sea, make a Deſcent, and join ſuch Forces the Loyal Party of the Kingdom could draw together for the King's Service, which (it was believed) his own Intereſt would give a great Life to.

Upon the Firſt March of the Army Northwards, the Earl of *Eſſex* was detach'd with a Body of Horſe and Foot to ſecure *Berwick*, which the King was inform'd the *Scots* ſpeedily intended to be Maſters of. The Earl loſt no Time, but marched Night and Day with great Order and Expedition, daily meeting with ſeveral *Scotchmen* of Quality ſent expreſly to the King, who all gave him very particular Accounts of the Strength of the *Scots* Army, and how that e'er that they were poſſeſs'd of *Berwick:* And one, when he was within a Days March of the Place, of principal Condition, and near Relation to the King's Service, adviſ'd him earneſtly to advance no farther with his Party ſo much inferior to his Enemies, who would infallibly cut him off; that himſelf overtook the Day before a ſtrong Party, whom he left within Three Hours March of *Berwick*, ſo that his proceeding farther muſt expoſe him to certain Ruin. But theſe Intelligences made him only quicken his Marches, inſomuch, that he reach'd *Berwick*,

*Berwick*, which he enter'd without the leaſt Oppoſition, ſooner than he propoſed to have done; and by all the Enquiry he made, could not diſcover that any of their Forces had been drawn that Way, nor indeed had they ever a conſiderable Body of Men together, nearer than *Edinborough*. Poſſeſs'd of this Poſt, he immediately inform'd the King of the Intelligence he had received from ſo many at that time about him in the Court, who juſtly deſerved to be ſuſpected for publiſhing ſuch Falſhoods. But little Notice was taken of them; however, by that time the King arriv'd at *York*, the Court was ſo full, thro' the general Conflux of the Nobility to him, and the Multitude of *Scots* in it adminiſter'd ſo much Matter of Offence and Jealouſie to People of all Conditions, that the whole Body of the Council thought it requiſite a ſhort Proteſtation ſhould be drawn up, in which all Men ſhould profeſs *their Loyalty and Obedience to His Majeſty, and diſclaim their holding any manner of Intelligence or Correſpondence with the Rebels.* This the *Scots* ſwallowed to a Man; but among the *Engliſh*, the Lords *Say* and *Brook* (Two Popular Peers) peremptorily refus'd it in the King's own Preſence, which adminiſter'd Matter of a new Diſpute in a very unſeaſonable time; ſo that the King thought it beſt to diſmiſs 'em, and require them to return to their own Homes; and if he had done the ſame by all the reſt, who were not Officers in the Army, or of Neceſſity about his own Perſon, the Buſineſs had been better followed. 1639.

In the mean time Intelligence being brought, that a Body of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was detach'd with 3000 Horſe and 2000 Foot, and a fit Train of Artillery, to meet and engage it. He accordingly march'd as far as *Dunce*, Ten or Twelve Miles into *Scotland*, where when he arriv'd with his Horſe, for the Foot, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, cou'd not be ſo expeditious, but was Three or Four Miles behind with the Artillery, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the Side of a Hill, where the Front was only in View, and where he was told *Leſly* with the whole Army was. Nothing can be ſaid in Excuſe of that Day's Conduct. *Holland*, tho' he had ſeen no more than

*Holland's* ill Conduct.

1639. Two Companies, yet was a Man of Courage, and had with him Officers as good as the War of that Age, which was very active, had made; nor was he at that time thought to be corrupted in his Affections. As he ſafely might have halted till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, ſo might he with Security enough have engaged his Body of Horſe againſt their inconſiderable Army; but *Leſly* had placed 'em ſo advantageouſly on the Hill, that they had the Appearance of a good Body of Men, tho' they did not exceed 3000 in Number, very ill arm'd, and got on a ſudden together to make that Shew. And therefore as ſoon as the Earl came in View, after he had diſpatch'd Meſſengers one after another to the King, with an Account of what he ſaw, without ſtaying for an Anſwer, he retired towards his Foot, and return'd weary and tired with the Length of their March, and Heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, to the Camp where the King was; and the *Scots* drew ſomething back to a more convenient Poſt.

The Covenanters were upon good Grounds exalted at this Succeſs, and ſcatter'd their Letters abroad amongſt the Noblemen at Court, eſpecially Three ſeveral ones they directed to the Three Generals, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Eſſex* and *Holland*. That to *Eſſex* was more ſubmiſſive than the others. They told him, *They had not the leaſt Thought of engaging in a War againſt* England, *their chiefeſt Hope being to defend their own Rights and Liberties; and how deſirous they were the Earl ſhould underſtand their main Grievance was the Intereſt of the Marqueſs of* Hamilton, who they knew was in no degree acceptable to the Earl, and therefore, *they begged they might by his Means be admitted into his Preſence.* The Earl, who was a punctual Man in Points of Honour, ſent this Addreſs to the King, without returning any Anſwer, or entertaining the Meſſengers with any Conference, or the leaſt Ceremony. But the Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another ſort of Reception to the Letters they receiv'd; the firſt uſing 'em with more Reſpect than was agreeable to the Office of a General, and the other was, from that time at leaſt, found inclinable enough to their Intereſt. This, and

the

the King's Readineſs to hear of a Pacification, ſtifled thoſe Animoſities and Deſires to the War, which had ſo much Noiſe in the March. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Friendly Reſidence with the Fleet and Foot Soldiers he commanded before *Lieth*, the Viſits his Mother (a Lady of great Authority among the Covenanters) made him on Board his Ship, which made ſome of the *Scots* on Shoar, who ſaw it, to ſay, *They knew the Son of ſuch a Mother would not hurt 'em*; the King's refuſing Leave to ſeveral Officers, who propos'd to make Inroads into the Country, and deſtroy the Stock thereof, whereby they wou'd preſently be forc'd to ſubmit and ſue for Pardon; together with the kind and joyful Reception the Earl of *Holland* met with after his ſhameful Retreat, made the World ſuſpect His Majeſty never intended to make the War in Blood, but believ'd the Sight of an Army wou'd have brought 'em to any Conditions. It muſt be own'd the *Scots* had from the beginning practiſed a new ſaucy Stile of Addreſs. And the King had not at that time One Perſon about him in his Council, who had the leaſt Regard to his own Honour, or Friendſhip for thoſe who ſat at the Helm, the Duke of *Lenox* only excepted, who was a young Man, of ſmall Experience, but of true Honour, and very good Parts. The reſt who were in any Offices of Attendance were the Earl of *Holland*, who neither lov'd the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, nor *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland*, nor the Archbiſhop, nor hardly any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke* was near Eighty Years of Age, who knew nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought nothing there was worth the Journey the King had put himſelf upon. Sir *Harry Vane* was Comptroler of Houſe, a buſie active Man, that cared for no one any farther than he found it convenient for his own Intereſt. The Earl of *Arundel* thought he had been General long enough. The Earl of *Pembroke* lov'd Hunting and Hawking too well, not to favour all Overtures towards an Accommodation. So the *Scots* found Perſons enow to treat with, according to their own Wiſh. Only the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill preſerv'd his Grandeur and Puncto, nor would he hold any Cor-

1639.

Noblemen characteriz'd by *C——*

1639. respondence with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners 'til the Pacification was concluded.

On the other Hand the Covenanters continued firm to their Principle, and juſtified all they had done; *Deſiring thoſe might be ſeverely puniſhed, who had miſrepreſented 'em to the King, and that ſome Noble Lords might be named to treat upon all Particulars*; and upon this only Submiſſion a Treaty was preſently concluded, conſiſting of Seven Articles.

Treaty of Pacification.

I. *That the Forces of* Scotland *ſhould be disbanded Four and Twenty Hours after the Agreement.*

II. *That the King's Caſtles, Ammunition,* &c. *ſhould be delivered up.*

III. *That his Ships were to depart after the Delivery of the Caſtles.*

IV. *Naval Perſons, Ships and Goods detained by the King, ſhould be reſtored.*

V. *That there be no Meetings, Treaties and Conſultations, to be held by the* Scots, *but ſuch as were warranted by Act of Parliament.*

VI. *All Fortifications to deſiſt, and to be remitted to the King's Pleaſure.*

*And* Laſtly, *That every Man ſhould be reſtored to his Liberty, Lands, Goods and Means.*

The King's Army being disbanded, the *Scots* returned to *Edinborough*, but kept all their Officers, and what Men they thought fit, in Pay; and inſtead of abating any thing of their Rigour againſt the Biſhops, they publickly proteſted, *Nothing contained in the Treaty vacated the Proceedings of the late General Aſſembly at* Glaſgow, (by which all the Biſhops were Excommunicated) and revived all their Menaces againſt 'em by Proclamation.

The ill Conſequences of it.

My Lord *C---* ſays, the Calamities that befel the King upon this unaccountable Atonement, are not to be expreſſed. The Army was too unkindly diſmiſſed, to come willingly together again, if any new Occaſion required their Service. The Earl of *Eſſex* diſcharged in the Crowd, without ordinary Ceremony, and unreaſonably refuſed the Command of *Needwood* Foreſt, which very much enflamed his high Nature, and laid him open to ſome Impreſſions afterwards, which otherwiſe would not have found ſo eaſie an Admiſſion.

The

The Factions and Fewds at Court were rather greater than before. When the Earl of *Holland* marched with that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* attended him with a Troop of Horſe, raiſed at his own Charge, and called, *The Prince of* Wales's *Troop*, he being Governor to his Highneſs, and deſired, that ſince it belonged to the Prince, it might have ſome Precedence, which was refuſed, and he required to march in the Rank preſcribed him: For which, when the Army was disbanded, he ſent a Challenge to the Earl of *Holland*, who, tho' never ſuſpected to want Courage, yet ſhowed not that Alacrity upon this Occaſion, but by Delay expoſed it to ſo much Notice, that by Intervention of the King's Authority the Matter was compoſed. 1639.

The King himſelf grew very melancholy, and quickly found he had loſt Reputation at home and abroad; and thoſe Counſellors that had been moſt faulty ſhifted every Man the Thing from himſelf, and found ſome Friend or other to excuſe him. But it being requiſite ſo ſcandalous a Matter ſhould not be buried in abſolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Cooke*'s Turn (for whom no Body cared) to be made the Sacrifice. Who was thereupon diſmiſſed, and Sir *Harry Vane*, by *Hamilton*'s Contrivance, and the more viſible Power of the Queen, was made Secretary of State: Who being an irreconcileable Enemy of the Earl of *Strafford*, for taking, even in Contempt only to *Vane*, the Title of *Raby* upon him, which was then his Seat; theſe Court Jarrs ſtill tended to haſten the Miſeries of *England*, that are now coming on with winged Haſte. On the other Hand the *Scots* grew more conſiderable at home and abroad: *France*, their old Ally, conſidered them as proper Inſtruments to embroil their Neighbours, and the Crafty *Richlieu* ſent an Agent privately to *Edinborough* with Arms and Ammunition, and received another from thence. *Holland* entred into a nearer Intimacy with them; ſo that the Covenanters quickly obtaining Power and Credit over the People, they began to reſume the Diſorders which at the Pacification they had diſclaimed, and refuſed the Governor of *Edinborough* Caſtle either to repair

1639. repair ſome Works lately fallen down, or ſo much as to buy Proviſion in the Town for his Gariſon. In the mean time an Aſſembly being held at *Edinborough*, *Aug.* 6. according to the King's Directions, they went roundly to their Work, aboliſhed Epiſcopacy, the Five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commiſſion, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons. All which was agreed to by the King's Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Trequair*. The Aſſembly being riſen, the Parliament ſate, in which there aroſe High Debates about the Choice of Lords of the Articles, becauſe Biſhops were to be no more there; the King anciently named Eight of them. Firſt, they choſe Eight Noblemen, theſe ſo many Barons, and they the like Number of Burgeſſes; theſe Thirty-two, with Eight Officers of the Crown, made up Forty, who were to conſider upon ſuch Articles as were to be brought to Parliament, and this Committee were called Lords of the Articles. Now the Commiſſioners demanded, that the King, inſtead of the Eight Biſhops, might nominate Eight Noblemen, which for the preſent was agreed to, but voted for the future that every State ſhould chuſe their own Commiſſioners. Then came the third Eſtate, to be brought in lieu of the Biſhops, under Debate; the King's Commiſſioners would have Fourteen Laymen, of ſuch as were called Abbots and Priors, to repreſent it; but it being carrried, that the third Eſtate ſhould be made up of ſmall Barons, who repreſented the Commonalty, and having proceeded to make an Act Reſciſſory, owning the Exchequer Judicatory, Proxies, and Ward-Lands; the King prorogued them in Diſpleaſure, againſt which they made a Declaration, and proceeded to other Acts that tended more and more to an open Rupture. But we ſhall wave them for the preſent, and obſerve the Tranſactions of other Parts.

Aſſembly at *Edinborough*.

Lords of the Articles.

In croſſing the *Engliſh* Channel we meet with a moſt memorable Sea Fight between the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, much to the Honour and Advantage of the latter. The *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of near 70 Sail, bound for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with a Recruit of Men and Money for that Gariſon, met with the Vice-Admiral of

A Sea Fight betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*.

of the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of 17 ſmall Ships, and began a very hot Diſpute on *September* the 7th, till the *Hollanders* finding themſelves too weak, got to Windward, made their Way towards *Dunkirk*, continually firing, to give Notice to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the reſt of the Fleet. In the firſt Encounter the *Hollanders* had Two Ships ſunk, and the next Morning by Two of the Clock the Admiral came up, and joining with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they ſet upon the *Spaniards*, and continued a very ſharp Fight till paſt Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken Two Galleons, ſank another, and much ſhattered the reſt, tho' they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forc'd them upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt near *Dover*, where they left them, and bore up to the Coaſt of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing in the King of *England*'s Dominions. The *Spaniards* being now got under the *Engliſh* Protection, began to conſider how they ſhould get rid of the *Hollanders*, and the *Spaniſh* Reſident importuned the King that he would keep the *Hollanders* under Subjection Two Tides, that in the mean time their Ships might have the Opportunity of ſlipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in Alliance with them both, was reſolved to ſtand Neuter; and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired ſome *Engliſh* Ships to tranſport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, The King, upon Complaint of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, ſtrictly commanded that none ſhould take in any *Spaniards*, nor paſs beyond *Graveſend* without Licenſe; but the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* plotting a great while, counter to one another, the *Spaniards* at at length, by a Stratagem in the Night, ſent away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them 4000 Men. 1639.

In the beginning of *October* the King ſent the Earl of *Arundel* to *Don Antonio D' Oquendo*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, deſiring him to retreat with the firſt fair Wind, becauſe he would not that they ſhould engage within his Seas; but the Wind continued Eaſterly ſo long, that the *Hollanders* got daily Supplies from *Zealand*, ſo that at length their Fleet increaſed to 100 Sail, with which they ſo hemm'd in their Enemies Four Days together within Piſtol-ſhot, The Fight renewed.

1639. ſhot, that at laſt it turn'd to an Engagement. On the 11th *Van Trump*, the *Dutch* Admiral, charged the *Spaniards* ſo furiouſly with his great Guns and Fire-ſhips, that they all cut their Cables, and being 53 in Number, 23 of them run aground, and were ſtranded in the *Downs*, Three of which were burnt, Two ſunk, and Two were ſtav'd to pieces on the Shoar. One of theſe was a great Galleon of *Gallicia*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Caſtro*, which had 50 Braſs Guns. The Remainder of the 23 Stranded and Deſerted by the *Spaniards* were Mann'd by the *Engliſh*, to preſerve them from the *Dutch*. The other 30 *Spaniſh* Ships, under the Command of the Admirals *Don Antonio d' Oquendo*, and *Lopez*, Admiral of *Portugal*, put to Sea, and kept in cloſe Order till a Fog made them ſeparate; which the *Dutch* taking Advantage of, interpos'd between the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them ſtoutly till the Fog cleared up, and the Admiral of *Portugal* being attack'd by Two *Dutch* Fire-ſhips, began to flame; which *D' Oquendo* perceiving, he made Sail for *Dunkirk* with the Admiral of that Place, and a few Ships more, for moſt of the reſt were taken. Of theſe 30, 11 were ſent into *Holland*, Three periſhed upon the Coaſt of *France*, One near *Dover*, Five were ſunk in the Engagement, and only Ten eſcaped.

Having been thus particular in this Engagement, let's ſee what they are doing now in *France* and *Italy*. We ſhall not here enter upon a Detail of the Queen-Mother's retiring into *Holland*, and from thence to *England*, with the Sollicitations made from thence by my Lord *Jermyn* for her Return to *France*, which would by no Means be allowed of, tho' great Caution was offered for her good Behaviour; neither will we but juſt mention the Trial of the Duke *de la Valette*, for being defective in his Duty at the Siege of *Fontarabia*, and retiring without Leave into *England*, and his being found guilty of High Treaſon and Felony: But leaving theſe Things, we muſt now take a Step into *Italy*, where we find the Cardinal of *Savoy* and Prince *Thomas* were arrived out of *Flanders*, and making Preparations to enter *Piedmont* with a powerful

erful Army. In the mean time *Don Martin* of *Aragon* attacked the Fort of *Congio*, wherein was a *French* Garison that made a brave Defence. The *Spanish* General being slain before the Place, *Don Sotello* succeeded him, who after he had repulsed the Succours which the Marquess *de Ville* would have thrown into it, obliged it to surrender. On the other Side Prince *Thomas* marched in the Night to *Chivas*, which he took, and thereby terribly alarmed the Dutchess of *Savoy* and the *French*, who were not yet strong enough to take the Field. *Quiers*, *Montcalier* and *Jore* declared at the same time for the Prince, so did *Verrue* and *Crescentino* soon after. Now to engage the Dutchess in some Treaty or other, which indeed the *French* were very intent upon, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganez* advanced within sight of *Turin*, and made themselves Masters of the *Bourg de Pau*; but after some Proposals, the Design of which was to disengage the Dutchess from assisting the *French*, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganez* retired; the first took *Villeneuf d' Asti*, and the other *Montcalvo* and *Pontesture* after that, which occasioning a Suspicion that the *Spaniards* had a Design upon *Casal*, the Cardinal *de la Valette* supplied it in good Time with all manner of necessary Provisions. 1639. The Affairs of *Savoy*.

In the mean time King *Lewis* sent *Chavigni* into *Piedmont* with Orders dexterously to insinuate into the Dutchess, that she had only one Way left to save her self, which was, to send her Children into *France*, and to secure her self so effectually of all the Principal Places of her Country, that she might lye under no farther Apprehensions of losing them; and that was to put *French* Men into them. At the same time the King insisted for his Security and Protection to have the Castles that secured the Entrance into the Valleys put into his Hands, as *Cahors*, *Revel*, *Coni*, and some others like them. The poor Princess was in a great Quandary what to do under the difficult Circumstances she was brought to; but wanting Money, and finding she was already but too much under the Power of *France*, from which she saw no Way to disengage her self, she was brought to sign a Treaty on the first of *June*, whereby the King promised to restore to her those Places

1639. Places, which ſhe put into his Hands, as alſo thoſe which ſhe happened to retake from the Enemy, as ſoon as ſhe was in Condition to keep them for herſelf. During this Negotiation *Leganez* made himſelf Maſter of *Trino* and *Santia* in *Montferat*; to repair which Loſs *La Valette* inveſted *Chivas*; and *Leganez*, by reaſon of the Arrival of the Duke of *Longueville*, failed to relieve it. The Place was ſurrendred on the 29th of *June*, which began ſomewhat to re-eſtabliſh the Reputation of the *French* in *Italy*; but the Emperor ſhortly after having publiſhed a Manifeſto, whereby he declared the Dutcheſs to have forfeited the Guardianſhip of her Children, and abſolved the Subjects of *Savoy* from the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to her, and required them to own the young Duke's Two Uncles for his lawful Guardians, all *Piedmont* hereupon roſe up againſt the Dutcheſs, except *Turin*, and thoſe Places where the *French* were ſtrongeſt: Cardinal *Richlieu* was much alarm'd at the News, and wrote a Memorial to the Dutcheſs and the Generals what he would have done; but Prince *Thomas* was more quick for them than they expected, for he entred *Turin* the 26th of *July* at Night by ſecret Intelligence with ſome of the Townſmen, and conſtrained the Dutcheſs and *French* that were there to retire into the Cittadel, from whence the Cannon began to play upon the Town to no Purpoſe; for the Prince had thrown up good Retrenchments on that Side, and filled the Houſes that lay moſt expoſed with Earth: However, he could not hinder the *French* from conducting the Dutcheſs to *Suſa*, and putting a ſtrong Gariſon into the Cittadel of *Turin*: But a Ceſſation of Arms being now agreed on by the Intervention of the Pope's Nuncio, *Leganez* began to ſpeak of a general Peace, and Prince *Thomas* weary of the *Spaniſh* Service, had Thoughts of reconciling himſelf to the *French*. In the mean time Cardinal *Maurice* having found Means to gain the Governors of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, the fear of loſing all influenced the Dutcheſs to put *Suſa*, *Avellaine*, *Gelaſſe* and *Faillon* into the *French* Hands; but ſhe would not hear the leaſt Mention of ſurrendring *Montmelian*, notwithſtanding her Interview with King *Lewis* her Brother at *Grenoble*, and all the Arguments and Artifices of *Richlieu* to gain her Compliance.

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Cardinal *la Valette* dying in the Interim, the Count of *Harcourt* ſucceeded him in the Command of the Army, and quickly reduced *Quiers*. But to leave *Italy* for the preſent, and ſay nothing of ſome petty Diſguſts between the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, not worth mentioning, we return to the *Netherlands*, and take notice, that ever ſince the preceding Year the *French* had a Deſign to attack *Hedin*; but the Relief which Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* had thrown into the Place diverted that Deſign: Yet they undertook it now in good Earneſt, under the Command of *de Meilleray*, and at the ſame time *Feuquieres* with a ſmall Body of Men was to enter into the Province of *Luxemburg*, and attack *Thionville*, which he had not long done, when *Piccolomini* uſed ſuch Haſte and Secreſie to come to the Relief of it, that the other could not imagine who he was when he ſaw his Colours, at which and the Strait he found himſelf reduced to, he was much concerned. In the mean time *Piccolomini* gave the firſt Onſet on that Quarter which was poſted on the other ſide of the *Moſelle*, which he carried after a vigorous Oppoſition made by the Foot, but the Horſe ran away; by which Means he threw what Succours he pleaſed into *Thionville*, and then placing his Army in Battalia between the Counterſcarp of the Place, and the Quarter of *Feuquieres*, he ſo vigorouſly attacked the *French*, that he defeated them with the Loſs of half their Foot and General, who was wounded, taken Priſoner, and died a few Days after. However *Piccolomini* failed in his Deſign to take *Monzon*, by the Approach of the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* with 16000 Men to the Relief of it.

1639.

*French* defeated in *Flanders*.

In the mean time *Meilleray* preſſed *Hedin* with great Vigour, and having forced it to ſurrender, he was preſented with a Mareſchal's Staff thereupon; and about a Month after *Chatillon* retook *Yvoix*, and razed the Works of it. On the Side of *Spain Conde* took the Fort of *Salces*, which is not far from *Leucate*, and ſome time after maſtered *Cannet*; then withdrawing to *Narbonne*, and leaving the Army to be commanded by *Schomberg*, *Spinola* with the *Spaniſh* Forces went to re-beſiege *Salces*, and to loſe no time, made a general Aſſault upon the Outworks, which he

*French* take *Hedin*, &c.

1639. he carried with the Loſs of a great many Men; but while he perſiſted to puſh the Siege forwards with utmoſt Vigour, *Conde* having drawn together 22000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, moſt of them Militia of the Country, on the 24th of *October* paſſed them over the Mountains, inſtead of marching them by the Sea-ſide, and unexpectedly arrived in Sight of the *Spaniards* Camp very much to the Surprize of them; But the Prince not falling on preſently, and deferring the Onſet till next Day, there aroſe about Midnight ſo prodigious a Tempeſt of Wind, Rain and Thunder, that the Army was extremely incommoded herewith, and deſerted in great Numbers as ſoon as Day appeared; ſo that thoſe who ſtay'd behind were obliged to draw back, becauſe the Space between the *Spaniſh* Camp was by the Rain converted to a Lake. The *Spaniards* alſo on their Part were much damnified; however they ſtill continued their Lines. On the other Hand the Prince, who had 14000 Men ſtill with him, reſolved to attack them, but he was repulſed after he had loſt 3000 Men, and left as many Priſoners to the Enemy, the Conſequence of which Victory was the ſurrendring of *Salces*.

*French* defeated by the *Spaniards*.

Time and the Circumſtances of Things call us once more to the *Swediſh* Affairs in *Germany*, and without recapitulating any of the Tranſactions of the preceding Year, their Two Victorious Generals, Duke *Bernard* and *Banier* reſolved now to Invade the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, thereby to bring him to ſeek for Peace. *Banier*, for his Part, did all he was able; for, a little after the New Year, paſſing the *Elbe* near *Lauwenburg*, he entred the Countries of *Anhalt* and *Halberſtadt*, where he left his Infantry with his Artillery, advancing farther with the Horſe, to drive the Enemies from the Quarters they poſſeſs'd; which, indeed, ſucceeded ſo well, that having between *Oelintz* and *Reichenberg* met with *Salis*, Grand Maſter of the Emperor's Artillery, when he was endeavouring to ſave himſelf in *Bohemia*, he cut in Pieces Seven Regiments, which he commanded. Further, the *Swedes* defeated near *Dreſden* Four Regiments of *Saxon* Troops, and the others retir'd under the Cannon of the City. Afterwards,

terwards *Banier* undertook the Siege of *Friburg*, but 1639.
ſoon quitted it, upon Advice, That *Hatsfeld* was on his March from *Weſtphalia*, to its Relief; and for the ſame Reaſon he retir'd to *Zeitz*, to wait for his Infantry; and having learnt, That the *Imperialiſts* and *Saxons* were encamped between *Zwickow* and *Chemnitz*, in Expectation of *Hatsfeld*, who was to join them; he, to prevent their Junction, fell on the former near *Chemnitz*; where, after a vigorous Engagement on both Sides, he ſo put them to the Rout, that but a very ſmall number eſcaped; and without ſtopping at *Friburg* or *Dreſden*, he proceeded to take *Pernaw*; and invading *Bohemia*, ſeiz'd great Part thereof, and paſſed the *Elbe* to *Branderiz*, where *Hofkirk* then was with Ten Regiments of Horſe, and ſome Foot. After a ſhort Engagement, *Banier* put him to flight, cut in pieces 2000 of their Men, purſuing the reſt, till they got under the Cannon of *Prague*; and in this Encounter took *Hofkirk* and *Montecuculi* Priſoners. He afterwards repaſs'd the *Elbe*, to draw the War, by little and little, into *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, but had not the Succeſs he at firſt hop'd for; for the Enemies Troops increaſing daily, he could not diſperſe the Forces in *Bohemia*; beſides, he had much Trouble to defend his Poſſeſſions on the other Side of the *Elbe*, becauſe that River being ſhallow, was eaſily paſſable on Horſeback. On the other Hand, the *Imperialiſts* hindred *Banier* from advancing very far into *Sileſia*; to which may be added, That he rely'd much upon the Exiles of *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*, as well as the Malecontents, whoſe Churches had been taken from them; but when it came to the Upſhot, not a Man ſtirr'd; however he routed near *Glatz* 1500 of the Enemy, and drove the *Saxons* Three times from before *Pernaw* with Loſs, tho' he did afterwards quit that Place, becauſe it was not worth his while to be at the Trouble of defending it. He defeated near *Satz* Two Regiments of *Saxons*, of whom about 600 had, by the Treachery of the Inhabitants, driven the *Swediſh* Gariſon out of the Caſtle; but the *Swedes* having receiv'd Aſſiſtance, compell'd all the *Saxons* to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

1639. In the mean time the Imperial Army, commanded by *Piccolomini*, was much encreas'd in the *Low-Countries*; and the Arch-Duke *Leopold William*, who commanded all the Emperor's Forces, in Quality of *Generaliſſimo*, got together as many Troops as he could, that he might, if poſſible, compel the *Swedes* to give Ground. However, they became Maſters of *Demmin* in *Pomerania*, and took *Landſperg* and *Drieſen* in the Country of *Marck*; *Stalhanch* likewiſe, whom *Banier* had ſent into *Sileſia*, reduc'd many Places, and began by little and little to get Ground. Further, the *Swedes* began to revive in *Weſtphalia*, after the Command of the Troops there, was given to *Koningſmark*; for that Genaral having Plunder'd the Countries of *Eicksfeld* and *Franken*, put them under Contribution: But his Hopes of Supplies from D. *Bernard* were fruſtrated, by his unexpected Death. That Prince had taken ſeveral Places in *Burgundy*, where he had given good Quarters to his Men, and reſolv'd to make ſmart Work with his Forces along the *Danube*, and in *Bavaria*. He had likewiſe written to *Banier*, who was in a Condition to defend himſelf vigorouſly for Two Months, after which time he had promis'd to relieve him. But *Briſack*, where he had before gain'd ſo much Glory and Reputation, prov'd at length the Occaſion of his Death. The *French* had a grievous itching at ſo delicious a Morſel; and *Richlieu* having cauſed him to be ſounded thereupon, he bluntly anſwered, *That to demand a chaſte Woman's Virginity, and a gallant Man's Honour, was the ſame thing*; wherefore they prepar'd for him a miſchievous Soop, whereof he died at *Newburg* on the *Rhine*, in the 36th Year of his Age, while he was on his March to invade *Bavaria*. His Troops, indeed, belong'd to *Sweden*, being firſt rais'd under that Name, and having taken Oaths to that Crown, it is certain they never were disbanded; and if the *French* King advanced any Aids to D. *Bernard*, that Prince, in Requital, did him conſiderable Service. But there were Two Rivals, who made equal Pretences to the Command of the Army, and Poſſeſſion of Places; to wit, the *French* King, and the *Elector-Palatine*; that Elector thereby hoping to recover his

D. *Bernard* treacherouſly poiſon'd by the *French*.

his Country. To which Purpoſe he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke's Army, to hold a Treaty, reſolving at his Departure from *England* to make his Way through *France* into *Germany*. But the poor Prince being arriv'd at *Moulins*, was taken Priſoner, and carry'd to *Bois de Vincennes*, under Pretence, that a Perſon of his high Quality ought not to travel through His Majeſty's Dominions, without having given him Notice before. During theſe Tranſactions the *French* gain'd their Ends, with Money and fair Promiſes, having already, in particular, brought over *Erlack*, the chief Officer in the Duke's Army, in ſuch a manner, that they had the Diſpoſal both of his Men, and the Places that Prince had conquer'd; and they were to obey the Duke of *Longueville* in the ſame manner as they had done the Duke of *Weimar*: But when the *French* were once Maſters of *Briſack*, they ſoon forgot the Engagement they had made to the Duke's Army, ſince call'd, The Army of *Weimar*; nay, they ſtrove to reduce them to Neceſſities, which at laſt they brought about, to hinder their becoming too formidable to them, as well as their Enemies. And as throughout the whole War *France* ever had ſecret Correſpondencies with the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſo did they likewiſe hinder that Army from putting in Execution the Deſign D. *Bernard* had laid, of invading the Lands of that Prince. 1639.

We have heard nothing from *Turkey* a good while, their Time being moſtly ſpent in the *Eaſt* againſt the *Perſians*; but the *Venetian* Admiral having laſt Year deſtroy'd or taken ſome *Algerine* and *Turkiſh* Pyrates, Dependants on the *Turks* in their Port of *Vallona*, they reſented it ſo much, that the *Venetian* Bailo was impriſoned at the *Ottoman* Port, and a War threatned to be made againſt the Republick. But now the Infidels being more at Leiſure to call the *Venetians* to an Account, the Sultan preſently let the Bailo know he look'd on him no longer as a publick Miniſter, but the Hoſtage for the Ships taken; however, having put the old Chimacam to Death, and ſubſtituted *Muſtapha* in his Room, he ordered him not to ſhut his Ear to a Treaty; and therefore admitting the Bailo to Audience, and patiently hearing

Agreement between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.

1639. the reaſon of Fact and fixed Reſolution of the Senate not to deliver their own Gallies in Exchange, he condeſcended at laſt to an Adjuſtment, which conſiſted in the Bailo's promiſing ſome Money in Reparation of the Injury done at *Valona*, and in refitting that Veſſel which was in Building: As to other Things, that all Pretenſions ſhould be ſilenced, the *Corſairs* commanded not to moleſt the *Venetians*, nor to receive them into Port till Caution given; not to make any Diſturbance; that the Commanders of the Republick might puniſh them according to the ancient Capitulation; that Commerce ſhould be renewed, and the Bailo reſtored to his Liberty.

Sir *H. Wotton's* Death. This Year proved fatal to the Learned Sir *Henry Wotton*, the Son of *Tho. Wotton*, Eſq; in the County of *Kent*, born 1568. He ſtudied in *New* College in *Oxford*, from whence he removed to *Queen's*, where he gained a mighty Reputation. He travelled into *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*; and returning home, became Secretary to *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*; but after he was proclaimed Traitor, *Wotton* retired to *Florence*, becaule known to the Grand Duke, who diſpatched him with Letters to *James* VI. of *Scotland*, to acquaint him with a Deſign againſt his Life; and that Prince, upon his coming to the Crown of *England*, knighted him, and employed him in Nine or Ten Ambaſſies. He was made Provoſt of *Eaton* in 1623. He was a Perſon of Wit, Learning and Piety, and much a Gentleman, and wrote *Epiſt. de Gaſparo Scioppio Epiſt. ad M. velſerum*; The State of *Chriſtendom*; *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*.

1640. Tho' the State of Affairs in *Scotland* appeared by this time with a very deſperate Aſpect, there wanted not ſome ſtill, who perſwaded the King, *All might yet be brought to an end without Blood. And therefore adviſed Him, To require, that ſome from their Body might be ſent, to give an Account of the Reaſons of their Proceedings.* The Commiſſioners behaved themſelves with all the Aſſurance of Men commiſſioned by a Foreign Power; refuſed to give any Account but to to the King himſelf, and even to him they gave no other Reaſon for what was done, but the Authority of thoſe that did it, and the Neceſſity that required it; but this they poliſhed over with all the Profeſ-

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sions of Duty their Language was capable of. About this time the King intercepted a Letter, signed by the Chief of the Covenanters, particularly the Lord *Lowden*, written to the *French* King; in which they complain'd, *Of the Hardships exercised over 'em*, and desired His Majesty, *To take 'em into His Protection; and that he would give entire Credit to one* Colvil, *the Bearer, who was instructed in all Particulars.* It was sealed up, and directed, *Au Roy*; a Style used only from Subjects to their natural Prince. Upon this the Lord *Lowden* being examined, would give no other Answer, than, *That it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon never sent*; and presuming upon his safe Conduct, demanded Liberty to return. Notwithstanding which, both he and *Colvil* were committed to the *Tower*, all Men expecting that they should be brought to a speedy Trial. 1640. A Letter from some of the *Scotch* Covenanters to the *French* King intercepted.

This Discovery convinced the King, an Army was necessary, tho' the Revenues of the Crown were so far anticipated by the late Expedition, that there appeared no Means how to raise it. No Expedient occurred so proper as a Parliament: For tho' those Meetings had of late been attended by some Disorders, yet the long Intermission of 'em, and the general Composure of Men's Minds in a happy Peace, especially the Indignation, the Presumption of the *Scots* in their Design of invading *England* might work in them, made the King hope they would express a very just Sense of their Insolence and Carriage towards him, and provide Remedies accordingly. Before the Parliament met, which was to be *April* 3. the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* died, to the King's great Detriment, rather than his own; and was a Person so incorrupt, as a certain Author expresses, that captious Malice stands mute in the Blemish of his Fame, a Person truly Loyal, and a good Patriot: My Lord *C*---- says, his Loss was the more visible in his Successor, Sir *John Finch*; a Man exceedingly obnoxious, on Account of the Ship-Money, and neither of Reputation, or Authority enough to countenance and advance the King's Interest. The Lord *Coventry* dies.

The Parliament being met according to Summons, after the King had in Brief mentioned *His Desire again to converse with Parliaments, after so long an Intermission*: King's Speech in Parliament.

1640. *termeſſion:* He referred the Cauſe of their preſent Summons to be enlarged upon by the Lord-Keeper, who acquainted 'em with the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*, and cloſed all, with telling 'em, *His Majeſty did not expect their Advice, or Interpoſition in any Office of Mediation, but that they ſhould with all convenient Speed give him ſuch a Supply, as might enable him to raiſe ſuch an Army, as the Seaſon of the Year, and the Progreſs of the Rebels already called for; and that afterwards they might be aſſured of Time enough to repreſent any Grievances, and of His Mjeſties moſt favourable Anſwer.*

Serjeant *Granville*, being choſen Speaker, Mr. *Pym*, in a ſet Diſcourſe, after Mention of the King with moſt profound Reverence and Commendation of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, obſerved, *How many unwarrantable Things had been practiced by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments, the Illegal Proclamations that had been publiſhed, and the Proceedings upon 'em; the Judgment upon Ship-Money, and many Grievances relating to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.* Concluding, *That by what he had ſaid they might ſee, how much they had to do to ſatisfie their Country; the Method of which he left to their Wiſdoms.* Mr. *Grimſton* inſiſted only on the Ship-Money, and ſaid, *He was perſwaded, that they who gave their Opinion for the Lawfulneſs of it, ſpoke againſt their own Conſcience:* And *Peard* calling it *An Abomination*, *Herbert*, the King's Sollicitor, put the Houſe in Mind, *With how much Candor His Majeſty proceeded in that and all other Matters. That he iſſued not out his Writ for Levying Ship-Money, till he was aſſured of its Legality by all the Judges in* England. *That no Cauſe ever was debated more ſolemnly, when the Payment was oppoſed by a Gentleman,* (*Mr.* Hambden) *than that was; and after all this, and a Judgment pronounced with ſo much Solemnity, by which the King was as legally poſſeſſed of that Right, as of any elſe he had, for any particular Man to call it* An Abomination, *was very unwarrantable; and he deſired the Gentleman, who had uſed that Expreſſion, might explain himſelf, and withdraw.* This Diſcourſe was thought to have ſo much Weight in it, that Mr. *Peard* very hardly eſcaped a ſevere Reprimand; and the Houſe was certainly of a good

*Pym's Speech.*

Temper

Temper at this time, but before it had ſat a Week, the Lords being prevailed with by the Court, to propoſe to the Houſe of Commons, by way of Advice in a Conference, *That conſidering the Neceſſity of the King's Affairs, they would begin with a Supply, and afterwards go on upon their Grievances, or any thing elſe they thought fit.* This was no ſooner reported in the Commons Houſe, than unanimouſly declared to be *So high a Breach of Priviledge, that they could proceed upon no other Buſineſs, till they had firſt received Satisfaction*; which they demanded at a Conference next Day. The Lords were ſenſible of their Error; *Acknowledged the Priviledge of the Commons as fully as they required it, and deſired it might not obſtruct the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, but that they would proceed in their own Way and Method.* This gave no Satisfaction, the Thing was univerſally reſented; a Committee appointed to examine Preſidents, and prepare a Proteſtation to be ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, and enter'd in their own Journal. After the Thing had been ſome Days debated, without any Hopes of bringing it to an end, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe by Sir *Harry Vane*, in Writing, wherein His Majeſty took Notice, *That there were ſome Diſputes between the Two Houſes, which retarded the great Affairs of the Nation; that he heard the Ship-Money was unwillingly ſubmitted to by the People; which therefore he wou'd releaſe for the future, in ſuch manner as his Parliament ſhould adviſe, if they would grant him Twelve Subſidies to be paid in Three Years.* 1639.

The Houſe enter'd upon a full Debate of this the Day following, which continued from Nine in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon. They who deſired to obſtruct it, obſerved, *That the purchaſing a Releaſe of a very unjuſt Impoſition, would upon the Matter confeſs it to be juſt; and therefore wiſhed that the Judgment upon Examination might be declared void; that what they then preſented the King, might appear a Gift, and not a Recompence.* There were very few, except thoſe of the Court, (and they were forward to give all the King demanded, but indeed had little of their own to give) but thought the Sum too great, and wiſhed a leſs might be accepted, and were willing the Debate might be adjourn'd till

1640. Debates of the Commons.

the next Morning; when Mr. *Hambden*, after he ſaw the Matter ripe for the Queſtion, deſired it might be put, *Whether the Houſe ſhould comply with the Propoſition made by the King, as it was contained in the Meſſage?* Hereupon the Speaker (for the Houſe was then in a Committee) endeavour'd in a pathetical Speech to perſwade 'em, *To comply with the King, and ſo reconcile him to Parliaments for ever.* He made it appear how trifling a Sum Twelve Subſidies were, by telling 'em how much upon Computation his Proportion would be; and when he had named the Sum, he being known to have a great Eſtate, it ſeemed not worth any farther Deliberation. No Speech ever united the Inclinations of a popular Council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the Queſtion had been preſently put, it was believ'd few wou'd have oppos'd it. But after a ſhort Silence, the other Side recovering new Courage, call'd again with ſome Earneſtneſs that *Hambden*'s Queſtion ſhould be put, which being like to meet with a Concurrence, Mr. *Hyde* then ſtood up, and giving his Reaſons for his Diſlike to that Queſtion, propoſed, *That to the end every Man might freely give his Yea or No, the Queſtion might be put only upon giving the King a Supply; which if it was carried, another might be put upon the Manner and Proportion; if not, it wou'd have the ſame Effect with the other propos'd by Mr.* Hambden.

This, after it had been ſome time oppos'd and diverted by other Propoſitions, which were anſwer'd by Mr. *Hyde*, wou'd, as it was generally believ'd, have been put, and carried in the Affirmative, tho' poſitively oppoſed by *Herbert*, the Sollicitor-General, for what Reaſon no Man cou'd conceive, if Sir *Harry Vane*, the Secretary, had not ſtood up, and aſſured 'em as from His Majeſty, *That if they ſhould paſs a Vote for a Supply, and not in the Proportion and Manner propos'd in His Majeſty's Meſſage, it wou'd not be accepted by Him, and therefore deſired that the Queſtion might be laid aſide*; which being again urged by the Sollicitor-General, and it being near Five in the Afternoon, it was readily conſented to, that the Houſe ſhou'd adjourn to the next Morning; and let their Reaſons be what they wou'd, theſe Two, and they only,

only, prevail'd ſo far with the King, that His Majeſty next Morning diſſolv'd the Parliament, which caſt a mighty Damp upon the Spirits of the whole Nation; and the King himſelf, upon better Thoughts, was afterwards troubled at it, and conſulted whether by His Proclamation he cou'd recal 'em; which finding a thing impracticable, he fell roundly to find out all Expedients for raiſing Money, and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that in Three Weeks time no leſs than 300000 *l.* was by a voluntary Loan paid into the Exchequer. 1640. The Parliament diſſolv'd.

All Diligence poſſible was uſed in raiſing Men; the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe. *Northumberland*, according to Sir *P. W.* was of a high-born Family, deſcended by his Paternal Stock from *Charles* the Great, by *Joſceline*, a younger Son of *Godfrey*, Duke of *Brabant*, who married the Daughter and Heir of *Percy*; yet this Family was noted often to be unſteady to the Crown: But this Gentleman being a graceful young Man, of great Sobriety and Regularity, and in all kinds promiſing and hopeful, to be an eminent Ornament to the Crown, the King caſt a Friendly, nay, a Fatherly Eye upon him, and was obſerved to uſe him with Reſpect, as well as Kindneſs. As for *Conway*, he ſays he was a Man of *Epicurean* Principles, a great Devourer of Books and good Cheer, and who lay under ſome Reflections ſince the Action at the Iſle of *Rhee*. But my Lord *C*---- gives him the Character of being born a Soldier, and bred up in ſeveral Commands under his Uncle, the Lord *Vere*, in which he always preſerv'd a more than ordinary Reputation. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was highly pleas'd with his Promotion, having an extraordinary Opinion of him, and being much delighted in his Company. For he had reſerv'd ſo much Time from his Pleaſures, (to which he was exceſſively addicted) and his Profeſſion for his Books and Study, that he was well acquainted with all ſorts of Learning, and was able to ſpeak of the Church-Affairs, of which he affected to be thought a zealous Defender, tho' they who knew him, knew he had no Senſe of Religion, but thought all alike. An Army rais'd. *Northumberland* and *Conway*'s Characters

Whilſt

1640. Whilſt theſe Matters were thus publickly tranſacted, private Agitations were no leſs vigorouſly intended; Libels were diſpers'd, Tumults rais'd, and all Licence both in Words and Actions aſſum'd; inſomuch, that a Rabble of mean, unknown, diſſolute Perſons, ſome Thouſands in Number, attempted *Lambeth-Houſe*, publickly proteſting they would tear the Archbiſhop in pieces; nor did *White-Hall* it ſelf paſs unthreatned in their Seditious Meetings and Diſcourſes.

All Things ſeemed to be managed under the King by a triumvirate of Archbiſhop *Laud*, the Lord-Deputy *VVentworth*, now Earl of *Strafford*, and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; by the Procurement of which laſt, it was thought *Lowden* was diſcharged out of his Confinement, and after a kind Reception of a few Days, was diſmiſſed into *Scotland*. As for *Strafford*, Sir *P. VV.* ſays, he about the Year 1632. was appointed by the King to be Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, where the State of Affairs was in no very good Poſture, the Revenue of the Crown not defraying the Standing Army there, nor the ordinary Expences; and the Deportment of the Romaniſts being there alſo very inſolent, and the *Scots* Plantations in the Northern Parts of that Realm looking upon themſelves, as if they had been a diſtinct Body, there was Subject-Matter enough for this great Man to work on; but he was every way qualified for Buſineſs; his natural Faculties being very ſtrong and pregnant, his Underſtanding, aided by a good Phanſie, made him quick in diſcerning the Nature of any Buſineſs; and through a cold Brain he became deliberate, and of a ſound Judgment. His Memory was great, and he made it greater by confiding in it. His Elocution was very fluent, and it was a great Part of his Talent readily to reply, or freely to harangue upon any Subject. And all this was lodged in a ſowre and haughty Temper; ſo as it may probably be believed, he expected to have more Obſervance paid to him than he was willing to pay to others, tho' they were of his own Quality; and then he was not like to conciliate the Good-will of Men of the leſſer Station. His acquired Parts, both in Univerſity and Inns-of-Court Learning, as likewiſe his Foreign Travels, made him an eminent

Lord *Strafford's* Character.

eminent Man, before he was conſpicuous; ſo as when he came to ſhew himſelf firſt in publick Affairs, which was in the Houſe of Commons, he was ſoon a Weather in that Flock. As he had theſe Parts, he knew how to ſet a Price on them, if not overvalue them: And he too ſoon diſcovered a Roughneſs in his Nature. Of which he gave an early Specimen, when in the eager Purſuit of the Houſe of Commons after the Duke of *Buckingham* he adviſed or gave a Counſel againſt another, which was afterwards taken up, and purſued againſt himſelf. Thus preſſing upon another Man's Caſe, he awakened his own Fate. For when that Houſe was in Conſultation, how to frame the particular Charge againſt that Duke, he adviſed how to make a general one, and to accuſe him of Treaſon, and to let him afterwards get off as he could; which befel himſelf at laſt. It was a great Infirmity in him, that he ſeem'd to overlook ſo many Enemies as he did; ſince everywhere, much more in Court, the numerous or leſſer Sort of Attendants can obſtruct, create Jealouſies, ſpread ill Reports, and do Harm. In his Perſon he was of a tall Stature, but ſtooped much in the Neck. His Countenance was cloudy, whilſt he moved, or ſat thinking; but when he ſpake, either ſeriouſly or facetiouſly, he had a lightſome, and a very pleaſant Air: And indeed, whatever he then did, he performed very gracefully. The Greatneſs of the Envy, that attended him, made many in their Prognoſticks to bode him an ill End; and there went current a Story of the Dream of his Father, who being both by his Wife, nigheſt Friends, and Phyſicians, thought to be at the Point of his Death, fell ſuddenly into ſo profound a Sleep, and lay quietly ſo long, that his Wife, uncertain of his Condition, drew nigh to his Bed, to obſerve whether ſhe could hear him breathe; and gently touching him, he awaked with a great Diſturbance, and told her the Reaſon was, ſhe had interrupted him in a Dream, which moſt paſſionately he deſired to have known the end of. For he ſaid, *He dream'd one appear'd to him, aſſuring him that he ſhould have a Son*, (for till then he had none) *who ſhould be a very great and eminent Man: But .... and in this Inſtant* 1640.

*thou*

1638. *thou didſt awake me*, (continued he) *whereby I am bereaved of the Knowledge of the further Fortune of the Child.*

His Government of *Ireland.*

At his coming into *Ireland* he diſpoſed all his Buſineſs into ſo good a Method and Order, and kept up ſo the State of that Court, that it was a good Reſemblance of his Maſter's: Which at that time was the moſt regular and ſplendid Court in *Chriſtendom*; (ſet aſide the King of *France* his military and numerous Guards) and he ſo ſettled all the Benches of Juſtice, that by able and upright Judges, the Decrees and Diſpatches there were very juſt and expeditious; yet he was too apt to draw ſome particular Buſineſſes out of their proper Channel unto his own Juriſdiction; the Inſtances whereof, as they are to be found in the Articles of his Charge; ſo by his Anſwers thereunto it appears, that his Determinations upon thoſe Caſes were not ſo much his Fault, as his Haughtineſs to amplifie his own Authority. He brought his Army unto its juſt Number; and as he was very careful of its Pay, ſo he was very exact about their Diſcipline; which quelled the Stubbornneſs of the Natives, and quaſh'd their Hopes of innovating in State, or ſpreading of their Religion. For from a froward Inſolence he ſoon reduced them to a modeſt and private Exerciſe of their Romiſh Profeſſion, endeavoured to regulate the *Iriſh* Church unto the *Engliſh*, and by the Learning and Piety of the good Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and the Solidity of his Two Confidents, Dr. *Bramhall*, Biſhop of *London-Derry*, and Dr. *Margetſon*, with others, he brought that Church into a great and good State; and his Influence was ſo extenſive, that that great and conſiderable Body of *Scots*, which inhabited about *Ulſter*, carried a greater Awe to the Government, than in ſome time before they had done. Trade he enlarged much, which brought both Induſtry and Wealth to the Nation, and, as he managed it, a good Increaſe of Revenue unto the King's Exchequer: Which through many revived Rights and well-weighed Particulars he ſo increaſed, that the Revenue of the Nation defrayed the whole Charge of it, and he was enabled to remit a conſiderable Sum of Money, about 20 or 30000 *l.* over into

into *England*, which for many Ages before had been a Charge unto this Kingdom. He ſet up ſeveral Beneficial Manufacturies, eſpecially thoſe of Yarn and Flax; which Deſign, if he had had Time to have gone on in, he certainly would have brought to good Effects. And as he was very careful by all ingenious and politick Means to profit the Nation, he govern'd it ſo like a good *Engliſhman*, that he endeavoured to make that correſpond with the Advantages of *England*, and to keep the Dependencies of that Crown on this. 1640.

But to digreſs no longer from the Affairs on Foot with the *Scots*, and but juſt to mention here his Imbroilments with *Cork*, *Kanelagh* and *Mount Norris*, which helped onward his Ruin, the Progreſs in the King's Advance for *Scotland* was very much obſtructed by the Earl of *Northumberland*'s dangerous Sickneſs, who thereupon ſent to the King, and deſir'd His Majeſty to make Choice of another General; who concluding it a thing neceſſary, deſigned the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command; but he knowing well the Deſigns formed againſt himſelf, choſe rather to command as Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Northumberland*, and made all poſſible Haſte towards the *North*, but could not arrive Time enough to prevent that ſcandalous irreparable Rout at *Newburn*; where the Enemy, in ſpight of many Difficulties and Diſadvantages, without Blow given or receiv'd, put the *Engliſh* Army to the moſt infamous confounding Flight that ever was heard of: The Foot running as faſt from *Newcaſtle* as the Horſe did from *Newburn*; both quitting the Honour, and a great deal of the Wealth of that Kingdom, ariſing from the Coal-Mines, to thoſe who were poſſeſs'd with all the Fears imaginable, and cou'd ſcarce believe their own Succeſs, 'til they were aſſured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army lay quietly in *Durham*, and then they had Courage enough to enter into *Newcaſtle*. Hereupon he found it neceſſary to retire to the Skirts of *Yorkſhire*, leaving *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to the Conquerors. And now their Neighbours of *Yorkſhire*, (upon whom they were not to treſpaſs) inſtead of drawing their Train'd-Bands together to ſecure their Country, or the

The Lord *Conway* routed at *Newburn*.

The *Scots* enter *Newcaſtle*.

1640. the Perſon of the King among 'em, prepar'd Petitions of Advice to him to ſummon a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances. At the ſame time ſome Lords from *London*, preſented His Majeſty with a Petition, ſign'd by about Eight or Ten more, cunningly perſwaded thereto, according to my Lord *C*---- by Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden* and *Saint John*, to concur in it. So that in theſe Diſtractions and Diſcompoſures the King cou'd not but find himſelf in great Straits. To remedy which, a great Council of all the Peers of *England* was ſummoned to attend Him within Twenty Days at *York*.

A great Council of the Peers ſummon'd to *York*.

In the mean time, to give a ſhort View of the State of Affairs at Court, the Convocation was, after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, continued by a new Writ, and ſate under the proper Name of a Synod, made Canons, gave Subſidies, enjoin'd Oaths, and, in a Word, did ſeveral Things, which in the beſt of Times might have been queſtion'd, and were therefore certain to be condemn'd. Now the Papiſts, who had for many Years enjoy'd a great Calm, grew unthrifty Managers of their Proſperity; they appeared more publickly, entertain'd and forced Conferences more avowedly than had been known before. They were grown not only ſecret Authors, but open Promoters of the moſt grievous Projects. The Prieſts had forgot their former Modeſty and Fear, and were as willing to be known as liſten'd to; inſomuch, as a Jeſuit at *Paris*, deſigning for *England*, had the Impudence to viſit the Ambaſſador there, and offering his Service, acquainted him with his intended Journey, as if there had been no Laws for his Reception. And ſhamefully to countenance the whole Party, an Agent from *Rome* reſided at *London* in great State. They had publickly collected Money to a conſiderable Sum, to be by the Queen preſented as a free Gift from his Catholick Subjects to the King, towards carrying on the War againſt the *Scots*, which drew upon 'em the Rage of that Nation. In a Word, they behaved themſelves ſo, as if they had been ſuborn'd by the *Scots* to deſtroy their own Religion.

The State of the Court.

The Burden and Envy of all State-Affairs ſeemed to reſt now upon the Shoulders of the Archbiſhop of

*Can-*

*Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*. The firſt of theſe grew more engaged in the Civil Buſineſs than perhaps he deſired. *Strafford* had Two profeſt Enemies, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Harry Vane*. The firſt could not forget or forgive a ſharp Saying of his, when upon ſome Diſpute between his Lordſhip and the Lord *Weſton*, (in the Courſe of which the Earl of *Holland* was confin'd to his Houſe) *That the King would ſerve him Right in cutting off his Head*. The Reaſon of *Vane*'s Pique is mention'd before: *Eſſex* was a more dangerous Enemy than either; who upon ſome rough Carriage of the Earl of *Strafford* towards his Friend, the late Earl of St. *Albans*, openly declared he would be revenged. Laſtly, he had an Enemy yet more dreadful than all the others, and like to prove more fatal, the whole *Scottiſh* Nation, provoked by the Declaration he had obtained of *Ireland* and ſome high Expreſſions of his againſt 'em in that Kingdom. As for *Cottington*, tho' he was a wiſe Man, he knew better how to make his Maſter great abroad, than gracious at home; and having been a long time Chancellor of the Exchequer, was concerned in a great many hard Shifts for Money; and was ſuſpected at leaſt to favour the Papiſts, by which he gave no ſmall Umbrage to the People. There were Two Things that render'd him as odious as any to the great Reformers; one, that he could not be prevailed with to countenance any of their Deſigns; the other, that he was in too good Offices, without the having of which their Reformation would be imperfect: For, beſides being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was Maſter of the Wards, and had, during his Adminiſtration, highly improved the Revenue of that Court. 1640.

*Hamilton* was, by the People's Hatred to him, thonght at that time to be in greater Danger than any of the other. The Diſcoveries between the Lord of *Mackay*, and *David Ramſay*, wherein the Marqueſs was accuſed of a Deſign to make himſelf King of *Scotland*, ſtill lived in many Mens Memories; and the late Paſſages in that Kingdom had revived it in others; ſo that he had Reaſon to expect as ill a Preſage for himſelf, as the moſt melancholy of the

1640. the other; but as he always had taken the greateſt Care for himſelf, ſo he was likely to be ſolicitous on his own Behalf, and to provide accordingly. And here (continues my Lord *Cl*----) I cannot omit a Story, which was a great Piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe can be found among the modern Politicians. *A little before the Appearance of the Peers at* York, *the Marqueſs, with a dejected Countenance, deſired of His Majeſty Leave to travel, for that he foreſaw a Storm, in which his Shipwrack was certain; that he knew he might be well aſſured of His Majeſties Protection, but that the Knowledge of that gracious Diſpoſition in His Majeſty was the great Reaſon which made him beg Leave to be abſent; that otherwiſe he would never ſo far deſert his own Innocence, which might be ſullied with Injimities and Indiſcretion,* (proceeding from an entire ſimple Obedience to His Majeſties Commands) *not defaced with Deſign and Malice. But,* ſaid he. *I'll rather run any Riſque, than be ſo immediate a Cauſe of Damage to ſo Royal a Maſter.* The King was ſenſibly touched with the Probability of what was ſaid; which the Marqueſs ſoon obſerving, *There is,* ſaid he, *one VVay to ſecure me, without leaving the Kingdom, but is ſo contrary to my Nature, and will be ſo ſcandalous to my Honour in the Eye of the VVorld, that for my own Part I had rather run my Fortune.* His Majeſty, glad of ſuch an Expedient, impatiently asked him, *VVhat that VVay was?* The other replied, *That by promiſing his Service to the other Party, and ſeeming to approve of their Opinions and Deſigns, he might endear himſelf to 'em: But this he knew would meet with ſo much Jealouſie from other Men, and ſhortly with that Reproach, that he might by degrees be leſſened in His Majeſties own Truſt, and therefore he had no Mind to undertake it:* And ſo renewed his Importunity again for Leave to travel. The King was highly pleaſed with the Expedient, and having a great Eſteem of the Fidelity of the Marqueſs, told him plainly, *That he ſhould not leave him; that he was not only contented, but commanded him by any Means to ſtrike in with the other People;* aſſuring him, *That it ſhould be in no one's Power to infuſe any Diſtruſt of him into his Royal Breaſt.* Which Reſolution His Majeſty obſerved ſo punctually, that the

the other enjoyed the Liberty of doing whatever he thought conducing to his own Safety: And by wonderful Craft, and low Condeſcenſion, obtained no leſs Credit with the Parliament, than the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, and preſerved himſelf from any publick Reproach in thoſe Charges, which ruined other Men, and which he deſerved more than any; and yet the King grew not jealous of him for a long time; to whom he gave many Advertiſements, which would have been of great Uſe, had there been Perſons enough, who would have concurred in the Prevention. 1640.

At laſt the Lords came to *York*, and His Majeſty, who exceedingly deſired to endear the Queen to the People, told 'em at their firſt Meeting, *He was by a Letter from her adviſed to call a Parliament, which therefore he was reſolved to do.* And a Petition was the ſame Day preſented to him from the *Scots*, which begat a Treaty, concluded upon to be at *Rippon*, a Place in the King's Quarters, for which the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, *Briſtol* and *Berkſhire*; the Lords *Mandevile*, *VVharton*, *Dunſmore*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Pawlet*, and *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, were appointed by the King; all popular Men, and ſcarce one of 'em a Friend, or ſo much as civilly inclined towards the Earl of *Strafford*. As for thoſe from the *Scots* Army, they were of a Quality much inferior, there being no more than Two Noblemen, whereof the Lord *Lowden* was chief, Two or Three Gentlemen and Citizens, with *Alexander Henderſon*, and Two or Three Clergymen more. The *Scots* addreſſed their moſt particular Applications to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, tho' in publick they ſeemed to careſs 'em all alike. They ran out into large Expreſſions, *Of their Affection to the Kingdom and People of* England, *proteſting they had the ſame Regard to their Laws, Liberties and Priviledges as to their own. That as the Invaſions upon their Native Country, both in their Civil and Spiritual Rights, had forced 'em upon this manner of Addreſs, ſo they hoped it might be to the Benefit of this Kingdom, and the Subjects thereof, in giving 'em this Opportunity of vindicating their own Liberties and Laws, which were in-*

1640. *fringed by thoſe very Men, who, when they had finiſhed their Work in* Scotland *and* Ireland, *intended to eſtabliſh the ſame Slavery in* England, *all which would be prevented by removing Three or Four Perſons from the King, who of himſelf was graciouſly inclined to his People; but thoſe ill Men had too great an Influence upon his Counſels.* There was not one of all the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, but approved of this Diſcourſe; but to thoſe Lords, with whom they deſired a ſtricter Confidence, they ſpake more openly. *Of the Exceſs of the Queen's Power, which prevailed too much upon the King in all Affairs, who could never be happy, till he had ſuch Perſons about him, as were of Honour and Experience, and zealous for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, in great Danger by the exorbitant Power of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and ſome other Biſhops, that were influenced by him.* They concluded, in aſſuring 'em, *Their Affections were ſo great to* England, *that, tho' they ſhould immediately be ſatisfied in all that concern'd themſelves, they would not give over, till Proviſion was likewiſe made for the true Intereſt of* England, *and a Reformation in Church and State.*

This ſaid, and generally approved of, the *Scots* propoſed, *That to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, all Hoſtility ſhould be prevented on either Side, which could not well be done, unleſs Care were taken for the Payment of their Army, ſtill reſtrained to cloſe and narrow Quarters.* The Commiſſioners returned a few Days after to the King at *York*, and gave him an Account of what had paſſed, and how zealous the *Scots* were affected to His Majeſty's Service. Three of them, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Holland*, who were all influenced by the *Scots*, and approved of whatever they pretended to deſire. But the King not pleaſed therewith, thought there was but One Way, (which was not to be communicated at the Council) and that was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the Army. Wherefore he ſent Major *Smith* with a Party of Horſe, who defeated Two or Three of their Troops in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; upon which *Leſly* complained, *That he had forborn any ſuch Attempt out of Reſpect to the Treaty*; and

the

*the* Engliſh *Commiſſioners fancied themſelves affronted in it.* And when it was known the Officer who commanded the Party was a Papiſt, it made more Noiſe, and the King was prevailed with to reſtrain his General from giving out any more ſuch Orders. Hereupon a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed, and the Treaty adjourn'd to *London*; the only Thing deſired by the *Scots*, without which they never could have maſter'd their Deſigns. The Earl of *Pembroke* was at the ſame time ſent to borrow 200000 *l.* of the City for the Payment of both Armies, whilſt the Ceſſation and Treaty ſhould continue; which the City was eaſily perſwaded to, being to be repaid out of the firſt Money that ſhould be raiſed by Parliament. 1640.

After which the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the opening of the Parliament, which met, according to the Writs, the Third Day of *November* following. The Treaty with the *Scots* being variouſly cenſured according to People's Affections and Inclinations, we'll paſs that over, and obſerve, that ſome would have perſwaded Archbiſhop *Laud* to move the King to adjourn the Parliament for Two or Three Days, becauſe they looked upon the 3d of *November* to be ominous; the Parliament called that Day in the 20th of *Henry* VIII. beginning with the Fall of Cardinal *Woolſey*, and ending with the Diſſolution of Abbys: But *Laud* took little Notice of it, tho' this Motion ſeemed not to be feigned by the Event of it. The King being baulked, in not having Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Recorder of *London*, choſen Speaker, who indeed could not get to be elected a Member, Mr. *Lenthall* of *Lincolns-Inn* was pitched upon, and approved, and Mr. *Pym*, the very firſt Day, in which they cou'd enter upon Buſineſs, in a long form'd Diſcourſe bewail'd the miſerable State and Condition of the Kingdom, aggravated all that had been done amiſs in the Government, *As done and contriv'd maliciouſly to alter the whole Frame, and rob the Nation of what was their Birth-right by the Laws of the Land, their Liberty and Property.* And after a ſpecious Commendation of the King, Mr. *Pym* ſaid, *We muſt enquire who thoſe Perſons are, that ſo far inſinuated themſelves*

Mr. *Pym* begins the Debate of Grievances.

1640. *ſelves into His Royal Affections, as to be able to pervert His excellent Judgment, and traiterouſly apply his Authority, to countenance and ſupport their own Pernicious Deſigns. And tho' 'twas to be feared many had contributed their joint Endeavours to involve the Nation in the Miſeries it now labour'd under, yet he believed there was one more Signal than the reſt, who, of a zealous Stickler for the Liberties of the People, was become the greateſt Promoter of Tyranny that any Age had ever produc'd.* Then he nam'd the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and inſtanc'd ſome high imperious Actions done by him there, and in *England*.

*Strafford* impeached.

Mr. *Pym* being ſeconded herein by divers others with many Exaſperations of the Earl's Crimes; he was impeached before the Lords of High-Treaſon, and ſeveral other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, of which the Commons would in due time make Proof in Form, deſiring in the mean time that he might be committed to ſafe Cuſtody, and ſo withdrew: The Earl was, with more Clamour than became that High Court, called upon to withdraw, hardly obtaining Leave to be firſt heard in his Place,

*Strafford's* Speech.

when *He lamented his great Misfortune, to lye under ſo heavy a Charge; profeſs'd his Innocence and Integrity, deſired he might have his Liberty till ſome Guilt ſhould be proved againſt him. VViſh'd them to conſider what Miſchief they were bringing upon themſelves, if upon a general Charge, without the Mention of any one Crime, they committed a Peer of the Realm to Priſon, and of what Conſequence ſuch a Preſident might be*; and then withdrew. The Peers, upon a very ſhort Debate, reſolv'd, *He ſhould be committed to the Cuſtody of the Black Rod, till the Commons ſhould produce a particular Charge againſt him.* Which Reſolution of the Houſe, the Lord-Keeper upon the Wool-pack pronounc'd to him upon his Knees at the Bar of the Houſe.

Some Authors tell us, the Committee of Elections were very partial in Favour of thoſe of their own Kidney: However that were, Ship-Money was now voted an illegal Tax, and thereby the Collectors and Promoters of it made liable to ſevere Cenſures. *Pryn* and *Burton* were conducted to *London* in great Triumph, and now an Accuſation of High-Treaſon was

was made againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſo remov'd him likewiſe from the Council. My Lord *C*---- ſays, they us'd all their Art in keeping off any Debate upon Ship Money, reſerving that whole Buſineſs to hang as a Meteor over the Heads of thoſe who were any ways concern'd in it. And when in Spite of all their Skill to prevent it, that Buſineſs was brought upon the Stage, and the Lord-Keeper *Finch* of Conſequence named the avow'd Author of that odious Judgment, who according to their Rule, *That an Endeavour to alter the Government by Law, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power, were Treaſon*, was the moſt notoriouſly guilty of any could be named. Before they would bear the Mention of an Accuſation of High-Treaſon, they appointed a Committee formally to prepare it, and then gave him a Day to be heard for himſelf at the Bar of the Houſe; whereby, contrary to all Order, he might obſerve what was doing in the Houſe coucerning himſelf: And perceiving by their own Rules he muſt be accuſed of High-Traſon, they prolong the Debate till the Lords were riſen, ſo that the Accuſation was not carried up till the next Morning, and by that time the Lord Keeper withdrew, and went ſhortly into *Holland*; the Lord *Littleton*, then Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, ſucceeding him. About the ſame time Sir *Francis VVindebank*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State (a profeſs'd Patron of the Papiſts) was accus'd of many Tranſactions in their Behalf; and when ſome Warrants under his own Hand were produced for the Diſcharge of ſeveral Proſecutions againſt Prieſts, and for the Releaſe of Prieſts out of Priſon, he was according to Cuſtom order'd to withdraw into the Committee-Chamber, and the Houſe went to a Conference with the Lords; and returning, never reſumed the Debate, but after they had enter'd upon ſome other Buſineſs, Adjourn'd themſelves at their uſual Hour, ſo the Secretary had Liberty to go home; from whence, obſerving the Diſpoſition of the Houſe, and what might be urg'd againſt him, he withdrew himſelf from all Places where Enquiry might be made after him, and was no more heard of till he got into *France*.

1640.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* accus'd of High Treaſon.

The Lord-Keeper *Finch* withdrew beyond Sea.

And Secretary *Windebank*.

1640. But the old Year now drawing to a Cloſure, tho' the Articles againſt *Strafford* were indeed ready before the end of it, we ſhall hear more of this Affair in the next. In the mean time let us paſs firſt into the *Netherlands*, where we find the *French* formed a Deſign upon *Arras*, which they inveſted under the Mareſchals *de Chatillon* and *Meilleray* on the 12th of *June*. The Siege was puſhed on with much Vigour; ſo that the Cardinal *Infanta* was forced to march in Perſon to relieve it, and formed a Camp at *Mount St. Eloi*. The *French* could not receive their Proviſion but from a great way off; ſo that the Court ſent a Convoy thither under *du Hallier*. In the mean time the *Spaniards* having received Advice that *Meilleray* was marched with 3000 Horſe, and as many Foot, to relieve it, they attacked the *French* Lines, which were double, and forced the firſt, notwithſtanding all the Reſiſtance made by *Chatillon* againſt them: Then they went on to force the ſecond; ſo that being ſupported by a vigorous Sally from the Gariſon, they had infallibly relieved the Place, if the *French* going out of their ſecond Lines had not fallen upon them in the Flank, and made them think of a Retreat. *Meilleray* arrived in the Heat of the Action, and *du Hallier* in about half an Hour after; ſo that the *Spaniards* thought fit to retire, leaving 1200 of their Men dead in the *French* Lines, while the *French* loſt about half the Number.

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But now let us take another Turn into *Italy*, where the Marqueſs of *Leganez* undertakes the Siege of *Caſal*, being encouraged thereunto by ſome Correſpondence he held in the Place: The Count of *Harcourt* was no ſooner informed of it, but he concerted Meaſures to relieve it, or die before it; and therefore marched with 7000 Foot, 3000 Horſe, and 10 Pieces of Cannon directly towards it, tho' the *Spaniards* were double his Number. *Leganez*, who had not yet compleated his Lines of Circumvallation, doubled his Diligence upon the News of the Count's March, and ſent away his heavy Baggage and Artillery; and on the 24th of *April* was attacked in his Camp by the *French* in Three ſeveral Places, under the Leading of *Turenne*, *du Pleſſy-Prailin*, and *la Motte*. *Du Pleſſy* was Three times repulſed on his Side;

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Side, but *Harcourt* finding it was eaſier to break in on the Left, fell in there with his Horſe, and was like to have been utterly loſt; but *La Mothe* finding a more eaſie Place, came and joined the Count, who at the Head of this Body charged the *Spaniſh* Horſe with ſo much Impetuoſity, that they preſently gave way; he had One Horſe killed under him, but being mounted again, was quickly bogged; yet recovering from that Danger alſo, he purſued his Game, while *Turenne* and *Praslin* returned with their Foot to give the Fourth Charge, and forcing the Lines, carried all down before them. The *Spaniards* upon this Occaſion had 5000 Men killed and drowned, loſt Eight Pieces of Cannon, Six Mortars, all their Ammunition, which they themſelves ſet on Fire, and a great Part of their Baggage; nay, *Leganez* had not ſo much Precaution as to ſave his Papers, but with them and the Day loſt all his Honour, while *Harcourt* acquired the Reputation of one of the braveſt and moſt reſolute Generals *France* had imployed for a long time, tho' in reality this was a very raſh Action. After ſo conſiderable an Advantage the King diſſwaded his Siſter all he could from hearkning to Propoſals of Accommodation, which Prince *Thomas* made her; and *Harcourt* now bethinking himſelf of the Orders he had to beſiege *Turin*, marched with great Diligence, and on the 9th of *May* arrived in the Sight of the Place; he had only 7000 Foot and 3000 Horſe with him, with which he fell preſently to work. *Leganez* being advertiſed of it, marched with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe to the Relief of the Place; but believing it not poſſible to force the *French* Camp, he endeavoured to cut off their Proviſions; to which end he ſent 1200 Men over the *Po*, to intrench themſelves near *Montcalier*, to hinder any Victuals from coming to them that Way; but *Turenne* having forced them from thence with a great Slaughter, the whole *Spaniſh* Army ſoon after poſted themſelves there, whereby they cut off all Communication with *Pignerol*, and conſequently very much ſtraitned the *French* Camp: But *Leganez* being informed that a great Convoy was for all that coming to them from the ſaid Places, and fearing they would

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1640. force their Paſſage, he in concert with Prince *Thomas*, who was to make a vigorous Sally from the Town, gave a general Aſſault upon the *French* Lines; but Matters were ſo ill managed by the *Spaniards*, eſpecially from without, that they could do no Good againſt the Enemy. In the mean time the *French* having received a Reinforcement of 6000 Foot and 700 Horſe, under *Turenne* and *Tonnero* from *Pignerol*, block'd up *Turin* cloſer and cloſer, and Prince *Thomas* was at a Loſs to inform *Leganez* of what he wanted, or what Meaſures to take with him; when one *Zignon*, or according to others, *Gallo*, an Engineer of *Bergamo*, *Valet de Chambre* to the Prince, furniſhed him with an Expedient; for as *Leganez* was within Cannon-ſhot of him, he was adviſed to make hollow Cannon-bullets, wherein he was to encloſe the Letters he had a mind to ſend to the *Spaniſh* Camp, and from thence to the City, and to ſtop up the Hole with Lead: Before he ſhot it, he gave him a Signal by ſome lighted Powder, to let him know he muſt take care of the Bullet. It was ſaid the *Spaniards* without uſed the ſame Stratagem, and threw into the Town Bombs full of Powder, which thoſe within took up in the Ditch, to uſe the Powder which they wanted, and theſe ſort of Bullets they called, *The Flying Couriers*.

This Correſpondence being eſtabliſhed, the *Spaniards* and Prince *Thomas* attempted the *French* Camp a ſecond time, with as ill Succeſs and bad Management on *Leganez*'s Side as before; ſo that at laſt the Prince on the 22d of *September* capitulated to ſurrender *Turin*, from whence he retired to *Ivree*. In the mean while, *viz.* on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, the Queen was brought to Bed of another Son, who was at firſt called Duke of *Anjou*, but by the Death of *Gaſton*, had the Title of Duke of *Orleans*; but for all this, the Queen had never a Bit the more Authority; nay, it was confidently ſaid that the Cardinal had extorted a Promiſe from the King, in caſe he came to die, and declared the Queen to be Regent, that he would conſtitute him Chief of the Council of the Regency, with Orders to the Queen to follow his Advice; but there being no Certainty in this, we proceed to other Affairs that may be better relied on.

Duke of *Anjou* Born.

Ger-

*Germany* ſtill raged with the Flames of War, the *Swedes* cut 3000 *Croats* in pieces near *Kitſch*, and General *Koninſmark* in his Return from *VVeſtphalia* beat the *Imperialiſts* near *Seraw* and *Schmolen*, and a third time near *Leipſick*; after which *Banier* ſpread his Troops into *Miſnia* along the *Mulda*, and diſpoſed every thing ſo as to draw the other Armies to him, eſpecially, becauſe of General *Picolomini*, who had invaded the ſame Country, and drove *VVirtemburg* from thence with Loſs. At laſt, by his Diligence, he brought it about, that the Army of *VVeimar*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville* and *Guebrian*; that of *Heſſe*, commanded by *Melander*; and laſtly, the Troops of *Lunemburg* and *Klitſing* came to join him near *Erfort*, and made a fine Army all together, conſiſting of Twenty-two Battalions of Foot, and 20000 Horſe, all pick'd Men, well mounted and provided, and very deſirous of coming to Action; ſo that ſomething of Importance might have been put in Execution, would they have acted according to General *Banier*'s Sentiments. This Army immediately reſolv'd to give Battle to the *Imperialiſts*, who were encamp'd near *Sasfeld*; but they would by no Means be drawn out of their Trenches; ſo that the Allies, by firing on them from the top of a Mountain, did them much Miſchief, and compell'd them to change their Tents ſeveral Times. Thus remain'd thoſe Two Armies a long time in Sight of each other, but not without great Inconveniencies; and *Banier* was very uneaſie with his Allies, by reaſon that each of them pretended to diſpute with him the Command of the Army, in quality of *Generaliſſimo*; but not thinking it convenient to attack the Enemy on that Side in their Camp, or to endure a Famine with them, out of Spight to each other, he reſolv'd to go into *Franconia* through *Turingia*, and to take ſome advantageous Poſt on the *Mein*; and was advanced as far as the River *Sala*, near *Nieuſtat*, with moſt of his Army; but the *Imperialiſts*, in the mean time, finding out a ſhorter Way, prevented the Allies by half a Day, and poſted themſelves there to that Advantage, that it was impoſſible to come near them. Wherefore, *Banier* ſeeing that the Enemy had cut off his Paſſage,

1640.

All the *Swediſh* Forces join.

1640. Paſſage, was forc'd to turn back, and march towards *Heſſe*, where his Forces ſuffer'd much for want of Proviſions, and finding that he could not perſwade the Troops of *Heſſe* to join him a ſecond time, in order to attack the Enemy, he pretended he would paſs the *VVeſer* and *Elbe*, and join *Stalhands* in *Sileſia*, by which *Heſſe* and *Lunemburg* would become a Prey to the *Imperialiſts*: So that the Two Princes, from the Apprehenſions of that Danger, began to conform ſomewhat more to the Sentiments of that General. The Enemies in the mean time departing the Country of *Franconia*, went to *Fritzler*, in order to go thence into *VVeſtphalia*; but *Banier*, to prevent them, with the Troops of *Heſſe* and *Lunemburg*, haſted thither to give them Battle, when ſeeing the *Imperialiſts* poſted to Advantage he encamped at *VVildingen*, with a Deſign to cut off their Communication, and ſtarve them out, tho' himſelf endured much Want. But the *Imperialiſts* being reinforced by the Troops of *VVeſtphalia*, decamped on a ſudden, and march'd towards *VVolfhagen*, whence they went with Speed to *Hoxter*, to paſs the *VVeſer* there, and Ravage the Country of *Lunemburg*, as they had done that of *Heſſe*, and likewiſe, to carry the War into the Proteſtant Countries: But *Banier* no ſooner had Notice of their March and Deſign, than he did all he could to prevent them; wherein he had this good Fortune, That the Commander of *Hoxter* ſtopp'd the *Imperialiſts* for Three Days, by a vigorous Reſiſtance; and tho' the Fright had made the Duke of *Lunemburg* reſolve to abandon his Country as far as the River *Leine*, yet *Banier* oppos'd him, and hinder'd the *Imperialiſts* from paſſing the *VVeſer* to *Ferſtenberg*, upon a Bridge which they had begun, and conſequently from overrunning the Country of *Lunemburg*, where he ſtaid ſome Weeks to refreſh his harraſs'd Troops. In the mean time, the Enemy, who was on the other ſide of the River, was much put to't, as well for Hunger, as on Account of the Parties of *Heſſe*; wherefore, after having ſome time wander'd about *VVeſtphalia*, they at length concluded to return into *Franconia*, and take Winter-Quarters there, but were by the way roughly handled by *Roſa*, near *Zeigenhein*,

*heim*, who commanded the Troops of *VVeimar*, and routed Sixteen Squadrons. After *Banier* had refreſhed his Army, he was unwilling to remain longer in the Country of *Lunenburg*; but, together with the Troops of *VVeimar*, march'd through *Turingia* and *Voighland*, to enter the Country of *Culembach*, that he might be amongſt the Enemies Quarters, and where for the preſent we muſt leave him. 1640.

If we paſs from hence into *Turkey*, we find this Year proved fatal to Sultan *Morat*, who died on the 8th of *February*, in the 17th Year of his Reign, and the 31th of his Age. He was a Prince of a moſt cruel and implacable Diſpoſition; amongſt many other Acts of Tyranny, he imbrued his Hands in his Brother's Blood, *Otham* and *Bajazet*; as alſo ſtrangled his Uncle *Muſtapha*, whoſe innocent Weakneſs was ſufficient to ſecure him againſt the moſt horrid Monſter of Humane Tyranny; he left no Son, all of them dying in their Infancy, and yet he ſo hated his Kindred, that he envied the Deſcent of the Monarchy to his Brother *Ibrahim*, who was ſtrangely preſerved from his Fury, ſince he would often ſay he wiſhed himſelf to be the laſt of the *Ottoman* Line, and that the Empire of that Family might terminate with him, and devolve upon the *Tartar*. He was certainly the moſt abſolute Prince that ever ſway'd the *Ottoman* Empire, but very irreligious, often laughing at the Santones, and other Religious Orders. He was very inquiſitive into all the Actions of the City, for which he maintain'd Spies, and often took his Meaſures from the Diſcourſes of People concerning his Government; nay, he would frequently go up and down himſelf in Diſguiſe, to hear and ſee what was done. He was a great Diſſembler, Active and Revengeful, Covetous to Extremity, having left Fifteen Millions of Gold in his Treaſury, which was empty when he entred upon the Sovereignty. In ſhort, he was ſo bad, that he had ſcarce any Allay of Vertue, being ſo great a Tyrant, that at length he became his own Aſſaſſine, and fell unlamented by all, but the Beaſtial Companions of his Exeſs. *Morat's* Death and Character.

*Amurat* being dead as aforeſaid, the Sultana Mother *Kioſem* ſo managed the Viſiers in Favour of her

Son

1640. *Ibrahim* made Sultan, and how.

Son *Ibrahim*, in Oppoſition to the Tartar *Han*, that they reſolved to advance him to the Throne, in order to which, going with Shouts and Acclamations to *Ibrahim*'s Priſon, to ſalute him Emperor, he, poor Prince, having been mued up in a Hole, almoſt without Light, for Four Years together, in conſtant Expectation of Death; as ſoon as ever he heard the Noiſe barred the Door, and denied them Entrance, as ſuppoſing his Fate to be at hand; and when the Viſiers proclaimed him Emperor, fearing it to be an Artifice of his Brother, he anſwered, *He did not ſo much as think of the Empire, or deſire it, but prayed that* Morat *might live, to whom he pretended not to be a Brother, but a Slave*; and ſo perſiſted to refuſe them Entrance, till the Sultana hearing the Stir, firſt cauſed *Morat*'s dead Corps to be extended before his Door, and then aſſured him of his Brother's Death; with which being at laſt ſatisfied, he pluck'd up his Spirits, and took Boat, and paſſed to the Moſque of St. *Jub*'s Seraglio, where in Eight Days he compleated all the Ceremonies of his Inauguration, and Rode according to Cuſtom, through the City into his great Palace: but whether for want of Practice, or by reaſon of a Poſture natural for Fools, he ſat his Horſe ſo odiouſly, that it moved the Laughter, rather than the Acclamation of the People. But the Queen-Mother, according to her Promiſe, having continued all the Viſiers in their reſpective Offices; tho' there was great Diſproportion in the Minds of the Two Princes, yet there ſeemed to be little or no Alteration in the Government. The Miniſters indeed governed all; the Sultan himſelf, for want of Capacity, leaving all to them, they knowing his Luxuriouſneſs and Wanton Appetite, humoured him therein, and in his other Recreations of Horſe-Races, ſhooting with the Bow, *&c.* So that he was a meer Stranger to the Buſineſs tranſacted, only the Viſier would ſometimes in Matters of leaſt Importance demand his Aſſent, which was either out of Formality, or elſe to ſecure himſelf with the Name and Authority of his Maſter. And now the Storms of War, which threatned from *Perſia*, being blown over, it was thought ſeaſonable to reaſſume the Thoughts of War ſo long meditated againſt the

*Coſſacks.*

*Coſſacks*. In order to which Gallies were ordered to be built, which ſhould draw little Water, and made to paſs the Sholes near *Aſoph*, for the Recovery of that Place out of the Enemies Hands; but the Siege of that Place being not actually formed this Year, we ſhall defer it to its proper time, and for the preſent leave theſe Parts. 1640.

We might have taken Notice before, bnt 'tis time enough now, of the Revolt in *Catalonia*, and the grand Revolution in *Portugal*. As to the firſt we are here to obſerve, That this Province having many Privileges and Immunities beyond the reſt of their Neighbours, of which they were very jealous, and King *Philip* having ſome Years before been with his Court at *Barcelona*, the People ſeveral times oppoſed the unreaſonable Demands of his Favourite the Conde Duke *de Olivares*, who therefore buſying his Thoughts for an Opportunity to bridle them, when *Salſes* was loſt to the *French*, he made *Catalonia*, his Place of Arms for the recovering of it, which tho' ſucceſsfully effected, yet the Army was ſtill quartered in the Province, where nothing now was heard of but Extortions and Oppreſſions, Churches prophaned, Women raviſhed; nay, the Vice-Roy *Santa Coloma*, inſtigated by frequent Letters from *Olivares*, ſeized in *Barcelona* a certain Sum of Money, which belonged to the Diſpoſal of the City; and becauſe one of the Jurates, and the moſt conſiderable Magiſtrate, oppoſed it. He was clapp'd up into Priſon, which preſently cauſed ſuch a Commotion of the People, that the Vice-Roy himſelf was ſlain; upon which the City ſhaking off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, formed a kind of an independent Government, conſiſting of a Council of a Hundred, joined with the other ancient Magiſtrates. The whole Province did almoſt everywhere follow their Example, and forced the Native *Spaniards* to fly out of the Country. The Favourite endeavoured to render this Revolt but a ſlight Matter to the King, that would ſoon be appeaſed by Force, and contribute to make his Government the more awful for the future. But in the mean time he uſed all the Diligence imaginable in his Preparations to reduce them, while

Revolt of *Catalonia*.

1640. while the *Catalans* ſend Deputies to *France* to demand Aſſiſtance, which *Richlieu* was very forward to do: But *Olivares* having got an Army of Thirty Thouſand Men together, under the Command of the Marqueſs *de los Veles*, a *Catalan* by Birth; he with a Torrent of Succeſs reduced *Tortoſa*, *Barlaguer*, *Combriel*, and many other Places; and carrying all Things before him with a ſevere Hand, *Barcelona* it ſelf was ſtruck with a panick Fear, out of which nothing could recover it (as the *French* dexterouſly managed the Matter) but delivering it ſelf up to the Protection and Dominion of *France*, with many Conditions for the Preſervation of its Privileges, eſpecially the Conſent of the People, in laying on Impoſts, and the Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and Temporal Offices on Natives, except that of Vice-Roy, who might be a Foreigner.

*Catalans* put themſelves under the *French.*

Now let us come to the Revolution of *Portugal*, of which we muſt be a little particular; the *Spaniards* had been near Sixty Years in Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom, *Philip* II. King of *Spain* having carried it by Force of Arms, tho' under a Pretenſion of Right in Prejudice to the Houſe of *Braganza*: *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, was Governeſs at this time, but the Authority was in a manner wholly lodged in *Vaſconcellos*, a *Portugueſe*, and Principal Secretary of State. As for the Duke of *Braganza* himſelf, he was a Perſon of that ſoft Temper, and ſuch a Lover of Eaſe, that his Conduct could breed no Suſpicion in the *Spaniards*. But an Accident that happened ſome Time before, in which he had no Hand, had begun to raiſe a Jealouſie in the Prime Miniſter. The People of *Evora*, provoked by certain new Taxes, had mutinied, and in the Heat of that Fury, amidſt their Complaints againſt the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, ſome Acclamations had been heard for the Houſe of *Braganza*; upon which the Council of *Spain* reſolved to ſecure the Duke, or at leaſt to remove him out of *Portugal*. Immediately the Government of *Milan* was offered him, which he refuſed, pleading want of Health, and Knowledge in the Affairs of *Italy*. The Prime Miniſter ſeemingly approved of his Reaſons, but found out another Method to draw him to Court. The King

Revolution of *Portugal.*

The People of *Evora* mutiny.

King being about to march to the Frontiers of *Arragon*, to punish the Rebellion of the *Catalonians*, he wrote to the Duke, exhorting him to be present in that Expedition at the Head of the Nobility of his Country. The Duke, who was upon his Guard against all Artifices of the Court, answered, *He was not in a Condition to defray the Expence he must be at in that Expedition, to support the Grandeur of his Family.* Thefe repeated Denials gave the Prime Minister Ground to fear the Duke, had still some Thoughts of a Crown; and considering therefore of what Importance it was to the King his Master, to secure his Person, he omitted nothing that might conduce to the compassing his Design. But it being dangerous to use Force, because of the great Affection the *Portuguese* always bore to the House of *Braganza*, he resolved to bring him to his Beck by all imaginable exterior Marks of Affection, and of an entire Confidence in him. The War being on Foot at that time betwixt *France* and *Spain*, and the *French* Fleet having appeared on the Coast of *Portugal*, furnished the Prime Minister with a fair Pretence for carrying on his Designs. It was requisite there should be a General to Command the Forces that were to guard the Coast. This Commission was sent to the Duke with such an Absolute Power, as seemed to put the whole Kingdom into his Hands: Yet it served only the better to hide the Bait. For at the same time D. *Lope de Offorio*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, had Orders to put into the nearest Port to that Duke, as if he were drove in by Stress of Weather, or on some other Pretence, and having drawn him aboard, as to an Entertainment, to carry him away to *Spain*. But Fortune ordered it otherwise, for the *Spanish* Admiral lost several Ships in a Storm, and the rest being dispersed, he could not gain the Coast of *Portugal*. This no way discouraged *Olivares*, who looked upon the Disappointment as meerly accidental, and therefore he laid his Project another Way, writing to D. *John* in such Terms, as expressed the greatest Confidence, lamenting the Loss of the Fleet, which left the Coast open to be insulted by the Enemy, and advising to visit and strengthen those Places that were most exposed. At the same

1640.

*Braganza refuses to go into Castile.*

*Made General.*

1640. ſame time he ſent him 40000 Ducats to raiſe new Forces, if requiſite, and to defray the Charge of his Progreſs. In the mean while the Governors of all ſtrong Holds being for the moſt part *Spaniards*, had private Inſtructions to ſecure him, if a favourable Opportunity were offered, and ſend him into *Spain*, but he ſuſpecting theſe extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs, returned Thanks for the Truſt repoſed in him, and gave ſpecial Aſſurances of Fidelity; yet made uſe of this Opportunity to prefer his Friends to ſuch Poſts as might be moſt for his own Intereſt, made uſe of the Money to purchaſe new Creatures, and always viſited the Forts ſo well attended, that there was no Hopes of ſeizing his Perſon.

The Duke in his Progreſs lays the Foundation of his future Greatneſs.

All the Court of *Spain* being ignorant of the Deſign it was grounded upon, loudly exclaimed againſt the Prime Miniſter for putting ſuch Power into the Hands of a Perſon ſo ſuſpicious; but the King liked the Project the better, becauſe no Body could dive to the Bottom of it. Thus *Braganza*, under Colour of executing his Employment, freely traverſed all *Portugal*, laying at the ſame time the Foundation of his future Greatneſs. He had a Magnificent Retinue, which drew the Eyes of the People after him; he heard all Men with extraordinary Courteſie; he curbed the Inſolency of the Soldiers, and at the ſame time commended the Officers, and uſed all poſſible Means to oblige them. His Behaviour charmed the Nobility, for he received them with obliging Marks of Diſtinction, according to every Man's Merit and Quality. To be ſhort, he beſtowed Favours where-ever he came, and yet gained more Friends upon the Hopes of what they might promiſe themſelves from him, than what at preſent they received. So that thoſe who ſaw him thought they prayed for their own Intereſt, when they offered up their Vows for his Exaltation to the Throne. His Partiſans did not neglect at the ſame time to do all Things that might be for the eſtabliſhing of his Reputation. *John Pinto Ribeiro*, the Comptroller of his Houſhold, was the Man that laboured moſt to reduce to an exact Method the Hopes of his Maſter's Exaltation, which were yet but in Proſpect. He was a vigilant active Man, expert in Buſineſs, and

paſſi-

paſſionately zealous for his Maſter's Promotion, as hoping to have no ſmall Hand in the Government, if the Duke aſcended the Throne. His Maſter had owned to him, that he would willing embrace a fair Opportunity of ſeizing the Crown, but would not do it like one who had nothing to loſe; that therefore he gave him leave to manage that Affair, yet ſo, as it ſhould never appear that he was any ways concerned. *Pinto* had long applied himſelf to diſcover what diſcontented Perſons there were at *Lisbon*; and to increaſe their Number, he ſpread Complaints againſt the preſent Government, put the Nobility in mind of the Honourable Employments their Families enjoyed under their Natural Princes, and repreſented their being ſummoned to the War in *Catalonia*, as an Honourable Baniſhment. Among the Merchants and Shopkeepers he complained of the Loſs of their Trade, diſcourſed of the Tyranny they lay under, and extolled the *Dutch* and *Catalonians*, who had aſſerted their Liberties. The Clergy he ſtirred up, by ſhewing how the Privileges of the Church were infringed, and Benefices given to Strangers, which ought to be the Reward of their Merit and Learning among the Natives. Such as he knew to be Malecontents, he diſcourſed about his Maſter's Qualities, to ſound their Inclinations. So cunningly did he manage their ſeveral Humours, that after having ſecured many in private, he at laſt gathered a Number of the Nobility, and among them was the Archbiſhop of *Lisbon*, who was of the Family of the *Cunhas*, one of the beſt in their Kingdom; a Man of Parts, beloved by the People, but hated by the *Spaniards*, for whom he had no leſs Averſion, becauſe they had, through the Intereſt of the Vice-Queen, given the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga* to D. *Sebaſtian de Matos de Noronha*, and made him Preſident of the Council, called *d' O Pazo*. The reſt that made up this Aſſembly were D. *Michael de Almeida*, ſo great an Enemy to the *Spaniards*, that he could never be perſwaded to appear at Court; D. *Antony de Almada*, and his Son D. *Lewis*, D. *Lewis da Cunha*, Nephew to the Archbiſhop, *Melo*, the great Maſter of the Game, D. *George*, his Brother, *Peter de Mendoza*, D. *Roderick de Saa*, the Great Chamber-

1640.

1640. lain, and many Officers of the Houſhold, whoſe Employments were become only Titular, ſince *Portugal* had loſt its Native King's. To theſe the Archbiſhop made a Speech, repreſenting the State of the Kingdom, ſince it fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, in its moſt hideous Form. He ſhewed them, how *Philip* the Second, to ſecure his Conqueſt, had put to Death many of the Nobility, not ſparing even the Clergy, having to that effect obtained a Bull from the Pope; how the *Spaniards* had ever ſince followed the ſame Maxims of Government. That no Man's Life or Eſtate was ſafe; that the Nobility was ſlighted, Benefices given to unworthy Perſons, the People conſumed with Taxes, the Country lay waſte, and Towns deſart, the Men being carried away by Force to the War in *Catalonia*; that the laſt Orders from Court for ſummoning the *Arrier-Ban*, ſerved only to draw away all the Nobility, that they might end their Days in Exile, while their Eſtates were given away to Strangers. In fine, that he would rather wiſh to die, than ſurvive the utter Ruin of his Country, and hoped ſo many worthy Perſons were not met there to no Purpoſe.

This Diſcourſe renewed the Memory of every Man's private Grievances, but above all, they reſented the Summons for *Catalonia*, as deſigned for their utter Ruin. Theſe Conſiderations, and the Deſire of Revenge, made them reſolve to take the neceſſary Meaſures for ſhaking off ſo heavy a Yoke. They blamed themſelves for having ſuffered patiently ſo long, and concluded it was abſolutely neceſſary to expel the *Spaniards*, but were divided upon what Form of Government to chuſe. Some were for a Commonwealth, like that of *Holland*; others were for a King, but differed about the Perſon. Some propoſed the Duke of *Braganza*, others the Marqueſs of *Villareal*, and others the Duke of *Aveiro*, all Three Princes of the Blood Royal of *Portugal*; every Man ſpeaking according to his private Affection, or Proſpect of Advantage. The Archbiſhop, who was entirely devoted to the Houſe of *Braganza*, making uſe of the Authority of his Character, declared to them, that the choice of a Governour was not Arbitrary, ſince they could not in Conſcience break

break the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to *Spain*, unleſs it were to enthrone the Rightful Heir to the Crown, which was the Duke of *Braganza*. Beſides that, his Power and Intereſt was ſuch, that without him they could hope for no Succeſs, tho' he were not, as indeed he was, the firſt Prince of the Blood. Then he deſcanted upon the Duke's good Qualities, and ſo managed the Aſſembly, that they all reſolved to make him their King, and that every Man ſhould uſe the utmoſt of his Endeavours for carrying on that Deſign. Thus the Aſſembly broke up, having firſt fixed the Time and Place for another Meeting, wherein they ſhould take the neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure a ſpeedy and happy Succeſs to their Enterprize. *Pinto* ſeeing all well diſpoſed in favour of his Maſter, writ privately to him, to draw near to *Lisbon*, as well to encourage the Conſpirators by his Preſence, as to take Order with them about putting the Deſign in Execution. Upon which the Duke ſome Days after came to *Almada*, a Village oppoſite to *Lisbon*, as if he had fallen in there accidentally in his Progreſs through the Kingdom. He had ſo ſplendid an Equipage, and was followed by ſuch a numerous Train of Perſons of Quality and Officers, that he looked more like a King going to take Poſſeſſion of his Crown, than a General that was viſiting the Poſts under his Charge. Being ſo near *Lisbon*, he could not omit paying his Reſpects to the Vice-Queen, whither he was attended with much Splendor; afterward he inſtantly retired to *Almada*, without ſo much as entring the Houſe of *Braganza*, for fear of heightning the Jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, who were already too much alarmed. *Pinto* having made the Conſpirators obſerve his Maſter's fearful Cautiouſneſs, ſaid, *They muſt make their Advantage of his Stay at* Almada, *and uſe a ſort of Violence to oblige him to accept of the Crown.* His Advice being approved of, they gave him in Charge to know of his Maſter, when they might wait upon him with their Propoſals; which he did, upon Condition only Three of the Conſpirators ſhould come to him. *Michael* and *Antony de Allada*, and *Mendoza*, were accordingly privately conducted into his Cloſet at *Almada*, where *Antony* repreſented to him the miſerable

1640.

*Braganza* viſits the Vice-Queen.

The Conſpirators Deputies confer with *Braganza*.

1640. ſerable State of the Kingdom, the little Security any Man had of his Life or Eſtate, and that he himſelf had no other Refuge to fly to but the Crown. He ſhewed him the low Condition the *Spaniards* were reduced to, the Aſſiſtance he might expect from Foreign Princes, who were Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and particularly from *France*, the Conveniency of the Sea for bringing of Succours; and laſtly, the ſmall number of *Spaniards* that were left in *Portugal*, the Gariſons being drained to ſupply the Army in *Catalonia*. He anſwered, ſo as they might not have Cauſe to deſpair of him, nor to hope much more than they did before; telling them, *He was ſenſible of the deplorable Condition of the Kingdom, and of his own Danger; that he commended their Zeal for their Country, and was beholding to them for their good Wiſhes towards him; but that it was not as yet time to think of applying ſuch violent Remedies, which might prove of fatal Conſequence.* To this dubious Anſwer he added ſuch Careſſes and particular Thanks, that they could no longer doubt but that their Propoſals were acceptable, and yet they found he would make no Advances till the Succeſs of their Enterprizes was paſt all Danger. After ſome private Conference with *Pinto*, he returned to *Villa-viciſa*, but not with that inward Quiet which he uſed to enjoy as a private Man, and therefore immediately communicated the whole Affair to the Dutcheſs. This Lady was by Birth a *Spaniard*, and Siſter to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and Governour of *Andaluzia*. She was naturally ambitious, and her Father had endeavoured to improve that Inclination in her. Beſides her Knowledge in other Languages, ſhe was ſo perfect in her own, and had ſuch an inſinuating Way, that ſhe drew all Men's Hearts. All the Cuſtoms of *Portugal* ſhe had made Natural to her ſelf, and had by her extraordinary Application and Carriage gained an abſolute Aſcendant over her Husband, who never undertook any thing of Moment without her Advice, and therefore could not proceed farther in this Affair, without conſulting her. To her he revealed the whole Conſpiracy, the Parties concerned, their Zeal in carrying it on, and all that happened to him

him at *Lisbon*, and at *Almada* in the Conference. He told her how much the Nobility were offended at the Expedition againſt *Catalonia*. That nevertheleſs, the Greatneſs of the Danger diſcouraged him, as did the Fear that the Great Ones, out of Envy, would oppoſe him; that the Power of the King of *Spain* was formidable, and little Confidence to be repoſed in Foreign Princes. But the Dutcheſs, whoſe Ambition was more rooted, preſently embraced the Hopes of a Crown, and uſed all the Arguments her Rhetorick could furniſh her with to perſwade him, yet ſo, as that he ſhould ſee a greater number of Conſpirators engaged, and never openly eſpouſe the Cauſe, till the Moment it ſhould be put in Execution. 1640.

On the other Hand the Court of *Spain* at this time was not free from Care. The extraordinary Joy the People expreſs'd at *Lisbon*, at the Sight of the Duke, alarmed the Prime Miniſter, who ſuſpected there were Private Cabals held at *Lisbon*; upon which ſeveral Councils were held, and it was finally reſolved to call the Duke of *Braganza* to *Madrid*, that ſo the *Portugueſe* wanting a Head, might have no Hopes left of ſucceeded in their intended Revolt. Accordingly on the 20th of *October*, *Olivares* ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Braganza*, to acquaint him, the King expected him at Court, to be informed by him of the Poſture of Affairs in *Portugal*, aſſuring him he ſhould receive all Marks of Honour that were due to his Birth and Quality. This poſitive Command ſtrangely ſurprized him, as knowing, ſhould he refuſe to obey, the next Orders would be, for carrying him away by Force; and thinking he was betrayed, concluded himſelf fallen into the depth of all Misfortunes. Nevertheleſs, that he might gain Time, and advertiſe the Conſpirators of his Danger, by the Advice of his Dutcheſs, he ſent a Gentleman to *Madrid*, to aſſure *Olivares* of his Reſolution to appear ſuddenly before the King; and accordingly he hired a great Houſe, bought rich Furniture, hired Servants, and lay'd out much Money, as if he daily expected his Maſter. Soon after he pretended he had received Advice, that his Maſter was ſick; and finding this Fraud would not laſt long,

*Braganza* declines going to *Spain*.

1640. preſented a Memorial to the Prime Miniſter, deſiring that the King would aſcertain in what manner his Maſter ſhould be received at Court. This was done, in Hopes that the Grandees oppoſing him, the Diſpute might be held on Foot for ſome conſiderable time. But *Olivares*, to avoid all Delays, perſwaded the King to decide the Controverſie in favour of *Braganza*; ſo that he could no longer doubt of as honourable a Reception as he could himſelf deſire. The Conſpirators no ſooner underſtood what Orders the Duke had received from Court, but they ſent *Mendoza* to aſſure him of their Stedfaſtneſs, and to perſwade him openly to join with them. They met a Hunting, and being withdrawn into a Wood, *Mendoza* made uſe of the moſt preſſing Arguments to engage him to eſpouſe his own Quarrel. The Duke anſwered, *He approved of their Proceedings, and was fully reſolved to head them.* *Mendoza* returning to *Lisbon*, informed the Conſpirators how he had ſped, and that the Duke would have *Pinto* repair to him. He was ſent, and with him the whole Scheme of their intended Proceedings. *Pinto* acquainted his Maſter how great a Miſunderſtanding there was betwixt the Vice-Queen and the Secretary *Vaſconcellos*, and withal told him, nothing could have fallen out more advantageouſly for advancing his Affair; and at the ſame time being very much preſſed forwards by his Agent at *Madrid*, who writ to him, That *Olivares* would admit of no longer Delay, he anſwered, *That he ſhould acquaint the Count Duke that he would have been at* Madrid *long ſince, but for want of Money to ſupport his Dignity; which as ſoon as it could be raiſed, he would ſet out.* In the mean time the Duke concluded that *Lisbon* ſhould be ſecured, for that being the Capital City, would ſhake the whole Kingdom, and that the ſame Day it was done he would cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed King in all the Towns that depended on him. That ſuch of his Friends as were Governors of Towns ſhould do the like where they commanded; and that the People ſhould be made to riſe, even in the Villages that were ſubject to any of the Conſpirators; to the end that the Conflagration being general throughout

out the Kingdom, thoſe few *Spaniards* that were in it might not know which Part to have Recourſe to firſt. That he would march his own Regiment into *Elvas*, the Governour of which Place was wholly at his Devotion. That as to the ſecuring of *Lisbon*, he muſt leave it to the Conſpirators to act as Opportunity ſhould offer, however, his Advice was, that their firſt Effors ſhould be made againſt the Palace; that having ſeized the Vice-Queen, and all the *Spaniards*, they might ſerve as Hoſtages to oblige the Citadel to ſurrender, which might otherwiſe incommode the City. He gave *Pinto* Two Letters of Credence, directed to *Almeida* and *Mendoza*, only requiring them to give entire Credit to the Bearer, and to be faithful and couragious in putting what they had promiſed in Execution. 1640.

*Pinto* being come to *Lisbon*, and delivered his Credentials, they ſent for *Lemos* and *Correa*, Two Citizens of the Duke's Faction, who employing many Workmen, and having gone through all the Offices of the City, were in great Reputation among the People. They had before made it their Buſineſs to incenſe the Citizens againſt the *Spaniards*, by ſpreading Reports of new Taxes to be raiſed, and had deſignedly diſcharged many of their Workmen, pretending that the Trade being loſt, they had no Buſineſs for them; but in Truth, that Want might make them the readier to riſe, and yet from time to time they relieved them, that they might be entirely at their Devotion. Beſides, they had Intelligence with the chief Men of every Quarter, ſo that they aſſured the Conſpirators, that having but One Day's Warning they could raiſe the greateſt Part of the People at an Hour appointed. Having made ſure of the Tradeſmen, *Pinto* admoniſhed the other Conſpirators to be ready upon the firſt Notice given them, and to ſecure as many Friends as they could, as it were upon ſome private Deſign, without entruſting them with the Secret. They fixed the Firſt of *December* for putting their Enterprize in Execution. Advice was immediately ſent to the Duke, that he might the ſame Day cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed King throughout the Province of *Alentejo*, which for the moſt Part held of him; and it was agreed, they

*Lisbon* incenſed againſt the *Spaniards*.

1640. ſhould have One Meeting more, to fix their ultimate Reſolutions, which was on the 25th of *November*, at Night, in the Palace of *Braganza*, where they found they could make up near 150 Gentlemen, moſt of them Chiefs of Families, with all their Servants, and about 200 Citizens and Tradeſmen, who by their Reputation could eaſily draw the greateſt Part of the People after them. It was reſolved that *Vaſconcellos* ſhould fall a Victim to the Reſentments of *Portugal*. Some there were who propoſed that the Archbiſhop of *Braga* ſhould undergo the ſame Fate, as being a great Friend to the *Spaniards*, and formidable for his great Parts; but *Michael de Almeida* oppoſed it, repreſenting how odious the Murder of a Perſon of ſuch Dignity would render them to the whole World, and that it would draw the Indignation of all the Clergy upon the Duke of *Braganza*. And then it was agreed, that they ſhould divide themſelves into Four Bodies, which at one and the ſame time ſhould ruſh into the Palace, that having poſſeſſed all the Avenues, the *Spaniards* might be kept aſunder, and ſo diſabled from relieving one another. That D. *Michael de Almeida* ſhould attack the *German* Guard at the Palace-Gate. *Melo*, the Great Maſter of the Game, his Brother, and D. *Stephen da Cunha*, at the Head of the Citizens, were to Attack a Company of *Spaniards* that mounted daily at a Place, called, *The Fort*. *Tello de Meneſes*, *Emanuel de Saa*, the Great Chamberlain, and *Pinto*, were to ſecure the Apartment of *Vaſconcellos*, and to make him away immediately. D. *Antony de Almada*, *Mendoza*, D. *Charles de Noronha*, and *Antony de Saldanha* had it in Charge to ſeize the Vice-Queen, and all the *Spaniards* that were in the Palace, to be kept as Hoſtages, in caſe of Need. That whilſt they were buſie in making themſelves Maſters of their ſeveral Poſts, ſome Horſemen ſhould be detached to Proclaim *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, King of *Portugal*, about the City. That having gathered the Multitude into the Streets, they might make uſe of them as there ſhould be Occaſion. On the other Hand *Olivares* at the Duke's Delays, ſent away an Expreſs to him, with poſitive Orders for him to come away inſtantly; and that he might have no Excuſe, ſent him

him a Bill upon the Treaſury for 10000 Ducats. This made him in the Preſence of the Gentleman that brought the Expreſs, give Orders for his Family to ſet forwards towards *Madrid*, and diſpatched a Gentleman to the Vice-Queen, to acquaint her with his Departure. He writ to the Prime Miniſter, aſſuring him, he would be at Court within Eight Days, and at the ſame time acquainted the Conſpirators with what had happened, ſhewing them the abſolute Neceſſity there was of executing their Deſigns on the Day appointed. When all being armed, they repaired to the Palace by ſeveral Ways, and moſt of them in Litters, the better to conceal their Number and Arms. They were divided into Four Bodies, and as ſoon as the Clock ſtruck Eight *Pinto* gave the Signal, by firing a Piſtol, and then all Parties fell to their Work. D. *Michael de Almeida* fell upon the *German* Guard, which being ſuprized, for the moſt part unarmed, was overcome without much ſtruggling. The Great Maſter of the Game, his Brother, and D. *Stephen da Cunha*, charged the *Spaniſh* Company before the Place, called *The Fort*. Moſt of the Townſmen, who knew of the Deſign, were in this Action, and boldly fell in with Sword in Hand upon the Court of Guard. So that after ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, the *Spaniſh* Officer and his Soldiers were forced to ſurrender themſelves, and for Safety of their Lives, to cry out with the reſt, God ſave the Duke of *Braganza*, King of *Portugal*. *Pinto* having made his Way into the Palace, headed thoſe that were to attack *Vaſconcellos* his Apartment. At the Foot of the Stairs they met *Francis Soarez de Albergaria*, Judge of the Civil Cauſes, who ſeeing this Tumult, would have interpoſed his Authority to appeaſe them; but hearing all cry, God ſave the Duke of *Braganza*, he thinking it the Duty of his Office, cry'd, God ſave the King of *Spain* and *Portugal*, which coſt him his Life. Then preſſing forward towards the Secretary's Chamber, *Palcia*, a Captain of Foot, who was then with him, ſeeing ſo many armed Men, and ſuppoſing they ſought the Life of *Vaſconcellos*, tho' he owed no Obligation to that Miniſter, yet out of meer Generoſity he endeavoured to keep the Door with his Sword, till the Secretary could

1640.

The Conſpirators meet and execute their Deſign.

1640. could make his Eſcape; but being wounded in his Right Arm, ſo that he could not hold his Sword, and over-powered by the Multitude, he leaped out at a Window, and had the good Fortune to eſcape. Immediately the Conſpirators broke into the Chamber, and not finding the Secretary, tho' they ſearched all Corners, they threatned an old Woman-Servant with preſent Death, if ſhe did not diſcover him; and ſhe, to ſave her Life, pointed to the Place where he was, being a cloſe Cupboard or Cloſet, taken out of the Thickneſs of the Wall, where they found him covered with Papers. Fear prevented his uttering one Word, and D. *Roderick de Saa* gave him the firſt Wound with a Piſtol; after which, ſeveral of the Conſpirators having ſtruck him, they caſt the Body out at the Window, crying, *The Tyrant is dead, let Liberty live, and D.* John, *King of* Portugal.

The Multitude, who had flocked to the Palace, gave great Shouts of Joy, ſeeing the Body caſt down, and falling upon it, every one endeavoured to have a Stroke at it. *Pinto* loſing no Time, haſted to join the Party that was to ſeize the Vice-Queen, and found they and all the reſt were already ſucceſsful. Thoſe who were to enter that Princeſs's Apartment being come to the Door, and the enraged Multitude crying out, *They would ſet it on Fire, if not opened quickly*, the Vice-Queen, with her Ladies, and the Archbiſhop of *Braga*, appeared in her Chamber, believing her Preſence would appeaſe the Nobility, and cauſe the Commonalty to retire. Whereupon, advancing ſome Steps towards the chief of the Conſpirators, ſhe ſaid, *I confeſs, Gentlemen, that the Secretary has juſtly incurred the Hatred of the People, and your Indignation, by his Auſterity and Inſolent Manner of Proceeding. His Death is a ſufficient Revenge. Believe that what has hitherto paſſed may be attributed to the Hatred conceived againſt the Secretary, but if you proceed in this Uproar, you cannot avoid being reputed Rebels, and you will deprive me of Means of excuſing you to the King.* D. *Antony de Meneſes* anſwered, *That ſo many Perſons of Worth were not met only to puniſh a Wretch who ought to have died by the Hands of the Hangman; but that they came to do Right to the Duke of* Braganza, *to whom the Crown of Right appertained.*

The Vice-Queen and others ſeized.

She

She would have replied, but *Almeida* fearing the Conſpirators might cool, he ſaid, Portugal *had no King but the Duke of* Braganza; and then all the Conſpirators cried out, *God ſave D.* John, *King of Portugal.* The Vice-Queen ſeeing them paſt reclaiming, thought to find more Reſpect in the City; but as ſhe offered to go down, *Noronha* prayed her to retire to her Chamber, and not expoſe her ſelf to the Fury of the incenſed People. In a Rage, finding her ſelf forcibly detained, ſhe cried out, *Why, what can the People do to me?* To which *Noronha* rudely anſwered, *Nothing, Madam, but throw your Highneſs out of the Window.* The Archbiſhop of *Braga*, enraged at what *Noronha* ſaid, ſnatched a Sword from a Soldier, and offered to run upon the Conſpirators in Vindication of the Vice-Queen; but D. *Michael de Almeida* laid hold of him, and told him the Danger of provoking thoſe, who, but for him, had decreed his Death. This made him curb his Paſſion, in Hopes of a more favourable Opportunity of Reveniug himſelf upon *Noronha.* The reſt of the Conſpirators had ſeized the *Spaniards* that were in the Palace or City, which was done with as great Eaſe, as if they had been apprehended by Order of the King of *Spain.* 1640.

This done, *Antony de Saldanha* led the People to the Courts of Judicature, where he made an Harrangue to them upon the preſent Happineſs of *Portugal*, in being delivered from Tyranny, and reſtored to their Natural Prince. His Words were received with general Applauſe, and all Proceedings for the future ordered to run in the Name of D. *John*, King of *Portugal.* In the mean while D. *Gaſton Coutinho* releaſed all thoſe out of Priſon, who had been committed through the Severity of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters; and they thus unexpectedly delivered, formed themſelves into a Body, no leſs formidable than that of the firſt Conſpirators. Amidſt this general Joy *Pinto* and the other Principal Men were not free from Care. The *Spaniards* were ſtill poſſeſſed of the Citadel, whence they might Canonade the City; and whilſt it held out, the King of *Spain* had always an Inlet at Command. Therefore thinking they had done nothing till they were Maſters of that Place, they went

All Proceedings ordered to run in the Name of *John*, King of *Portugal.*

1640. went to the Vice-Queen, demanding of her an Order for the Governor to deliver it up to them. She rejected them with Scorn; but *Almada* ſwearing, *If ſhe perſiſted, he would inſtantly Murder all the* Spaniards *that were taken:* For fear of ſacrificing ſo many Perſons of Quality, ſhe ſigned the Order, believing the Governour knew his Duty too well, to obey an Order, he could not but be convinced, was extorted from her. But it fell not out as ſhe expected, for *del Campo*, a Man of no Reſolution, ſeeing all the Conſpirators in Arms before the Citadel, vowing they would put all to the Sword, unleſs they inſtantly ſurrendred, was glad to depart with ſo good a Pretence to hide his Cowardice. The Conſpirators being now ſecure on both Sides, they immediately diſpatched *Mendoza* and the Great Maſter of the Game to carry the happy News to *Braganza*, and aſſured him there wanted nothing to compleat the People's Happineſs but his Preſence; and his Friends met at the Palace to ſettle Affairs till his Arrival, and unanimouſly choſe the Archbiſhop of *Lisbon* Preſident of the Council, and Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and D. *Michael de Almeida*, *Peter de Mendoza*, and D. *Antony de Almada*, were appointed his Counſellors. Expreſſes were ſent the ſame Evening to all the Provinces to excite the People to give Thanks to Heaven for the Recovery of their Liberty, and commanding all Magiſtrates to cauſe the Duke of *Braganza* to be proclaimed King, and to ſecure all the *Spaniards*. The next Care was to diſpoſe all Things for the Reception of the new King, the Archbiſhop acquainted the Vice-Queen ſhe muſt withdraw, to make room for him and his Family, and cauſed an Apartment to be furniſhed for her in the Royal Manſion-Houſe of *Xabregas*. Still the Duke of *Braganza* was in Suſpenſe, not knowing how Affairs had ſucceeded at *Lisbon*, till *Melo* and *Mendoza* arriv'd at *Villaviciosa*; and that ſame Day he was proclaimed King in all the Towns that depended on him. He ſet forward for *Lisbon* with the ſame Equipage he had provided to go to the Court of *Spain*. The Queen was left at *Villaviciosa*, to confirm that Province in its Obedience, by her Preſence, and all the Ways as the King went were

The Citadel taken from the *Spaniards*.

were thronged with People that ran to ſee him, pouring Bleſſings on him, and Curſes on the *Spaniards*. All the Nobility, Officers of the Crown, and principal Magiſtrates went out to receive him far from *Lisbon*, where he made his Entry amidſt the joyful Acclamations of the Multitude on the 6th of *December*. The whole Kingdom followed the Example of *Lisbon*, as if there had been a particular Conſpiracy in every Town. Expreſſes arriv'd at Court daily, bringing the King Advice of Towns and whole Provinces that had expelled the *Spaniards*, and ſubmitted themſelves to him. The Governors of other ſtrong Places had no more Courage than he of *Lisbon*, moſt of them ſhamefully marching away without ſo much as firing a Musket. Thus within Fifteen Days the *Spaniards* were drove out of all the Kingdom of *Portugal*: Only D. *Ferdinand de la Cueva*, Governor of the Caſtle of St. *Julian*, at the Mouth of the River *Tagus*, appeared reſolutely ſet down to keep that Fortreſs for the King his Maſter. The Gariſon conſiſted only of *Spaniards*, commanded by brave Officers, who made a vigorous Reſiſtance at the firſt Approaches of the *Portugueſe*. There was no Remedy but to beſiege the Place in Form. But Treaty being the ſureſt, and often the ſhorteſt Way, the King made ſuch Advantageous Propoſals to the Governor as he had not the Power to withſtand; the great Sums he offered him, together with a Commendary of the Order of Chriſt, prevailing, the Fortreſs ſurrendred, upon Pretence he had not a ſufficient Gariſon to defend it, notwithſtanding the principal Officers refuſed to ſign the Capitulation. This done, the King being crowned on the 15th of *December*, with all poſſible Magnificence. The News of this Revolution being ſoon carried to the Court of *Spain*, ſtruck to the Heart of the Prime-Miniſter; yet making the beſt of that Diſaſter, he accoſted the King with a Countenance chearful, and full of Aſſurance, ſaying, *Sir, I bring You happy News, Your Majeſty has juſt now gained a great Dutchy, and a conſiderable Parcel of Lands.* The King, in a Surprize, asked in what manner? *Sir*, replied the Miniſter, *the Duke of* Braganza *is run mad, he has ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the Multitude, who have proclaimed him King of* Portu-

1640.

Fort St. *Julian* taken.

1640. Portugal, *now all his Lands are forfeited to the Crown, and that Family being extirpated, Your Majeſty will, for the future, poſſeſs that Kingdom in Peace.* The King was not much taken with theſe plauſible Words, and only told him, That Care muſt be taken to ſuppreſs a Rebellion that might prove of dangerous Conſequence.

*Du Cheſne's Death.* To terminate the Affairs of this Year, therein died that Learned *French* Hiſtorian *Andrew du Cheſne.* He was of the *Franciſcan* Order, and in great Requeſt for his Knowledge, and other good Parts. He writ a Hiſtory of *England*, Antiquity of the *French* Towns, Hiſtory of Authors, Cardinals, *&c.* And likewiſe publiſhed an Account of all the *French* Hiſtorians, in Five Volumes. With other Pieces.

1641. Towards the Cloſe of the preceding Year in *England* we left the Earl of *Strafford* impeached by the Houſe of Commons, who having vigorouſly made their firſt Entrance upon Buſineſs, proceeded every Day with the ſame Fervour; and that they might haſten the Proſecution of the Earl, they appointed a cloſe Committee of ſuch Members they could beſt truſt, under an Obligation of Secreſie, to prepare the Heads of the Charge againſt him, and that they might be ſure to do the Buſineſs effectually, they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, to deſire them, *To appoint a ſelect Committee, who ſhould examine upon Oath ſuch Witneſſes, as the Committee for the Houſe of Commons, for preparing the Heads of the Charge againſt the Earl of* Strafford, *ſhould bring before 'em, and in their Preſence, and upon ſuch Queſtions as they ſhould offer.* Which, tho' it was without a Preſident, the Lords preſently complied, and named ſuch Peers as very well knew what they had to do. Then they cauſed ſome, who had been oppreſſed by any ſevere Sentence in the Star-Chamber, or impriſoned by the Lords of the Council, to petition every Day againſt them, and all thoſe, who had levied Conduct-Money, or Ship-Money. Upon reading which Petitions, all the Acts were voted *Illegal, and againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and all who were guilty of ſuch Proceedings, ſhould be proſecuted for their Preſumption,*

*tion, nnd pay Damages to the Perſons injured.* This affected very many in both Houſes, who thereby became liable to be proceeded againſt upon the firſt Provocation; and were therefore kept in ſuch Awe, that they durſt not appear to diſlike, much leſs oppoſe, whatever was propoſed. All Perſons committed for Seditions by the Star-Chamber were releaſed, that they might proſecute their Appeals in Parliament. In the mean time, tho' Two Expenſive Armies were in the Bowels of the Kingdom, Care was taken only to provide Money to pay 'em, without the leaſt Proviſion for the Return of one into *Scotland*, and the Diſbanding the other, that ſo that vaſt Expence might be determined: But on the contrary it was frequently inſiſted, *That many great Matters were firſt to be done, before the Armies could be diſbanded*; only they deſired the King, *All Papiſts might be caſhier'd*, which could not be denied 'em; and ſo ſome Officers otherwiſe of good Account were immediately diſmiſſed. 1640.

The Character of the leading Men in both Houſes

It will not be impertinent or unnatural to give the Reader in this Place, a View of the Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes, that he may the leſs wonder at thoſe prodigious Alterations he will meet with hereafter, which ſunk the Crown ſo low, that it could neither ſupport it ſelf, nor thoſe who were willing to appear faithful to it; wherein we make uſe of my Lord *C*----'s own Words as near as is convenient.

The Earl of *Bedford*

Of the Houſe of Peers the great Managers were firſt the Earl of *Bedford*, a wiſe Man, and of too great a Fortune, to aim at a Subverſion of the Government: His Deſign was, as it quickly appeared, to make himſelf and his Friends great at Court, and not to leſſen the Court it ſelf.

The Lord *Say*.

The Lord *Say*, a Man of a cloſe reſerved Nature, of ſmall Fortune, great Parts, and the higheſt Ambition, which yet was not to be ſatisfied with profitable Employments, without ſome Condeſcention and Alterations in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. He was the Oracle of thoſe, who were term'd Puritans in the worſt Senſe; a profeſſed Enemy to the Church, and moſt of the eminent Churchmen, with ſome of whom he had particular Conteſts. He violently oppoſed

1641. oppoſed all Acts of State and Impoſitions that were not exctly legal. His Commitment at *York* the Year before, becauſe he would not take an Oath, or rather ſubſcribe a Proteſtation againſt holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, had made him very popular. In ſhort, he was in great Authority with all the diſcontented Party, and in good Reputation with many who were not diſcontented, who took him to be a wiſe Man, of a uſeful Temper in an Age of Licence, and one who would conſtantly adhere to the Law.

The Lord *Mandeville*. The Lord *Mandeville*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a Perſon of great Civility, well bred, and an early Courtier under the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe Relation he had married. He had attended upon the Prince into *Spain*, and had been called up to the Houſe of Lords, by the Name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, in his Father's Life-time, which was a very great Favour. His ſecond Wife was Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick*, the great Patron of the Puritans, tho' of a Life very licentious, and unconformable to their profeſſed Rigor, which they choſe rather to diſpence with, than withdraw from a Houſe, where they met with ſo eminent a Protection, and extraordinary Bounty. The Lord *Mandeville* upon his latter Marriage withdrew entirely from Court, where the Earl of *Warwick* was in no Grace, and adhered totally to the diſcontented Party; many of whom lived in a kind of Fraternity, as in one Family, at a Gentleman's Houſe of a fair Fortune, near the Place where the Lord *Mandeville* lived: Who, the better to improve that Popularity, maintained a greater Port than his wary Father's Exhibition could juſtifie; ſupplying the reſt by contracting a vaſt Debt, which lay a long time heavy upon him; by which generous Way of living, and his natural Civility, and good Manners, he became univerſally beloved by the Party, who communicated the whole Maſs of their Deſigns to none more than him, nor conſulted any with more Intimacy. Theſe Three Lords are nominated, becauſe they were principally truſted by thoſe who were to direct the Houſe of Commons, and to raiſe that Spirit, which upon all Occaſions was to inflame the Lords, among whom there was a major Part inclinable,

nable, if not over-reach'd, to adhere to the King, and the eſtabliſhed Government; and therefore theſe Three were implicitly truſted and rely'd on, to improve their Party among the Peers by all the Arts imaginable. 1641.

The Earl of *Eſſex*.

And ſo by their Artifices and Application to his Vanity, and reſenting his late ill Treatment at Court, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom his Diſlike towards the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, made all Approaches eaſie; who having ſat long in Parliament, and being acquainted with the Order of it, tho' he was no good Speaker in publick, had much Authority in all their Debates; *Warwick*, *Brook*, *Wharton*, *Paget*, *Howard*, and ſome others, were blindly governed by the Lords mentioned before, and ſtarted, or ſeconded whatever they directed.

Of the Houſe of Commons.

In the Houſe of Commons were many Men of Wiſdom and Gravity, who being poſſeſſed of plentiful Eſtates, tho' they bore the Court no good Will, had all imaginable Duty for the King, and Affection to the Government; and therefore all Inventions were ſet on Foot to corrupt ſome, by inſinuating, *With what Danger all that was precious to the Subject of Liberty and Property was threatned*; and terrifying others with the Apprehenſions *Of being called in Queſtion for ſomewhat they had done in Compliance with the Acts of State mentioned before, and encouraging the reſt to concur with 'em in Hopes of Honour and Preferments, with which they ſhould be rewarded*; tho' many were miſled by theſe ſeveral Allurements, and others needed no other Temptations, than the Fierceneſs of their own Natures, and their Malice to the Church and Court; yet the number of thoſe who were to govern the reſt was not great, nor were there many who had the Abſolute Authority to lead, tho' there were too many diſpoſed to follow.

Mr. *Pym*.

Mr. *Pym* had ſerved very long in Parliament, and was therefore thought to have moſt Experience in it; he was always a Man of Buſineſs, being an Officer in the Exchequer: And tho' he was inclined to the Puritan Party, yet was he not ſo violent againſt the Church of *England*, as the other Leading Men

1641. were, but wholly devoted to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had nothing of that Spirit.

Mr. *Hambden.* Mr. *Hambden*, a Man of greater Cunning, and the moſt diſcerning Spirit of any of that Time, was a Gentleman of good Extraction, and a fair Fortune, who from a Life of great Pleaſure and Licence, retired on a ſuddain to great Sobriety and Strictneſs, yet retained his uſual Chearfulneſs and Affability; which, together with the Opinion of his Wiſdom, Juſtice, and the Courage he had ſhown on Account of the Ship-Money, raiſed his Reputation to a great Height, not only throughout *Buckinghamſhire*, where he lived, but over all the Kingdom. He was a Man of few Words, and rarely begun the Diſcourſe; but a weighty Speaker, and after he had heard a Debate, and found which Way the Houſe was likely to incline, took up the Argument, and generally carried it to the End he deſired. He always expreſſed a mighty Diſtruſt of his own Judgment, a high Eſteem of his with whom he conferred for the preſent, and ſeemed to have no Opinions or Reſolutions, but what reſulted from the Diſcourſes of others, whom with a wonderful Addreſs he lead into his own Principles and Inclinations, whilſt they believed he was governed wholly by their Advice. No Man had ever a greater Command over himſelf, or was leſs the Man he ſeemed to be, as appeared ſhortly after, when he was leſs curious of keeping on the Mask.

Mr. *Saint-John.* Mr. *Saint-John*, firmly united to the other Two, was a Lawyer of *Lincolns-Inn*, of little Practice, till he was retained by Mr. *Hambden*, in the Caſe of Ship-Mony, which gained him much Reputation, and called him to all Cauſes, where the King's Prerogative was moſt conteſted. He was of a dark cloudy Countenance, very proud and reſerved, converſing with but few, and thoſe of his own Humour and Inclinations. He had many Years before been queſtioned in the Star-Chamber, with other Perſons of great Name and Reputation, for communicating ſome Paper among themſelves, which ſome at that time would have extended to a Deſign of Sedition, but diſtruſting the Succeſs of the Proſecution, they were all ſhortly after diſcharged, but he never

never forgave the Court the firſt Aſſault, and grew into an implacable Hatred againſt the Church, purely from the Company he kept. He was of intimate Truſt with the Earl of *Bedford*, to whom he was in a manner related, (being a baſe Son of the Houſe of *Bullingbrook*) and by him brought into all Matters, where he himſelf was concerned. Of theſe Three, together with the Lords above-mentioned, was the Engine thought to conſiſt that moved all the reſt: Tho' it was evident, that *Nathanael Fiennes*, the Lord *Say*'s ſecond Son, and young Sir *Harry Vane*, were embraced by them with full Confidence, and without Reſerve. 1641.

The former had ſpent his Time abroad in *Geneva*, and among the *Swiſs* Cantons, where he improved that Averſion to the Church, in which he had been educated. He returned from his Travels through *Scotland*, then when that Rebellion was in the Bud, and was little known, except among that People, whoſe Converſation lay among themſelves, till in Parliament he quickly diſcovered how like he was to make good to his Father, whoſe Darling he was, whatſoever he had promiſed for many Years before. Mr. *Fiennes*.

Sir *Harry Vane* was a Man of great natural Parts, and moſt profound Diſſimulation. His unuſual Phyſiognomy (tho' neither his Father nor Mother were remarkable for their Beauty) made Men imagine ſomething extraordinary in him, and his whole Life verified that Imagination. Returning from his Studies in *Oxford*, he ſpent ſome Time in *France*, but more in *Geneva*, where he was firſt tainted with that bitter Prejudice to the Church, which after his Return into *England* he contracted to ſo high a Degree. In this Giddineſs, which much offended, or ſeemed to offend his Father, who ſtill appeared highly conformable, he tranſported himſelf into *New-England*. Where he was no ſooner landed, but his Parts quickly made him taken Notice of, and very probably he received ſome Advantage from his Quality, being a Privy-Counſellor's eldeſt Son; inſomuch, that at the next Seaſon for Election of Magiſtrates he was choſen Governor; in which Place he had ſuch ill Fortune, that he was diſpleaſed with Sir *Harry Vane*.

1641. them, and they with him. He returned again into *England*, where, with his Father's Approbation and Direction, ſeeming much reformed from his former Extravagancies, he married a young Lady of a good Family, and was by his Father's Credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, High-Admiral of *England*, joined with Sir *William Ruſſel*, in the Office of Treaſurer of the Navy, (a Place of great Truſt and Profit) which he equally enjoyed with the other, and ſeemed well ſatisfied with the Government. Upon the Diſobligation his Father received from the Lord *Strafford*, they reſigned themſelves to all imaginable Thoughts of Revenge; and from that Time the Son betook himſelf to the Friendſhip of Mr. *Pym*, and other diſcontented or ſeditious Perſons, and directed all that Intelligence, that deſigned the Earl's Ruin; and acquired him the entire Confidence of thoſe who contrived the ſame; ſo that nothing was concealed from him, tho' it's believed he communicated his own Thoughts to very few.

Mr. *Denzil Hollis.*

*Denzil Hollis* was in as much Eſteem with the whole Party as any Man, being of more accompliſhed Parts than any of the reſt, and of great Reputation for what he did in Oppoſition to the Court, and the Duke of *Buckingham* in the laſt Parliament, that had been before the ſhort one in *April*, and his long Impriſonment and ſevere Proſecution afterwards upon that Account; of which he retained the Memory with Reſentment enough. But he would not in the leaſt concern himſelf in the Earl of *Strafford*'s Affair, who had married his Siſter, by whom he had all his Children, which made him a Stranger to all thoſe Conſultations, but did not weaken his Friendſhip with the moſt forward of thoſe Proſecutors, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haſlerigg*, and the Northern Gentlemen, who were moſt incenſed againſt the Earl, or fearful of their own, being in the Mercy of the Houſe; as *Hotham*, *Cholmly*, and *Stapleton*, with ſome Popular Lawyers, who had no Suſpicion of any Wickedneſs in Deſign, and ſo by Degrees became involved in the worſt, obſerved and followed the Directions of the other, according to the Parts aſſigned 'em upon emergent Occaſions: Whilſt the whole Houſe looked on with

with Wonder and Amazement, and no Man oppoſed the Paſſion and Fury, with which ſo many were tranſported. 1641.

This (ſays my Lord *C*---) was the Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes at their firſt Meeting; obſerving all thoſe, who were not, nor were like to be of their Opinions, with all imaginable Jealouſie; and if any of their Elections came to be diſputed, they were ſure to be turned out, (as already hinted) and then all Tricks were uſed to bring in more compliable Members; ſo that every Week their Party increaſed, either from new Elections or Proſelites they gained upon the old.

In the mean time the Armies of the Two Nations remain'd quiet in their ſeveral Quarters in the *North* by Virtue of the Ceſſation, which continued prorogued from Month to Month, that People might believe a full Peace would ſpeedily be concluded. And the Treaty, which had been begun at *Rippon*, being adjourn'd to *London*, the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners (whereof the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowden* were chief) went thither in great State, and were receiv'd by the King with that Countenance, which he could not chuſe but ſhow 'em, and were lodg'd near *London-Stone*, in a Houſe ſo near St. *Antholin*'s Church, that there was a Way out of it into a Gallery of the Church, which was aſſign'd to 'em for their own Devotions; where one of their own Chaplains (the chief of which was *Alexander Henderſon*) always preach'd, who were reſorted to by ſome of the Citizens out of Humour and Faction, by others out of Curioſity, or that they might the better juſtifie the Contempt they had of 'em, to that Degree, that on every *Sunday* the Church was never empty from Morning till Night, tho' ſome tell us their Sermons were the moſt flat and inſipid that could be form'd upon any Deliberation. *Rothes* had been the main Contriver of that whole Matter from the beginning; and was a Man well bred, of good Parts, and happy Addreſs. As ſoon as they came to Town, a new Committee of both Houſes, ſuch as were thought very acceptable to them, was nominated to renew the Treaty; and then they publiſh'd their Declaration againſt the

A Committee of both Houſes appointed to treat with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners.

1641. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which they ſaid, *That as they reſerv'd thoſe of their own Nation, who had been Incendiaries between the Two Kingdoms, to the Inquiſition of their own Parliament; ſo they ſhould be ſatisfied with what Puniſhment the Wiſdom of the Parliament ſhould think fit to award, againſt theſe Two criminal Perſons.* Great Vigilance was alſo uſed to prevent the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners contracting any Familiarity with thoſe who were not firm to their Party. Inſomuch, as the Lord *Rothes* walking one Day in *Weſtminſter-Hall* with Mr. *Hyde*, (as he himſelf relates it) between whom there was ſome Kindneſs, by reaſon of their mutual Friendſhip with ſome Perſons of Honour, and they Two walking towards the Gate to take Coach, and make a Viſit together, the Earl on a ſudden deſired the other to walk on, and he would overtake him by that time he got to the Coach; but ſtaying long, he thought he might be diverted from his Purpoſe, and ſo return'd back into the Hall, where preſently meeting him, they both purſued their former Deſign; and the Earl told him in the Coach, *That he had been detain'd purely upon his Account, and therefore he muſt excuſe him; that whilſt he was walking with him a Gentleman touch'd his Cloak, which made him deſire him to go before, and then the other Perſon told him, he was walking with the greateſt Enemy the Scottiſh Nation had in Parliament, and that he ought to be cautious of communicating any thing of Importance to him; which cautious Advertiſement was ſeverally given him by Four or Five other eminent Men.* And then he diſcours'd with as little Concern, and as much Mirth of the Perſons and their Jealouſie, as the other could do. Men ſo ſagacious in purſuing their Point could not eaſily miſcarry. Theſe Commiſſioners were careſs'd by both Houſes, and an Order carefully enter'd, *That upon all Occaſions the Expreſſion ſhould be us'd of* [Our Brethren of *Scotland.*] Upon which many endearing Complements paſs'd, and an hearty Reſolution of Amity and Union between the Two Nations.

Things being thus ſettled, it grew high Time for 'em to ſatisfie the Publick in the Diſcovery of their new Treaſons; for the better preparing whereof, the

*Scottiſh*

*Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, in the Name of that Nation, preſented (as is ſaid before) the Two Declarations againſt the Archbiſhop, and the Earl of *Straffford*, which were read publickly in both Houſes. That againſt the Archbiſhop was for the preſent laid aſide. But a ſpeedy Proceeding againſt the other was earneſtly urged, as of no leſs Moment than the Peace of the Two Nations; not without ſome Intimation, *That there was no Hope of the* Scottiſh *Army's retiring into their Country, before Exemplary Juſtice was done upon the Earl to their Satisfaction.* And having inflamed Men with this Conſideration, they eaſily carry'd Two Propoſitions. The firſt, *For a Committee to be appointed of both Houſes, to take the preparatory Examinations. For as they alledged the Charge againſt him was of an extraordinary Nature, a Treaſon being to be proved out of a Complication of ſeveral ill Acts, that therefore 'twas proper a Committee ſhould examine ſome Witneſſes upon Oath, out of whoſe Depoſitions an Impeachment would naturally be framed.* This both Houſes readily conſented to. The ſecond was, *For examining upon Oath Privy-Counſellors, upon ſuch Matters as paſs'd at the Council-Board.* For they ſaid, *The main Treaſon with which the Earl was to be charged, was a Deſign to change the Form of Government, which Deſign muſt be made evident, as well by his Advices and Expreſſions, as his publick Actions, and thoſe could not be proved but by ſuch who were preſent at thoſe Conſultations, and they were only Privy-Counſellors.*

1641.

Two Propoſitions carried by the Parliament.

The Houſe of Commons were as eaſily ſatisfied with the Reaſonableneſs of this as the former, yet the compaſſing it was not like to be ſo eaſie; for the Privy-Counſellors would reaſonably inſiſt upon the Oath they had taken, and pretend, *That they cou'd diſcover nothing that paſs'd at the Board without the King's Conſent, who was not likely to conſent to the betraying himſelf; but this muſt be inſiſted on,* and ſuch as ſtickled for it ſaid, *God forbid corrupt Counſellors ſhould in Safety propoſe and adviſe at that Board Courſes deſtructive to the Health and Being of the Kingdom, and that the Soveraign Phyſician of the Nation, the Parliament, ſhould be hinder'd from preſerving the Publick, becauſe no Evidence muſt be given of ſuch Pernicious Counſels.*

1641. *Counſels.* They deſired the Lords Concurrence herein, who without much Debate gave their Conſent, and appointed a Committee to attend on the King for his; who not weighing the Conſequence, and being unanimouſly adviſed to it by his Council, yielded to it. And ſo they were preſently examined by a Committee of both Houſes appointed for that Purpoſe. The Ruin this laſt Act brought to the King, (ſays my Lord *C*---) was irreparable, for beſides that thoſe Words Sir *Harry Vane* ſo punctually remember'd againſt the Earl (as you will find when you come to his Trial) were hereby proved, and that it was Matter of Horror to the Counſellors, to find they might be arraign'd for every raſh imperious Word they had dropp'd there: It baniſh'd for ever all future Freedom from that Board, all Men ſatisfying themſelves they were no longer oblig'd to deliver their Opinions freely there, when they might be call'd to an Account for it in another Place.

Care now was taken to poſſeſs the King by Marqueſs *Hamilton*, *That His Majeſty having declared to His People, That He ſincerely intended a Reformation of all thoſe Exceſſes in Church and State, the moſt Gracious Inſtance he could give of ſuch his Intention, was to call ſuch to his Council whom the People thought inclin'd to ſuch a Reformation.* Hereupon the Earls of *Hertford*, (whom the King afterwards made Marqueſs) *Bedford*, *Eſſex* and *Briſtol*, the Lords *Say*, *Saville* and *Kimbolton*, were ſworn Privy-Counſellors all in one Day, and the Earl of *Warwick* a very little while after. What was tranſacted within the Houſes ſeemed to be liked by thoſe who were without, and the ſame Spirit prevail'd in Parliament and People. all imaginable Freedom was uſed both in Preaching and Printing againſt the Church; Petitions preſented by Pariſhioners againſt their Paſtors, with Articles of their Miſdemeanors; all which were read and referred to the Committee upon Religion, and then both Petition and Articles were printed.

New Privy-Counſellors

We have before given ſome Account of the ſevere Cenſures paſt in the Star-Chamber againſt *Pryn*, *Baſtwick* and *Burton*, and how hard the People thought of it; my Lord *C*--- characterizes them in this manner,

ner, saying, The first of these was a Speculative Lawyer; but being a Person of great Industry, was more read in Divinity; and, which spoil'd that Divinity, convers'd with hot-headed Divines: By which Mixture, together with the Rudeness and Pride of his own Nature, he contracted an arrogant venemous Dislike to the Discipline of the Church, and (as it often happens) an Irreverence to the Government of the State too; both which he publish'd in several Absurd, Sawcy, Superstitious Pieces in Print. The other, a half-witted crack-brain'd Fellow, a Stranger to both Universities, and the College of Physicians; had gotten a Doctorship and some Latin abroad, with which in a very flowing Stile, a little Wit, and much Malice, he arraign'd the Prelates of the Church in a Book which he Printed in *Holland*, and industriously scattered in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; presuming (with a Modesty equal to his Obedience) to Dedicate it *To the Sacred Majesty of the King*. The third attended formerly as Closet-keeper to His Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, and a little before King *James*'s Death took Orders, and so his Highness coming shortly after to be King, nothing would content him less than Clerk of the Closet to the new King; which Place His Majesty conferr'd upon, or rather continued to Dr. *Neyl*, Bishop of *Durham*. Mr. *Burton* depriv'd thus, as he call'd it, of his Right, and resolving to revenge himself of the Bishop of *Durham* upon the whole Order, turn'd Lecturer, and Preach'd against 'em, being first for some Sawcy Indiscretions forbid the Court. 1641. C—'s Character of *Pryn*, &c.

Now Mr. *Pryn* being imprisoned in a Castle in the Island of *Jersey*, Dr. *Bastwick* in *Silley*, and Mr. *Burton* in *Guernsey*, at the beginning of this Parliament their Wives or Friends presented Petitions to the House of Commons, expressing their heavy Censures and long Sufferings; and desiring by Way of Appeal, *That the Severity of that Sentence might be examined and considered; and that their Persons might be brought from those remote desolate Places to* London, *that so they might be more capable of attending their own Business*. The sending for 'em out of Prison required much Consideration; for tho' many thought that

1641. that as they were Scurvy Fellows, ſo they had been ſcurvily uſed, and others had a Kindneſs to their Perſons, as having ſuffer'd for the common Cauſe, yet a Sentence of a Supream Court (for the Star-Chamber had not yet been mention'd with Irreverence) was not lightly to be ſuperſeded; yet when they were informed, that by that Sentence they were adjudged to ſome Priſons here in *London*, but were removed thence by Order of Council, which was a Violation of the Sentence, they ordered without any Scruple they ſhould be removed to the Priſons where they were firſt committed; upon which Warrants were ſigned by the Speaker, and ſent to the Governors of the reſpective Caſtles, to bring 'em in ſafe Cuſtody to *London*.

They are releaſed.

*Pryn* and *Burton* landed at the ſame time at *Southampton*, where they were careſſed with extraordinary Tokens of Affection and Eſteem, and their Charges not only born with great Magnificence, but liberal Preſents ſent 'em; which Method and Ceremony was continued to 'em all their Journey. And when they came near *London*, Multitudes of People met them ſome Miles from the Town; and about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon they were attended into the City by above Ten Thouſand Perſons, with Boughs and Flowers in their Hands, and Expreſſions of Joy for their Deliverance and Return; mingling in their Acclamations, ſevere Expreſſions againſt the Biſhops, *VVho had ſo unmercifully perſecuted ſuch Good Men.* In Five or Six Days after Dr. *Baſtwick* returning from *Silley*, was conducted in the like Triumph by the People of *London*, to his Lodging likewiſe in the City.

A Declaration of ſome Miniſters, and a Petition of ſome Citizens, againſt Epiſcopal Government in the Church.

The Eſtabliſhed Church began now extreamly to totter, there were Printing and Preaching againſt it in every Corner; nay, the Commons received a long Declaration againſt the whole Government of it, preſented by Ten or Twelve Miniſters at the Bar, and ſaid to be ſigned by ſome Hundreds of the Miniſters of *London*, and the Parts adjacent; and a Petition preſented by Alderman *Pennington*, ſigned, as he alledged, by 20000 Inhabitants within the City, who peremptorily required the total Extirpation of Epiſcopacy. But all that could be obtained upon

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a long Debate, was, *That the Petition ſhould not be repeated*; only it was ſuffered to continue in the Clerks Hands, with Order, *That no Copy of it ſhould be diſpoſed of.* And for the Miniſters Declaration, only One Part of it was inſiſted on by them, and read in the Houſe, relating to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Exceſs of their Courts. The other Parts were declined by many of 'em, and particularly ordered *To be ſealed up, that they might be peruſed by no Man.* So that all the Deſign againſt the Church ſeemed to be reſolved into the Deſire *Of a Bill, to remove the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, and from Secular Affairs.* My Lord *C*---- affirms, Thoſe Petitions were procured by a ſtrange Diſingenuity, which was practiced ever after in the like Addreſſes. They firſt prepared a Petition very modeſt and dutiful for the Form, and not very unreaſonable in the Subſtance, which they took care to communicate at ſome Publick Meeting, and get it received with Approbation. The Subſcription of a few Hands filled the Paper it ſelf, wherein the Petition was contained, and therefore more Sheets were annexed for the Reception of the Number, which was to countenance the Undertaking. When many Hands were procured, the Petition it ſelf was cut off, and a new one, ſuitable to the Deſign on Foot, annexed to the long Liſt of Names, which were ſubſcribed to the former. Thus ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe Hands were to the Petition and Declaration before-mentioned, profeſſed, *They never ſaw either before they were preſented to the Houſe, but had ſigned another, the Contents of which were, Not to be obliged to take the Oath required by the new Canons; and when they found the Deceit, they with much Trouble went to Mr.* Marſhal, *with whom they had left the Petition, and their Hands, from whom they had no other Anſwer, but that thoſe who underſtood Buſineſs better than they, thought the latter ſhould rather be preferred than the former*; and when he found they were going by ſome Publick Act to vindicate themſelves from that Calumny, thoſe upon whom they had their greateſt Dependance, were engaed by Threats to deter 'em from it. However it were, there might be juſt Cauſe for the Petitions and Complaints that were exhibited againſt the exorbitant Acts of ſome

1641.

Biſhops

1641. Biſhops and the new Canons. It ſhould have been obſerved before that the Convocation continued by a ſpecial Warrant, after the Diſſolution of the former Parliament; and His Majeſty in a ſolemn Meſſage required 'em *To proceed in the making Canons for the Peace and Quiet of the Church.* Notwithſtanding which, the chief of the Clergy deſired, *The Opinions of the Judges might be known and declared, whether they might then lawfully ſit, the Parliament being diſſolved:* And all the Judges, upon a full Debate before the Privy-Council, under their Hands aſſerted, *The Power of the Convocation in framing Canons; and thoſe other Parts of Juriſdiction that had been ſo much controverted.* Upon this they proceeded, and having compoſed a Body of Canons, they preſented 'em to the King for His Royal Approbation. They were then again debated at the Council-Board, not without great Oppoſition, eſpecially from Sir *Harry Martin*, upon retrenching the Power and Authority of the Chancellors, and their Commiſſaries by theſe Canons; but in the End, by the unanimous Advice of the Privy-Council, they were confirmed by the King under the Great Seal, and ſo enjoined to be obſerved; ſo that whatever they were, the Judges were as guilty of the firſt Preſumption in framing 'em, and the Privy-Council in publiſhing and executing 'em, as the Biſhops or the reſt of the Clergy in either. Yet the Church bore all the Blame; *That the Convocation had no Authority to make Canons, that thoſe Canons contained in 'em Matter of Sedition and Reproach to the Regal Power, prejudicial to Liberty and Property, and the Privilege of Parliament.*

In the mean time the Two Armies muſt be ſupplied for fear of free Quarter, which would introduce a Neceſſity of disbanding 'em, for which they were as yet in no Degree ready: And ſince Money could not be raiſed ſoon enough in a regular Way by Act of Parliament, it was thought fit to make Uſe of Credit with the City; to whom a Committee of Lords and Commons was deputed, conſiſting of ſuch Perſons as carried the Buſineſs of the Houſe before 'em, and they in their Orations undertook, that the Parliament ſhould take care to repay the Money with

with Intereſt. And this was the firſt Introduction of the Publick Faith, which in Proceſs of Time was applied to ſtrange Purpoſes. 1641.

This Expedient ſucceeded twice or thrice for ſuch Sums as they thought neceſſary, which were not proportionable to diſcharge the Debt, but to enable 'em to pay their Quarters, otherwiſe they would appear too ready to be disbanded. Wherefore other Ways were now thought on for raiſing Money, which was very earneſtly called for once a Month by the *Scots* Commiſſioners; and the Expedient was, *That in ſo great an Exigence, to prevent the Effuſion of Blood by the Determination of the Ceſſation, which Want of Pay would infallibly produce, ſeveral Members of the Houſe would lend Money according to their reſpective Abilities; and ſuch who had none to ſpare would become bound for it, by which Means enough could be raiſed.* This was readily embraced by the principal Leaders, and by others, who had a Mind to ingratiate themſelves with 'em; and ſome did it for their own Convenience, thinking they ran no Hazard of their Money, and believing it would facilitate the Disbanding of the Armies, which all ſober Men earneſtly deſired. But at laſt, when they thought fit to raiſe Money by Act of Parliament, they had a juſt Excuſe not to give it immediately to the King to be returned into the Exchequer, becauſe the publick Faith was ſo deeply engaged, and ſo many particular Members in the Loan, and bound for great Sums, that it was reaſonable they ſhould be appointed Commiſſioners to receive it, and diſchrrge all publick Engagements. The firſt Bill they paſſed, being but for Two Subſidies, which was not ſufficient to diſcharge any conſiderable Sum of Money borrowed; they inſerted the Commiſſioners Names in the Bill, and the King made no Scruple in paſſing it. They obſerved likewiſe, that His Majeſty had taken ever ſince his coming to the Crown the Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon Merchandize as his own Right, which no King had ever done before; inſinuating withal, *That they would inquire into thoſe who had been the Miniſters in that Preſumption; that they intended to grant the ſame to His Majeſty for Life, as had been done to His Pre-*

1641. *Predeceſſors, but it was a thing that could not be done preſently, becauſe the Book of Rates, now in Practice, was to be reformed; that the Continuance of the Collection would be a very ill Preſident, and therefore that it ſhould be diſcontinued, no Merchant being compelled by Law to pay it; or a ſhort Act preſently paſſed for the Continuance of thoſe Payments for a ſhort time, againſt the Expiration whereof, the Act for granting 'em for Life, with the Book of Rates, would be ready.* This laſt Expedient was thought the moſt proper, and ſo they prepared it with all the Expreſſions of Duty and Affection to His Majeſty imaginable, but *Condemning, in the Preamble, all that had been done in that Particular, from His Majeſty's coming to the Crown till that time. And aſſerting his whole Right to that Revenue to proceed from his Subjects Gift*; and concluded, *With moſt ſevere Penalties to be inflicted on thoſe, who ſhould preſume for the future to collect 'em otherwiſe than as they were or ſhould be granted by Parliament*; which the King likewiſe paſſed. The next thing that came before them was a Bill for a Triennial Parliament which was ſent to the Lords, with a Bill for Subſidies; both which quickly paſſed the Houſe, and were tranſmitted to the King.

In that for the Triennial Parliament there were ſome home Clauſes, as *Giving the People a Power of aſſembling themſelves, if the King failed to call them*; *and the like.* Upon the King's enacting thoſe Two Bills together, there ſeemed ſo much Joy and Satisfaction in both Houſes, that they gave out, *The Commonwealth was thereby ſo ſufficiently provided for, that they had nothing remaining now to do, but the Return of all Duty and Gratitude to the King, and that their chief Deſire was to make him Glorious.*

In the mean time the Lord *Finch*'s Flight begot ſeveral Vacancies. *Littleton*, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, was, upon the Recommendation of the Two great Miniſters under the Cloud, made Keeper. *Banks*, the Attorney-General, was promoted to the Common-Pleas. *Herbert*, Sollicitor-General, who had ſate all this time in the Houſe of Commons, curbed and terrified with their Temper, longed infinitely to be out of that Fire. It being not uſual then for the Attorney-General, to be a Member

Member of the Houſe of Commons; and he was called by Writ to attend the Houſe of Peers, where he ſits upon the Wool-ſack behind the Judges. From the time the Archbiſhop, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* had been removed, the great Patriots thought they might be able to ſerve their Country better, if they obtained the Preferments of the Court for themſelves; and in a ſhort time, by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Dexterity, all Particulars were adjuſted for every Man's Accommodation. The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Treaſurer; in order to which the Biſhop of *London* had already begg'd Leave of the King to reſign the Staff, and ſo prudently withdrew from the Storm, and enjoy'd more Tranquility than any Man of the Three Kingdoms during the tempeſtuous Times that followed, and liv'd to ſee a happy End of all, and died in great Honour. And ſo for the preſent the Treaſury was put into Commiſſion. The Lord *Cottington*, upon Promiſe of Indemnity for the future, was to ſurrender, and Mr. *Pym* be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Theſe Two were engaged to obtain a liberal Proviſion and Settlement for the King's Revenue. For the better effecting of which, the Earl of *Bedford* prevail'd with the King to make *Saint-John* Sollicitor-General, which His Majeſty readily conſented to, hoping he would be of Uſe hereafter to his Service in the Houſe of Commons, where his Authority was great, tho' his Party had no Apprehenſion or Jealouſie that he would change his Side upon this Promotion, ſo that he loſt no Credit with 'em, but made good their Confidence, being the ſame Man when he was Sollicitor that he was before. The Lord *Say* was to be Maſter of the Wards, and *Denzill Hollis* to ſucceed *VVindebank* as Secretary of State.

1641.

Alterations at Court.

Thus far the King complied with the Intrigue for Preferments, and 'tis great Pity he was ſo fickle, that 'twas not fully executed; for it's likely theſe Men would have adviſed and aſſiſted His Majeſty for the beſt, whereas he had now none left about him (the Duke of *Richmond*, and ſome very few more, who always behaved themſelves honourably, excepted) in any immediate Truſt in Buſineſs, who did

1641. did not betray him, or ſink under the Weight or Reproach of it.

But the Earl of *Bedford* thought not fit to enter into the Treaſury till the Revenue was in ſome Degree ſettled, at leaſt till the Bill for Tunnage and Poundage paſs'd; and for Life, which both he and Mr. *Pym* labour'd heartily to effect. And none of 'em were very earneſt to take their Promotions, before ſome Proviſion was made for the reſt of their chief Companions, who wou'd be neither pleas'd with the Start they had got before 'em, nor for the future follow their Dictates with ſo much Submiſſion. And therefore there were ſeveral Deſigns for the Promotion of *Hambden*, *Eſſex*, *Kimbolton*, and others, tho' not ſo fully concluded as thoſe before mentioned.

Upon a new Occaſion, from the Importunity of the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners to procure Money, when the Leading Men ſeem'd to deſpair of being able to borrow more, for that the City was diſhearten'd to ſee no Delinquents brought yet to Juſtice, and therefore that none could be expected from thence, till ſome Advance was made to thoſe longed Ends. My Lord *C.* ſays, he himſelf being then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſtood up, and ſaid, *He did not think the thing ſo difficult as was pretended; that no Man lent his Money who was not a Gainer by it; that there was Money enough to be had, and did not doubt, but if a ſmall Committee from the Houſe was ſent to confer, in the Name of the Houſe, with thoſe who were reputed to be Monied Men, they might prevail for ſo much as would ſerve the preſent Exigence.* Whereupon the Houſe named him, Mr. *Capel*, Sir *John Strangeways*, and Five or Six more, who repair'd into the City, and after they had ſpoken together with Four or Five eminent Men, of Wiſdom and Sobriety, as well as Ability to lend, they agreed to divide themſelves, and confer ſeparately with their particular Acquaintance upon the ſame Subject. Many Men chuſing rather to lend their Money than to be thought to have it, and being very cautious in their Expreſſions, except in private. They found, when they had again conferred together, that the Buſineſs was very eaſie, every Man whom they had diſcourſed

diſcourſe being willing to lend upon their Security who propoſed it: And Mr. *Hyde* the next Day reported the Succeſs of their Employment, and adds that he then enlarged upon *The Temper they found the City to be in, upon the Authority of thoſe who might reaſonably be ſuppos'd to know it beſt. That indeed it was much concern'd to ſee Two Armies maintain'd at ſo vaſt a Charge within the Bowels of the Kingdom; and that they, who were able to make good what they promis'd, had readily engaged, if a peremptory Day was aſſign'd for being rid of thoſe Armies, there ſhould be no Want of Money to diſcharge 'em.* 1641.

As the major Part of the Houſe receiv'd this Report with great Applauſe, ſo the Governing Party were exceedingly perplexed with it. If they accepted of this Supply, it would be too great Countenance to thoſe Gentlemen who procur'd it, and whoſe Reputation they labour'd to depreſs. Beſides, the Disbanding, how grateful ſoever it was to other Men, was what they abhorr'd. After a long Silence Mr. *Hambden much commended the Pains the Gentlemen had been at, of which no doubt a good Uſe would be made*; and ſo propos'd that it might be thought of, and the Debate be adjourn'd till the next Day, which could not be deny'd. The next Day Alderman *Pennington* begun the Diſcourſe, and ſaid, *Thoſe Gentlemen had a fair Report, but that there was* Colloquintida *in the End of it; that he could not learn with what Perſons they had conferr'd about the Temper of the City, the moſt conſiderable Men, in which acquieſc'd in the Judgment of the Parliament, to do what they thought beſt for the Kingdom, without wiſhing what ſhould be done, and concluded that the Sum the Houſe wanted, or a greater, was ready to be paid to whomſoever they appointed to receive it.* The Houſe (continues my Lord) made it ſelf merry with the Alderman's *Colloquintida*, and deſired him to explain it, and ſo the Debate ended.

About the beginning of *March* they begun to prepare for the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; and by this time, for the better carrying on the Work, a Committee from the Parliament of that Kingdom, (of which ſome were Papiſts, the principal Actors ſince in the Rebellion) ſent to ſollicite concerning

A Committee from *Ireland* in order to proſecute the Earl of *Strafford*.

1641. Matters of that Kingdom, was come, and receiv'd with great Kindneſs, and added to the Committee for the Proſecution of that Earl. So that now *Ireland* ſeem'd no leſs engaged in the Ruin of that unfortunate Lord, than *England* and *Scotland*, there being ſuch a Correſpondence managed between *London* and *Dublin*, that whatever was acted in the Houſe of Commons here, was ſoon after repreſented there. And as Sir *George Ratcliff* was accuſed here upon a Pretence of being Confederate with the Earl in his Treaſons, ſo moſt of thoſe who were in any Truſt with the Earl, and ſo privy to the Grounds of the Counſels there, and only able to make thoſe evident, were Impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons in that Kingdom, *For endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of that Kingdom, and ſet up an Arbitrary Power*; which ſerv'd their Turn there to ſecure their Perſons, and exclude 'em from Council, as it had done here. Much Time was ſpent in conſidering the Manner of the Trial, *Whether it ſhould be in the Houſe of Peers? Who ſhould proſecute, Members appointed by the Commons, or the King's Council? Whether the Biſhops ſhould have Votes in the Trial? Whether thoſe, who had been made Peers, ſince the Impeachment was carry'd up, ſhould be admitted as Judges? Whether the Commons ſhould ſit uncover'd at the Trial in Behalf of the Earl, who had ſent a Liſt of ſome Names, and deſired an Order to that Purpoſe.*

At length it was agreed, *The Trial ſhould be in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *where Seats ſhould be built for the Reception of the whole Houſe; and with much Ado they conſented to ſit uncover'd; that the Committee which prepared the Charge ſhould proſecute, in the Name of all the Commons of* England. *For the Biſhops, they took the Caſe to be ſo plain from an old Canon, that* Clericus non debet intereſſe Sanguini, *that they were willing to refer that to the Houſe of Peers.*

They would not leave the other Point of the new Barons to their Lordſhips Inclinations, but peremptorily demanded, *That no Peer created ſince the Impeachment, becauſe as Commoners they were concerned in making that Accuſation, ſhould ſit as Judges at the Trial.* As for the examining ſome Members on the Earl's Behalf, *They left it to the Choice of the Perſons themſelves*

*ſelves that were nominated, to be examined if they pleas'd*, (not without ſome Animadverſions that they ſhould take care what they did) and ſo refus'd to enjoin them. The Lord-Keeper being ſick, the Earl of *Arundel*, who was known to have no Kindneſs for the Earl of *Strafford*, was choſen to preſide in the Court. And the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſav'd 'em the Labour of giving any Rule concerning the Biſhops, for he moved on Behalf of himſelf and his Brethren, that being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and ſo not to be concern'd in Blood, they might be excus'd from being at the Trial. This Biſhop had been, by divers Cenſures in the Star-Chamber, committed to the Tower, and was at the beginning of this Parliament ſet at Liberty, at the Deſire of the Lords who knew him to be at no good Terms with the Archbiſhop *Laud*; and the next Day after he came to the Houſe (where he had promiſed to do the King great Service, if he might have his Liberty) the Lord *Say* made a Speech, which he afterwards printed, taking Notice, *That he was repreſented by the Archbiſhop as a Sectary*. He had no ſooner done, than the Biſhop of *Lincoln* roſe, and made a large Harangue in his Praiſe, and profeſs'd, *He always took his Lordſhip to be as far from a Sectary as himſelf*. And when he found the Commons to be deſirous to be freed from the Biſhops Voices in that Trial, he never left terrifying 'em with the Cenſure that hung over their Heads from the Canons, till he had perſuaded 'em to ingratiate themſelves, by asked to be excuſed in that Matter, before an Order ſhould come for their Abſence. This Example was follow'd by ſome Lords who had been created ſince the Accuſation, and amongſt the reſt the Lord *Littleton*, tho' he had profeſs'd, if he were a Peer, he wou'd (as indeed he cou'd) have done him ſignal Service, for which Reaſon he was at that Earl's Deſire made a Baron. But they who inſiſted upon their Right (as the Lord *Seymour* and others) exerciſed the ſame Power throughout as any of the other Lords, and ſo perhaps might the Biſhops too if they would; and it's not unlikely but their voluntary, unjuſt and unreaſonable quitting it then, made many Men leſs careful in the Defence of their Rights afterwards. 1641.

1641. *Strafford's Trial.*

All Things being thus prepared and ſettled, the Trial began on *Monday* the 22d of *March*; the Lords in their Robes ſate in the midſt of the Hall, the Commoners with the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Commiſſioners on each Side, and in a cloſe Box made at a very convenient Diſtance for Hearing, the King and Queen ſate unobſerv'd: His Majeſty out of Kindneſs and Curioſity, deſiring to hear whatever could be alledged. For which perhaps he was afterwards ſorry, when his being preſent at the Trial was urged as an Argument for paſſing the Bill. The Charge being read, and an Introduction made by Mr. *Pym*, in which he call'd him *The wicked Earl*; ſome Member of the Houſe, being a Lawyer, apply'd and urg'd the Evidence with all manner of Bitterneſs; and Mr. *Palmer*, one of the Managers, irrecoverably loſt all his Credit with ſome of the Houſe for uſing a modeſt Decency towards him, tho' the Weight of his Arguments affected the Earl more than the Clamour of all the reſt. The Trial held Eighteen Days, in which *All the Words he dropp'd at any time, ſince he was firſt made Privy-Counſellor; all his Acts of Paſſion or Power exerciſed in* Yorkſhire, *from his firſt being made Preſident of the North; his Monopolizing Flax and Tobacco in* Ireland, *and Billetting Soldiers there; his high Proceedings againſt the Lord* Mountnorris, *and Chancellor* Loftus; *and laſtly, ſome Expreſſions utter'd in ſecret Council in this Kingdom, after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament*, were urged againſt him, to make good the general Charge of *A Deſign to ſubvert the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power.*

The Charge againſt the Earl.

His Defence.

The Earl made his Defence with great Appearance of Humility and Submiſſion, but yet with a Courage that wou'd ſlip no Advantage, anſwering this with all imaginable Dexterity, and evading that with all poſſible Skill and Eloquence, leaving nothing unſaid that might make for his own Juſtification. For what related to *Ireland*, he complain'd much, *That by an Order from the Committee appointed to prepare his Charge againſt him, all his Papers in that Kingdom, by which he ſhould make his Defence, were ſeized together with all his Goods, Plate and Tobacco*, (amounting, as he ſaid, to 80000 Pound) *ſo*

*that*

*that he had not wherewithal to ſubſiſt in Priſon. That thoſe who would have given the beſt Evidence on his Behalf were impriſoned under the Charge of Treaſon; yet he profeſs'd he had not ſwerv'd from his Inſtructions, nor the Rules and Cuſtoms obſerv'd by other Deputies. That the Monopolies of Flax and Tobacco were for the Good of the Kingdom, and His Majeſties Benefit; the former eſtabliſhing a moſt advantagious Trade, and the latter bringing a Revenue of above 40000 Pound to the Crown, improving Trade, and bringing no Damage to the Subject. The Billetting of Soldiers, and exerciſing Martial Law, had been always practiſed by former Governors*; as he proved by the Confeſſion of the Earl of *Cork*, and Lord *Wilmot*, neither of which deſired to ſay more in his Behalf than of Neceſſity they were obliged to. However he ſaid, *If it were Treaſon, 'twas ſo only in* Ireland, *and therefore he could not be tried for it here.* For the ſeveral Words and Diſcourſes wherewith he was charged, he diſowned many, and put a Gloſs over others from the Reaſons and Circumſtances of the Debate. One Particular, which they very much inſiſted on, tho' it had been ſpoken Twelve Years before, that he ſhould publickly ſay in *York*, *The little Finger of Prerogative ſhould be heavier than the Loins of the Law*, he quite inverted, and made appear by Two or Three Perſons of Credit, that he ſaid, *The little Finger of the Law was heavier than the Loins of the Prerogative.* 1641.

He made the weakeſt Excuſe for thoſe Two Acts againſt the Lord *Mountnorris* and the Chancellor, which indeed manifeſted a Nature exceſſively imperious, and queſtionleſs raiſed a greater Diſlike in ſober unprejudiced People, than all had been alledged againſt him. My Lord *C*---- relates the Story thus; One *Anneſley*, Kinſman to *Mountnorris*, and a Servant to the Earl, had by Accident, or Negligence, ſuffered a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot, whilſt he was in a Fit of the Gout, (of which he often laboured) who enraged at the Pain, ſtruck *Anneſley* with a ſmall Cane. This being merrily ſpoken of at Table, where the Lord *Mountnorris* was at Dinner, he anſwered, *The Gentleman had a Brother that would not have taken ſuch a Blow*; and this coming ſome The Story of *Mountnorris*.

1641. Time after to the Deputy's Ears, he cauſed his Lordſhip, being an Officer of the Army, to be tried at a Council of War, *For moving Sedition, and ſtirring up the Soldiers againſt the General.* The Words being proved, he loſt his Office, (being Vice-Treaſurer) and his Company, was committed to Priſon, and inhumanely ſentenced to loſe his Head. He had afterwards a Pardon, with a Diſcharge for his Life; but the reſt of the Sentence was fully put in Execution.

The Earl ſhifted the Rigour and Severity of the Sentence from himſelf, and laid it upon the Council of War, where he himſelf not only *Forbore to be preſent, but forbid his Brother, who was an Officer of the Army, to ſtay there; and conjured the Court to proceed without any Regard to him.* And when he underſtood the Judgment of the Council, which was unanimous, he declared publickly, *He ſhould not loſe a Hair of his Head*; and immediately procured a Pardon from His Majeſty. He concluded, *That the Lord* Mountnorris *was an Inſolent Perſon, and that what was done, was to humble him; and ſhould be well content, if the ſame Courſe was taken to reform him, provided it proved no more to his Detriment, than the other had been to that Lord.* But the Standers by excuſed him in another manner. *The Lord* Mountnorris, *by his Induſtry and Activity, raiſed himſelf from a low Condition* (having been an inferior Servant to the Lord *Chicheſter*) *to the Degree of a Viſcount, Privy-Counſellor, and a large Income in Lands and Offices. By his ſervile Flatteries he always worked himſelf into a Warmneſs of Truſt with the Deputies at their firſt Admiſſion to the Government, informing 'em of the Defects and Overſights of their Predeceſſors; and whenever their Office determined, and they returned into* England, *he advertiſed the State, and thoſe Enemies they had contracted in that Time, of all their Miſdemeanors, whereby they were ſure to meet with either Diſgrace or Damage, whenever they were recalled. In this manner he begun with the Lord* Chicheſter, *his own Maſter, and continued it to the Lords* Grandiſon *and* Falkland; *and upon that Account obtained Admiſſion and Truſt with the Earl of* Strafford; *ſo that this Dilemma ſeemed unanſwerable, either the*

*Deputy*

*Deputy of* Ireland, *whilſt he is ſuch, muſt deſtroy the* Lord Mountnorris, *or my Lord* Mountnorris *will deſtroy him as ſoon as his Commiſſion is determined.* This Conſideration made many look with more Unconcern upon the Act, than the Matter it ſelf deſerved. 1641.

The Lord Chancellor's Caſe ſeemed an Act of leſs Violence, becauſe it reached not to Life; and that which was ill in it, roſe from a better Root than the other. The Endeavour was, to force the Lord Chancellor to ſettle more of his Land upon his eldeſt Son than he thought fit, or could in Law be compelled to. This the Earl, upon a Paper Petition, preſented him by that Son's Wife, (the Earl's great Eſteem for whom made his Juſtice the more ſuſpected) urged, and at length ordered him to do. The Chancellor refuſed, was thrown into Priſon, and the great Seal, which he had kept with great Reputation and Ability for above Twenty Years, was taken from him. In managing this Charge, ſeveral affectionate Letters, ſent from the Earl to that Lady, and found in her Cloſet after her Death, were expoſed, rather to call his Gravity and Diſcretion in queſtion, than that they were any way material to the Buſineſs in Hand. The Earl ſaid little more to it, than that he hoped, what Paſſion or Injuſtice ſoever was found in that Affair, there would be no Treaſon; and ſince upon an Appeal from the Lord Viſcount *Ely*, the degraded Chancellor, it had been reviewed by His Majeſty in Council, and confirmed, he had Reaſon to believe what he had done was very juſt. *Loftus's* Caſe,

That which was moſt ſolemnly, and with the higheſt Expectation, alledged, was a Diſcourſe of the Earl's in the Cabinet-Council at the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament. Sir *Harry Vane*, Secretary of State, gave in Evidence, *That the King at that time asked 'em, Since he had failed of the Supply, what Courſe he was next to take?* And the Earl anſwered, *Sir, you have done your Duty, and your Subjects have been wanting in theirs; you are therefore no longer reſtrained by the Rules of Government, but may ſupply your ſelf by extraordinary Ways; purſue the War with Vigour; you have an Army in* Ireland, *with which you may reduce* England. The Earl of *Northumberland*

1641. being examined, remember'd only, that the Earl ſaid, *You have don your Duty, and are abſolved from the Rules of Government*; but nothing of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, the Lord-Biſhop of *London*, and Lord *Cottington*, declared upon Oath, *That they had heard the Earl ſpeak none of theſe VVords.* And theſe were the only Men preſent at that Debate, except the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *VVindebank*, neither of which could be examined, or would be believed.

The Earl concludes his Defence.

The Earl peremptorily denied the Words; and obſerved, *That not one of the other VVitneſſes, who being preſent, were as like to remember what was ſpoke as the Secretary, heard a Syllable of the* Irish *Army, or reducing this Kingdom. That had he ſpoken 'em, they muſt be underſtood of* Scotland, *for which that Army was known to be raiſed, and not of* England. *That if they were ſpoken, as poſitively denied, yet were they not Treaſon; and if they were Treaſon, One VVitneſs was not ſufficient to prove it, and that there was but One.* The Earl having defended himſelf for Seventeen Days with wonderful Dexterity and Ability, concluded, *That if the whole Charge (in which he hoped their Lordſhips were ſatisfied of his Loyalty and Integrity, how great ſoever his Infirmities might be) was proved, yet did not that make him guilty of High-Treaſon; and therefore deſired his Council might be heard, and earneſtly conjured 'em, for their own Sakes not to create a Precedent prejudicial to the Peerage of* England, *and wound themſelves through his Side out of Diſpleaſure to his Perſon.*

Council heard in Matters of Law.

The Houſe of Peers having aſſigned him ſuch Council, as he deſired, to aſſiſt him in Matter of Law, the Houſe of Commons ſhewed ſome Paſſion and Diſlike, *That ſuch a thing ſhould be done without their Conſent*; others, inveighing againſt the Arrogance of thoſe Lawyers, that preſumed to be of Council with a Perſon, whom they had accuſed of High-Treaſon, moved, *They might be proceeded againſt for that Contempt:* But the Matter ſeemed ſomewhat too groſs to deſerve any Publick Orders; and ſo the Debate ended; the Matters that Mr. *Lane* principally inſiſted upon, in Favour of the Earl, were, Firſt, *That the*

*the Wiſdom and Tenderneſs of former Parliaments, knowing how dangerous it would prove to the Subject, to leave the Nature of Treaſon unlimited, had particularly defined it in the Statute of* 25 Edw. III. De Proditionibus. *And that no Words or Actions in any Part of the Earl of* Strafford's *Charge could amount to Treaſon within that Statute.* Secondly, *That by Reaſon of a Clauſe in that Statute, of declaring Treaſon in Parliament, divers Actions were declared ſuch, to the great Prejudice of the Subject, in the time of* Richard II. *and therefore it was eſpecially enacted in the firſt Year of* Henry IV. *that nothing ſhould be adjudged Treaſon, but what was ordained in that Statute, which took away all Power of declaring new Treaſons in Parliament.* Thirdly, *That the Foundation of the Impeachment was Erroneous. For that an Endeavour to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land by Force attempted, is only made Felony, by a Statute of the Firſt of Queen* Mary, *which is likewiſe expired. That Cardinal* Wolſey, *in the* 33*th of* Henry VIII. *was indicted only of a* Præmunire, *for attempting to introduce the Imperial Laws into this Realm.* Laſtly, *If any thing was urged againſt the Earl, which might be Penal to him, it was not legally proved; for by a Statute* 1 Edw. VI. *No Man ought to be arraigned, indicted, or condemned of any Treaſon, unleſs upon the Evidence of Two Lawful ſufficient Witneſſes; and if it be for Words, within Three Months after they were ſpoken, if the Party be within the Kingdom: Whereas there was no more than Sir* Harry Vane *in this Caſe, and the Words ſpoken Six Months before.*

1641. Mr. *Lane's* Arguments for him.

The Caſe being thus ſtated, all Men ſtood expecting the Judgment of the Lords, in whom the ſole Power of Judicature was conceived to be veſted; the Houſe of Commons having declared, that they deſigned to make no Reply to Mr. *Lane's* Argument of Law, conceiving it below their Dignity, to contend with a private Lawyer. Indeed they had a more effectual Way now to proceed by; for the next Day Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, a bold Man, Mr. *Pym's* Diſciple, and ſo imployed by that Party to make any Attempt, brought in a Bill, *For the Attainder of the Earl of* Strafford *of High-Treaſon:* It being obſerved, that from what the Earl had ſaid for himſelf,

1641. ſelf, both in Matter of Fact, and Matter of Prudence, of the Conſequence of ſuch an extraordinary Proceeding, and what had been offered in his Behalf in Point of Law, the moſt diſintereſted Men, were not ſatisfied in the Juſtice of the Impeachment, nor in the Method of the Proſecution; and therefore that the Houſe of Peers were not like to take upon them the Burden of ſuch a Judgment as was expected.

The Bill was received with great Chearfulneſs, and immediately read the firſt and ſecond time, and ſo committed. Thoſe who conſented at firſt for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they were only to accuſe and the Lords to judge, were now as ready to be Judges, thinking, *They had gone too far to ſtart back.* A Day or Two before this Bill was brought in, there was a very extraordinary Paſſage, of which the Pretence was, *That ſeveral concurring Circumſtances ſhould make One Witneſs as effectual as Two:* Tho' perhaps it was really directed to an End very different from what was propoſed. The Words by which the Treaſon was to be proved againſt the Earl, were ſupported by no more than Sir *Harry Vane*'s ſingle Teſtimony, and the Law was poſitive, *That leſs than Two Witneſſes ought not to be received in Caſes of Treaſon.* To give therefore this ſingle Evidence the Strength of Two, Mr. *Pym* informed the Houſe, *That ſome Months before the ſitting of that Parliament he had viſited young Sir* Harry Vane, *newly recovered from an Ague, and being condoling the ſad Condition of the Kingdom, by Reaſon of the many unlawful Taxes, Sir* Harry *told him, he had among ſome of his Father's Papers accidentally met with a Scheme of what Counſels were like to be followed to the Ruin of the Kingdom, which, if he would call upon him the next Day, he would ſhew him. And the next Day accordingly he ſhewed him a little Paper of his Father the Secretary's own writing, in which was particularized the Day of the Month, and the Reſult of the Cabinet-Council upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, with ſeveral Hieroglyphicks to expreſs the Names of thoſe, by whom the ſeveral Diſcourſes relating thereunto were made. The Matter was of ſo extraordinary a Nature, that he deſired by all Means a Copy of it, which the young Gentleman,*

Strange Occurrence.

*tleman, upon Mr.* Pym's *Aſſurance, that it was of ſo high Conſequence to the Kingdom, a little unwillingly, for fear it might prove prejudicial to his Father, conſented to. That he had carefully kept the Copy by him, without imparting it to any one, till the beginning of this Parliament, which he conceived a proper Time to make uſe of it; and that then, being convinced by many other Inſtances, of the Earl's ill Affection to the Kingdom, it ſatisfied him to move all that he had moved againſt that great Perſon.* This done, he read the Paper in his Hand, in which the Day of the Month was ſet down, and the King to be preſent, and the Queſtion thus to be ſtated, *What was now to be done, ſince the Parliament had refuſed a Supply for the War againſt* Scotland? There was then written Two *LL*'s and a *t* over, and an *I* and an *r*, which was urged, *Could mean nothing but Lord-Lieutenant of* Ireland. And the Words written and applied to that Name, were *Abſolved from Rules of Government—— Proſecute the VVar vigorouſly—— An Army in* Ireland *to ſubdue this Kingdom*; which was ſaid, *Comprehended the Subſtance of the Earl's Speech and Advice.* Before thoſe Letters, which were order'd to ſignifie the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, were an *A B C G*, which might imply *the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *his Grace*; and at thoſe Letters ſome ſharp Expreſſions againſt Parliaments, and fierce Advice to the King. Next in the Paper was an *M* with an *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be underſtood for Marqueſs *Hamilton*, who was *Maſter of the Horſe*, and the Words apply'd thereunto were ſomething rough, but without a Supplement ſignified nothing. Then follow'd an *L*, an *H*, and an *A*, interpreted to be *Lord High Admiral*, the Earl of *Northumberland*; to which were annex'd a few Words, implying Advice to the King, *To be adviſ'd by the Parliament.* Then there was Lord *Cott.* (which was eaſily made to ſignifie *the Lord* Cottington) with ſome Words as virulent as thoſe apply'd to the Lieutenant of *Ireland.* When he read that Paper, he added, *That thoſe Circumſtances of his, and young Sir* Harry Vane's *having ſeen the Original Reſults, and being ready to ſwear that what he had read was a true Copy of the other, might reaſonably bear the VVeight of another VVitneſs; that* 1641.

*the*

1641. *the other Counſellors concern'd in that VVriting would not remember for their own ſakes, and that the Earl of* Northumberland, *who was the beſt in the Pack, cou'd remember ſome of the VVords of an high Nature, tho' he had forgotten the reſt.*

Sir *Harry Vane*, Jun.'s Speech.

Mr. *Pym* having ended, young Sir *Harry*, in ſome ſeeming Diſorder confeſs'd all the other had ſaid, and added, *That his Father being with the King in the North, had ſent up his Keys, and written to him, that he ſhould open his Boxes where VVritings and Evidences of his Land were, that he might cauſe an Aſſurance that concern'd his VVife to be perfected; which having done, he had the Curioſity to ſee what was in a red Velvet Cabinet that ſtood with the other Boxes; and having open'd it, he found among others that Paper mentioned by Mr.* Pym, *which made ſuch an Impreſſion in him, that he cou'd not but communicate it to him, as a Perſon of better Judgment than himſelf. He ſaid, he knew this Diſcovery would loſe him very much in his Father's Opinion; but having been influenc'd by the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience toward his common Parent, his Country, to treſpaſs againſt his natural Parent, he hoped he ſhould find Compaſſion from that Houſe, tho' he had little Hopes of Pardon elſewhere.*

*Vane*, Sen.'s Speech.

The Son had no ſooner done, but the Father roſe with a pretty Confuſion, and ſaid, *The Ground of his Misfortune, and the Interrogatories with which he had been ſo often preſs'd, was now diſcover'd; but the Perſon that was guilty of his Misfortunes, he ſaid, ſhould bear his Share in 'em too. That it was true, being in the North with the King, and that unlucky Son of his having married a virtuous Lady, (Daughter to a worthy Member then preſent) to whom there was ſomewhat in Juſtice and Honour due, which was not ſufficiently ſettled; he had ſent his Keys to his Secretary, and order'd him to let his Son after what Evidences were neceſſary, by which Means thoſe Papers had been perus'd, which created him much of this Trouble. That for his Part, after the King had called the Parliament, he had acquainted His Majeſty, that he had a great many Papers in his Hands of ſuch Tranſactions as were like to be of no further uſe, and therefore with His Majeſties Leave he would burn them, leſt by Accident they might fall into ſome Hands that wou'd make but ill Uſe of 'em;*

*to which His Majeſty conſenting, he burnt many, and among reſt the Papers in queſtion, of which, that which was read was pretended a Copy: That to the Particulars he cou'd add nothing more than what he had expreſs'd upon his Examination, which he wou'd not deny to be exactly true, tho' by what he had heard that Afternoon, (which very much ſurpriz'd and amaz'd him) he found himſelf in an ill Condition upon that Teſtimony.* 1641.

Hereupon many Speeches were made in Praiſe of the Conſcience, Integrity and Merit of the Young Man, and a Motion made, *That the Houſe wou'd enjoin the Father to be Friends with his Son*; but for ſome Time there was a great Diſtance obſerv'd between 'em. The Bill of Attainder paſs'd the Commons in a few Days, tho' ſome able Lawyers declared there was no Pretext in Law to judge the Earl guilty of High-Treaſon; and the Lord *Digby* (who from the beginning was of the Committee for the Proſecution, and had more Prejudice than Kindneſs to the Earl) made the following Speech againſt the Bill.

The Bill paſs'd in a few Days.

Mr. Speaker,

*WE are now upon the Point of giving as much as in us lyes, the Final Sentence unto Death or Life upon a a great Miniſter of State, and Peer of this Kingdom,* Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *a Name of Hatred in the preſent Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Puniſhment. I have had the Honour to be imployed by the Houſe in this great Buſineſs, from the firſt Hour it was taken into Conſideration. It was a Matter of great Truſt, and I will ſay it with Confidence, that I have not only ſerved the Houſe in it with Induſtry, but with exact Faithfulneſs and Secreſie; and as I have hitherto diſcharged my Duty to this Houſe and my Country in the Progreſs of this great Cauſe, ſo I truſt I ſhall do now in the laſt Period of it to God, and to a good Conſcience. I know well, Mr.* Speaker, *that I am now Cenſured by ſome, for appearing againſt the Attainder of the Earl of* Strafford *now, againſt whom I have been formerly ſo Keen, ſo Active. I have ſtill the ſame Opinion of him, and confidently believe him to be the moſt dangerous Miniſter, and the moſt unſupportable to free Sub-*

The Lord *Digby's* Speech againſt the Bill.

1641. *Subjects that can be character'd. I believe his Practices in themſelves as High, as Tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured on, and the Malignity of them hugely aggravated by thoſe rare Abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a Word, I believe him ſtill that grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, who muſt not be pardoned in this World, till he be diſpatch'd into the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr.* Speaker, *my Hand muſt not be to that Diſpatch: I proteſt, as my Conſcience ſtands informed, I had rather it were off. I make a Diſtinction between a* Proſecutor *and a* Judge. *It's honeſt and noble to be Zealous in the Diſcovery of Truth, but as Judges we ought to be very calm and cautious: For in Caſes of Life, Judges are God's Stewards of the Parties Blood, and muſt be accountable for every Drop of it. I was once, you know, of Opinion that he ought to be accuſed of Treaſon, and had the ſame Reaſon remained in that Force of Belief with me, which till very lately did, I ſhould not have been tender in his Condemnation; but to deal plainly with you, Sir, that Ground of our Accuſation, that ſpur to our Proſecution, and the Reaſon which ſhould be the Baſis of my Judgment of the Earl of* Strafford *as to Treaſon, in my Underſtanding is utterly vaniſhed.*

*While I was a Proſecutor, and under a Tye of Secreſie, I might not diſcover the weakneſs of the Cauſe, which now as a Judge I muſt. The firſt time Mr. Secretary* Vane *was examined as to the* Iriſh *Army, he ſaid poſitively,* I cannot charge him with that, *and upon his ſecond Examination made the ſame Anſwer, and here we thought we had done with him; but upon his third Examination, he depoſes theſe words to have been ſaid by the E. of* Strafford *to His Majeſty;* You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (*or ſome word to that Sence*) this Kingdom. *Now, tho' I would not have this driven to aſperſe Mr. Secretary, yet this may be infer'd from it,* That he who twice upon Oath, *having time to recollect himſelf,* could not remember any thing of ſuch a Buſineſs, might well a third time miſremember ſomething. *And thus Mr. Speaker I have faithfully given you an Account, what it is that hath blunted the Edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord* Strafford. *I profeſs I have no Notion of any Bodies Intents to ſubvert*

*the*

*the Laws*, Treaſonably, or by Force, *and this Deſign of Force not appearing, all his other wicked Practices cannot amount ſo high with me; but had that of the* Iriſh *Army been proved, it would have diffuſed a Complexion of Treaſon over all, it would have been a Wyth indeed to bind all thoſe other ſcattered Branches as it were into a Faggot of Treaſon. I do not ſay but others may think him worthy of Death, and juſtly direct us to enact that they ſhall be Treaſon for the future; but God keep me from giving Judgment of Death on any Man, and of Ruin to his Innocent Poſterity upon a Law made à* Poſteriori. *Let this mark be ſet on the Door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, die. I know, Mr.* Speaker, *that the the Parliament have a double Power of Life and Death,* Judicial *and* Legiſlative; *the Meaſure of the one is what is Legally Juſt, and the other what is Prudentially and Politickly Fit, for the Good and Preſervation of the whole; but theſe Two, under Favour, muſt not be confounded in Judgment. We muſt not piece up Want of* Legality *with Matter of* Convenience. *Therefore my humble Advice is, that laying aſide this Bill of Attainder, we may think of ſome other way, ſaving only Life, that may ſecure the State from my Lord of* Strafford, *without endangering it by Diviſion concerning his Puniſhment; but if this may not prevail, let every Man lay his Hand upon his Heart, and ſadly conſider what we are going to do, with a Breath, either Juſtice on the one ſide, or Murder heightned and aggravated to its utmoſt Extent on the other; for as the Caſuiſts ſay,* That he who lyes with his Siſter commits Inceſt, but he that marries his Siſter ſins higher by applying God's Ordinance to his Crimes: *So doubtleſs he that commits Murder with the Sword of Juſtice heightens that Crime to the utmoſt: Therefore let every Man clear his Heart from all Paſſion: Away with perſonal Animoſities: Away with all Flatteries to the People, in being ſharper againſt him, becauſe he is odious to them: Away with all Fears, leſt by ſparing of his Blood they may be incenſed: Away with all ſuch Conſiderations as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accuſed by it of Treaſon ſhould eſcape with Life: Let not former Vehemence of any againſt him, nor Fear from thence, that he cannot be ſafe while that Man lives, be an Ingredient in the Sentence of any one of us. Of all theſe* Corrup-

1641.

1641. *Corruptions of Judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do before God diſcharge my ſelf to the utmoſt of my Power; and do, with a clear Conſcience, waſh my Hands of this Man's Blood, by this Solemn Proteſtation, that my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of* Stratford's *Life.*

Howeve the Bill paſſed with only Fifty-nine diſſenting Voices, and was immediately ſent up to the Lords with this Addition, *That the Commons would be ready the next Day in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *to give their Lordſhips Satisfaction in the Matter of Law upon what had paſs'd at the Trial.* The Earl was brought again the next Day to the Bar; and Sollicitor *Saint-John* argued for near the Space of an Hour the Matter of Law: But here we ſhall only take notice of Two notable Propoſitions, in anſwer to what had been ſaid on the Earl's Behalf in Point of Law, he averr'd to their Lordſhips, *That in the Way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conſcience was ſufficient, tho' there had been no Evidence at all.* And as to the preſſing the Law, he ſaid, *It was true we give Laws to Hares and Deer, becauſe they are Beaſts of Chaſe; but to knock Foxes or Wolves on the Head was never thought foul Play, becauſe they were Beaſts of Prey.* The ſame Day the Names of the Fifty-nine Diſſenting Members were written on Parchment or Paper, under this Subſcription, *Straffordians, or Enemies to their Country*; and thoſe Papers ſet up in the moſt viſible Places in the City.

The Commons having in the mean time taken into Conſideration, that the Court of *York* was a Grievance, Mr. *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, reported the Caſe, and thereupon it was reſolved that the Commiſſion and Inſtructions, whereby the Preſident and Council in the North exerciſed a Juriſdiction, was illegal both in Creation and Execution, and that it was unprofitable to His Majeſty, and inconvenient and grievous to his Subjects in thoſe Parts. And Mr. *Hyde* being hereupon appointed to manage the Conference with the Lords touching the ſaid Court, he ſpake to them in the following manner.

My

1641.

My Lords.

*I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, to preſent your Lordſhips a great and crying Grievance; which tho' it be complained of in the preſent Preſſures, but by the Northern Parts, yet by the Logick Conſequence of it, it is the Grievance of the whole Kingdom: The Court of the Preſident and Council of the* North, *or as it is more uſually called the Court of* York; *which, by the Spirit and Ambition of the Miniſters truſted there, or by the natural Inclination of Courts to enlarge their own Power and Juriſdiction, hath ſo prodigiouſly broken down the Banks of the firſt Channels wherein it ran, hath almoſt overwhelmed that Country, under the Sea of Arbitrary Power, and involved the People in a Labyrinth of Diſtemper, Oppreſſion and Poverty.*

Mr. *Hyde's* Speech about the Court of *York.*

*Your Lordſhips will give me Leave, not with Preſumption, to inform your great Underſtandings, but that you may know what moved the Houſe of Commons to their Reſolutions, to remember your Lordſhips of the Foundation and Erecting of this Court, and of the Progroſs and Growth of it.*

*Your Lordſhips well know that upon the Suppreſſion of all Religious Houſes to ſuch a Value in the Seven and Twentieth Year of* Hen. 8. *from that time to the Thirtieth of that King's Reign, many (not fewer) than Six Inſurrections and Rebellions were made in the Northern Parts, under Pretence of that Quarrel, moſt of them under the Command of ſome eminent Perſon of that Country; the which being quieted before the end of the Thirtieth, that great King well knowing his own Mind, and what he meant to do with the great Houſes of Religion in the Year following, for the Prevention of any Inconveniency that might enſue to him upon ſuch Diſtemper, in the One and Thirtieth Year of his Reign granted a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of* Landaff, *the firſt Preſident, and others, for the quiet Government of the County of* York, Northumberland, Cumberland, *and* Weſtmorland, *the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *the Counties of the City of* York, Kingſton *upon* Hull, *and* Newcaſtle *upon* Tyne. *But my Lords, the Commiſſion was no other than a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, only it had a Clauſe at the end of it, for the hearing of all Cauſes Real and Perſo-*

1641. *nal*, Quando ambo partes, vel altera pars ſic gravata paupertate fuerit, quod commode jus ſuum ſecundum legem Regni noſtri alteri perſequi non poſſit. *Which Clauſe, how illegal ſoever (for that it is illegal, and void in Law, little Doubt can be made) yet whether they exerciſed that Part of the Commiſſion at all, or ſo ſparingly exerciſed it, that that poor People found Eaſe and Benefit by it, I know not; but at that Time I find no Complaint againſt it. Till the coming in of King* James, *the Commiſſion continued ſtill the ſame, and that in the firſt Year of his Reign to the Lord* Sheffield, *varied no otherwiſe from the former, ſave only it had Reference to Inſtructions that ſhould be ſent, tho' whether any were ſent or no is uncertain, for we can find none.*

*In* June, *in the Seventh Year of the Reign of King* James, *a new Commiſſion was granted to the ſame Man (the Lord* Sheffield*) very differing from all that went before, it being left out, that they ſhould inquire* Per Sacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum. *and to hear and determine* Secundum leges Angliæ; *Relation being had only to the Inſtructions, which were the firſt Inſtructions we can find that were ſent thither; tho' I told your Lordſhips there were ſome Mention of ſome in* 1 Jac. *I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with theſe Inſtructions, nor with the other that followed in* 11 Jac. *to the ſame Man, nor in* 16 Jac. *when a new Commiſſion was granted to my Lord* Sunderland, *nor indeed with any till we come to theſe preſent Inſtructions and Commiſſion, with which that Part of the Kingdom groans and languiſhes. My Lord of* Strafford *came to that Government in* December 4 Car. *and ſince the Commiſſion hath been Three ſeveral times reviewed. In the Fifth Year in* March. *in the Eighth in* November, *in the Thirteenth of His Majeſties Reign, into that Commiſſion of the* 8th *and* 13th, *a new Clauſe was ſcrewed in, for the Granting, Sequeſtring and Eſtabliſhing Poſſeſſions, according to Inſtructions, crowded in a Maſs of New, Exorbitant and Intollerable Power. tho' our Complaint be againſt this Commiſſion it ſelf, and againſt the whole Body of thoſe Inſtructions, that by the vaſt Irregularity of thoſe, your Lordſhips may judge how unſupportable the whole Burden is; I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with the Ninth Inſtruction, tho' it be but ſhort, that* Miſeram ſervitutem & ubi; jus

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*Read the* 19. 22. 23. 24. 29. *and* 30. *I will not trouble your Lordships with reading more, there being among them in the whole* 58 *Instructions scarce one that is not against or beside the Law.*

*Whether His Majesty may canton out his Kingdom to be tried by Commission, tho' according to the Rules of Law, since the whole Kingdom is under the Law and Government of the Courts at* Westminster, *and by this Reason the several Parts of the Kingdom may be deprived of that Privilege, will not be now the Question; that His Majesty cannot by Commission erect a new Court of Chancery, or a Proceeding according to the Rules of the Star-Chamber, is most clear to all that have read* Magna Charta,; *which alloweth no Proceedings,* Nisi per legale Judicium parium per legem terræ. *For our Court of Chancery here by long Usage and Prescriptions is grown to be as it were,* Lex terræ: *But, my Lords, the Thirtieth Instruction goes further, and erects such an Empire, such a Dominion as shall be liable to no contrary. The Courts of* Westminster, *my Lords, have superintendencies over all inferior Courts, to regulate their Jurisdiction, if they exceed their Limits, to hold Plea of greater Value, or the like in his Exercise of Jurisdiction, the Judges are sworn to grant and send Prohibitions; and to stop the granting these Prohibitions, or to neglect them when they are granted, is the greatest and boldest Scorn of the Law, and the Law-makers that can be imagined.*

*The King's Courts at* Westminster *having been always of that Lawful and Reverend Esteem, with Inferior Judges, that the Instances of such Contempts against them are rare and exemplary in the Punishment.*

*The Bishop of* Norwich *in* Trinity-*Term, in the* 20*th Year of* Edward *III. in* Rot. 289. *in the Common-Pleas, in* Hillary-*Term* 21, *in the King's-Bench, was attacked for disobeying a Prohibition, at the Suit of* Straeil, *upon full*

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1641. *full and ſolemn Diſmiſſion of the whole Matter, the Court reſolved, that the Proceedings of the Biſhop were,* Inobedientiam & Diminutionem domini, & poteſtatis Regiæ, Authoritatis ſuæ Rejectionem & Coronæ ſuæ Exhereditationem Manifeſtam, &c. *as the Words of the Records are, and therefore adjudged the Temporalities of the Biſhop to be ſeized into the King's Hands, and great, very great Damages to be paid to Plaintiffs. And whoſoever gave Directions for theſe ſtout Inſtructions, might have remembred that no longer ſince than* Michaelmas, *in the Seventh Year of* Elizabeth, *Rot.* 31. *an Attachment was granted againſt the Archbiſhop of* York, *then Preſident of that Council, for forbidding the Goaler of* York *to deliver one* Lambert *his Priſoner, who was ſent for by* Habeas Corpus *from the* King's-Bench; *and if they would have believed the Reſolution of all the Judges in* England, *in* Trinity-*Term, in the Sixth Year of King* James *I. they would have known how unfit it had been to enlarge that Juriſdiction, ſince moſt of their Proceedings being of an inferior Nature to what they are now grown, were then declared to be illegal and inconſiſtent with the Liberty of the Subject.*

*And can ſuch a Court as this, my Lords, deſerve to live? What a Compendious Abridgment hath* York *got of all the Courts of* Weſtminſter-Hall, *whatſoever falls within the Cognizance or Juriſdiction of either Courts here, is compleatly determinable within that one Court at* York, *beſides the Power it hath with the Eccleſiaſtical and Commiſſion Courts.*

*What hath the good Northern People done, that they only muſt be diſfranchiſed of all their Privileges by* Magna Charta, *and the Petition of Right? For to what Purpoſe ſerve theſe Statutes, if they may be fined and impriſoned without Law, according to the Diſcretion of the Commiſſioners? what have they done, that they, and they alone, of all the People of this happy Iſland, muſt be diſinherited of their Birthright, of their Inheritance? For Prohibitions, Writs of* Habeas Corpus, *Writs of Error, are the Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects.*

*And 'tis here worth your Lordſhips Obſervation, that to thoſe many Prohibitions that have been granted from above, (for till of late the Court of* York *had not the Courage to oppoſe Prohibitions, nor indeed, till our Courts here*

*here had not the Courage to grant them) was never known, that Court pleaded the Juriſdiction of their Counſel, which without doubt they would have done upon the Advantage of many great Perſons, in whoſe Protection they have always been, had they not known the Law, could not be miſinterpreted enough, to allow it.* 1641.

*Your Lordſhips remember the Directions I mentioned of* Magna Charta, *that all Proceedings ſhall be* Per legale Judicium patrium & per legem terræ. *Now theſe Juriſdictions tell you, you ſhall proceed according to your Diſcretion; that is, you ſhall do what you pleaſe, only that we may not ſuſpect this Diſcretion will be gentler and kinder to us than the Law, ſpecial Proviſion is made, no Fine, no Puniſhment ſhall be leſs than is appointed by Law, by no Means, but as much greater, as your Diſcretion ſhall think fit, and indeed in this Improvement we find Arbitrary Courts are very pregnant; if the Law require my good Behaviour, this Diſcretion makes me cloſe Priſoner; if the Law ſets me upon the Pillory, this Diſcretion appoints me to leave my Ears there.*

*But this Proceeding according to Diſcretion is no new Expreſſion: It was in the firſt Commiſſion I told your Lordſhips of in the 31th of* Hen. 8. *that they ſhould proceed,* Secundum legem & Conſuetudinem Regni Angliæ, vel aliter Secundum ſanas diſcretiones veſtras; *which in the Interpretation of the Law, and that in the beſt Interpretation, ſignifies the ſame thing. To proceed according to Diſcretion, is to proceed according to Law, which is* Summa diſcretio, *but not according to their private Conceit or Affection; for* Talis diſcretio, *(ſaith the Law)* Diſcretionem confundit; *and ſuch a Confuſion hath this Diſcretion in theſe Inſtructions produced, as if Diſcretion were only removed from Rage and Fury: No Inconvenience, no Miſchief, no Diſgrace, that the Malice or Inſolence, or Curioſity of thoſe Commiſſioners, had a Mind to bring upon that People, but through the Latitude and Power of this Diſcretion hath been the Quick-ſand, which hath ſwallowed up their Property, their Liberty; I beſeech your Lordſhips reſcue them from this Diſcretion. Beſides, the Charge that this Court is to His Majeſty, which is* 1300 l. per Ann. *your Lordſhips will eaſily gueſs what an unſupportable Burden the many Officers, whoſe*

1641. *Places are of great Value; the Attorneys, Clerks, Regiſters, and above a Thouſand Sollicitors, that attend the Courts, muſt be to that People; inſomuch, that the Country ſeems to be divided into Officers and Dependants on that Court, and the People upon whom theſe Officers of that Court prey and commit Rapines, as he ſaid in* Petronius, omnes hic aut captantur aut captant, aut cadavera quæ lacerentur, aut corvi qui lacerent. *Truly, my Lords, theſe vext worn People of the* North *are not Suiters to your Lordſhips, to regulate this Court, or to reform the Judges of it, but for extirpating theſe Judges, and the utter aboliſhing this Court; they are of* Cato's *Mind, who would not ſubmit to* Cæſar *for his Life, ſaying,* He would not be beholding to a Tyrant for Injuſtice, for it was Injuſtice in him to ſave a Mans Life, over whom he had no Power.

*So theſe Gentlemen deſire not to be beholding to this Court hereafter for Injuſtice.*

*The very Adminiſtration of Injuſtice, founded upon ſuch illegal Principles, being a Grievance and an Oppreſſion to the Subject.*

Firſt, *Upon the whole Matter the Houſe of Commons is of Opinion. that the Commiſſion and Inſtructions, whereby the Preſident and Council of the* North *exerciſe a Juriſdiction, is illegal both in the Creation and Execution.*

Secondly, *That it is unprofitable to His Majeſty; for beſides ſo much, near Thirteen Hundred Pounds taken out of His Majeſties Revenue every Year; His Majeſty loſeth the great Benefit that would accrue to him, upon Writs, upon Fines, upon Outlawries, and other Profits, which redound to His Majeſty out of His Courts here.*

*And which I had almoſt forgot to tell your Lordſhips of, that His Majeſty may be ſure to have Benefit from that Court, notable Care is to be taken, by the Fifty-three Inſtructions, that if any Money remains over and above all Diſburſements, it ſhall be beſtowed, in providing Houſhold Stuff and Furniture for the Houſe where the Lord Preſident and Council uſed to ſit.*

*And* Laſtly, *That it is inconvenient and grievous to His Majeſties Subjects of thoſe Parts.*

*And*

*And therefore they are humble Suiters to your Lordſhips, and the Houſe of Commons, on this Behalf, that ſince this People do, and have in all Matters of Duty and Affection, contended with the beſt of His Majeſties Subjects; that they may not be diſtinguiſhed from them, in the manner of His Majeſties Juſtice and Protection, ſince this Court originally inſtituted and continued by His Majeſty, for the Eaſe and Benefit of his Subjects, is apparently inverted to the Burden and Diſcomfort of them; and that your Lordſhips will join with the Houſe of Commons, in beſeeching His Majeſty, that the preſent Commiſſion may be revoked, and no more ſuch granted for the future.* 1641.

How ſeveral Perſons ſtood affected to the Church.

But to ſay no more, at leaſt at preſent, of this Court of the Preſident of the *North*, there appeared now an Inclination in many of the Members, to leſſen the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops. My Lord *C*--- ſays, The Earl of *Bedford* was againſt any Alteration in the Government of the Church, had always liv'd with great Reſpect and Reverence towards my Lord of *Canterbury* himſelf; ſubſcrib'd liberally towards the Repair of *Paul*'s; tho' 'tis true, he did not publickly diſcountenance thoſe of the Clergy that were unconformable. The Earl of *Eſſex* was rather diſpleas'd with the Perſon of the Arch-biſhop, and ſome other Biſhops, than indevoted to the Function. He was as much inclined to the Common-Prayer as any Man; his Houſhold Chaplain being always a moſt conformable Man, and a good Scholar. In truth, in the Houſe of Peers there were only the Lord *Say* and *Brook* obſerved, as declared Enemies to the whole Fabrick of the Church, and who deſired a Diſſolution of that Government. In the Houſe of Commons, tho' Mr. *Fiennes*, young Sir *Harry Vane*, and ſhortly after Mr. *Hambden*, were believ'd to be for Root and Branch, yet Mr. *Pym* was of another Mind; ſo Mr. *Hollis* and the Northern Men, and thoſe Lawyers who drove on moſt furiouſly with 'em, were well pleas'd with the Government of the Church.

*Bedford.*

*Eſſex.*

*Say* and *Brook.*

*Fiennes*, *Vane*, &c.

The firſt Deſign againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, that met with any viſible Approbation of the Houſe, even amongſt thoſe who were of different Principles

1641. and Purpoſes, was a ſhort Bill, *To take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, and leave 'em out of all Commiſſions of the Peace, or what had any Relation to Temporal Affairs*; and this was countenanc'd more eſpecially by all the popular Lords in the Houſe of Peers, who obſerv'd, *They ſeldom carry'd any thing directly Oppoſite to the King's Intereſt, by reaſon of the Number of Biſhops; and they believ'd if the Biſhops had fewer Diverſions from their Spiritual Charges, the Church wou'd thrive the better for it.* The Argument uſed in the Houſe of Commons, to prevail with ſome who earneſtly deſir'd the Biſhops might ſuffer no ſuch Diminution of their Honour and Authority, was, *That the* Scots *were ſo reſolutely engaged in a Combination with the Generality of the People againſt the Government of the Church, that if the Biſhops were not diſcarded their Army would never march out of the Kingdom; but if this Bill were once paſs'd, ſo many in both Houſes would be ſo well ſatisfied, that the violenter Party would never be able to purſue their Deſigns.* This prevail'd over Men of good Judgment, and unqueſtionable Affections; and therefore when the Bill was brought into the Houſe, they expreſs'd their Deſire that it might paſs, when others thought they would have oppos'd it.

Bill to take away Biſhops Votes.

When the Bill was put to the Queſtion, Mr. *Hyde* was very earneſt for the throwing it out, and ſaid, *That from the Time that Parliaments begun, Biſhops had always been a Part of it. That if they were taken out there was no Body left to repreſent the Clergy, which wou'd introduce another piece of Injuſtice, no other part of the Kingdom cou'd complain of, who being all repreſented in Parliament, were bound to ſubmit to whatever was enacted there, becauſe it was upon the Matter with their own Conſent; whereas, if the Bill was carried, there was no Body left to repreſent the Clergy, and yet they muſt be bound by their Determination.* When he had done, the Lord *Falkland*, who always ſet next to him (which was ſo much obſerv'd, that if they came not in together, as they uſually did, every Body left the Place for him that was abſent) ſtood up, and declared, *He was of another Opinion, and that he never heard the Conſtitution of the Kingdom would be violated by the paſſing that Act; and that he had heard many*

*Hyde's* Speech againſt it.

Lord *Falkland's*.

*many of the Clergy proteſt, that they could not own themſelves repreſented by the Biſhops; but if that could be made appear, it was to be preſumed, the Houſe of Peers (among whom they ſate, and had yet their Votes) would throw it out*; and ſo facetiouſly anſwering ſome other Particulars, he concluded, *For paſſing the Act.* 1641.

The Houſe was ſo wonderfully pleaſed to ſee the Two inſeparable Friends divided in ſo important a Point, that they could not reſtrain from a kind of Rejoicing; and the more becauſe they ſaw Mr. *Hyde* much ſurprized; as indeed he was, having never diſcovered the leaſt Inclination in the other towards ſuch a Compliance; and therefore they flatter'd themſelves, that they might in time work the Lord *Falkland* to a further Compliance with them. But in this they were very much diſappointed; for there was not the leaſt Interruption in the Friendſhip between thoſe Two: So when the ſame Argument came again to be debated, about Six Months after, the Lord *Falkland* having changed his Opinion, gave 'em all the Oppoſition he could.

When this Bill was carried up to the Lords, many of the greateſt Men of that Houſe took the Opportunity of diſcovering themſelves upon the Debate of this Bill, againſt which they declaimed with great Bitterneſs; and blamed the Houſe of Commons *For preſuming to meddle with an Affair that ſo immediately concerned themſelves; that if they ſend up a Bill this Day, to take one whole Claſs out of their Houſe at once, they might to Morrow by another cut off the Barons, or ſome other Degree of the Nobility.* Theſe and other Arguments were urged with a Warmth and Vigour they had not before expreſſed; inſomuch, as tho' the other Party, who had never been before withſtood, ſet up their Reſt upon carrying it: Yet, notwithſtanding all they could alledge in Behalf of the Bill, the Houſe could not be prevailed with ſo much as to commit it, but threw it quite out upon a ſecond Reading. This caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits of the governing Party in both Houſes, that they were at a Stand. But the Commons, to let the Biſhops ſee how little they had got by obſtructing

1641. A Bill for extirpating Bishops, Deans, and Chapters.

ſtructing the other Bill, prepared a very ſhort one, *For the utter extirpating all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters:* Which they perſwaded Sir *Edward Deering* to preſent to the Houſe. As ſoon as the Title of it was read, (which was almoſt as long as the Bill it ſelf) it was moved with great Heat, *That the Bill it ſelf might not be read; that it was againſt the Cuſtoms and Rules of the Houſe, for any private Perſon to preſume (without Leave firſt obtained) to bring in a new Act, ſo much as to abrogate any old ſingle Law; and therefore it was a high Preſumption in that Gentleman, without ſo much as a Motion that it might be ſo, to offer a Bill that overthrew ſo many Acts of Parliament, and confounded the whole Temper of the Government; and therefore deſired it might be rejected.* The Gentleman made many Excuſes for his Ignorance in the Cuſtoms of Parliament, that he had never read more than the Title of the Bill, and was prevailed with by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, who ſate next to him, to deliver it. Tho' many urged the rejecting it, yet the other Party, eſpecially Sollicitor *Saint-John*, (who in Truth had drawn it) preſſed violently for the Reading it; ſo that at laſt it was read; and no Queſtion being put upon the firſt Reading, it was laid by, and not called for a long time after: Many Men being perſwaded there was no Deſign to purſue it, but that it was only preferred to expreſs a Neglect towards the Lords.

Theſe Oppoſitions in the Lords Houſe, and the frequent Contradictions in the Houſe of Commons, had abated much of the Fury, which had hitherto prevailed; and all Men earneſtly deſired the Armies might be diſcharged: But no Progreſs could be made in that, 'till the Earl of *Strafford*'s Buſineſs was diſpatch'd. The *Scots* were bound to gratifie their *Engliſh* Friends in that Particular. They who treated for Promotions at Court were ſollicitous to finiſh that, as what would conclude all the reſt: And the King was reſolved to move no farther in it, till he might be ſecure of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; which being done, he would do any thing; and the Earl of *Bedford*, who was indeed of more Authority with the violent Men than any one elſe, laboured very earneſtly in it. Mr. *Hyde* (as he ſays himſelf) going

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one Afternoon to a Place called *Pickadilly*, which was a fair Houſe for Entertainment and Gaming, where were an upper and lower Bowling-Green, reſorted to by many of the beſt Quality, both for Exerciſe and Converſation. As ſoon as he came into the Ground, the Earl of *Bedford* came to him, and after ſome ſhort Compliments, told him, *He was glad he was come thither; for there was a Friend of his in the lower Ground, who ſtood in need of his Counſel.* He ſaid, *This Buſineſs, concerning the Earl of* Strafford, *was a Rock, upon which we ſhould all ſplit; and that the Kingdom would be deſtroyed through the Heat of the Parliament. That the King was ready to do all they could ask, if they would ſpare that Earl's Life. That His Majeſty was ſatisfied, he had by his paſſionate Proceedings render'd himſelf uſeleſs to his Service for the future, and was well content he ſhould be baniſhed, or impriſoned for his Life, as they ſhould think fit. That if by their own Judicatory they would take his Death upon themſelves, he would not interpoſe any Act of his own Conſcience; but ſince they declined that, and intended to proceed by an Act of Parliament, to which he himſelf muſt be a Party, that he could not with a ſafe Conſcience ever give his Royal Aſſent to it. Becauſe he having been preſent at the whole Trial, he had heard nothing proved, by which he could believe he was a Traitor, either in Fact or Intention; and therefore his Majeſty earneſtly deſired of both Houſes, they would not bring him a Bill to paſs, which in Conſcience he neither could or would conſent to.* The Earl continued, *That he did all he could to perſwade his Friends, to decline their violent Proſecution, and be ſatisfied with the the Remedy propoſed by the King; and that he ſhould not deſpair of Succeſs, if the Earl of* Eſſex *could be perſwaded to comply, who was hitherto very obſtinate. That he had left his Brother, the Earl of* Hertford, *(that Day made a Marqueſs) walking with him in the lower Ground; and he deſired Mr.* Hyde *to walk down thither, and endeavour to perſwade the Earl to what was reaſonable*; which he was very ready to do. Accordingly he found the Marqueſs and the Earl together; but the Marqueſs, after a ſhort Salutation, departed, and left the other Two alone, which he did on purpoſe. The Earl begun merrily, in telling him, *He had*

1641.

Conference between Mr. *Hide* and the E. of *Bedford.*

1641. *had that Morning performed a Service, which he knew he did not intend; that by what he had ſaid at the Conference againſt the Court of* York, *he had revived their Prejudice againſt the Earl of* Strafford, *ſo that he hoped they would now proceed in the Bill againſt him with Vigour*; which was the Effect, of which, he ſaid, he was ſure he had no Mind to be the Cauſe. Mr. *Hyde* confeſſed, *He had indeed no ſuch Purpoſe, and hoped ſomewhat he had ſaid might put other Thoughts into 'em, to proceed in another Method upon his Crimes. That he knew their having ſtept ſo long upon the Bill, proceeded from their Diſagreement upon the Point of Treaſon, which the longer they conſidered, would adminiſter the more Difficulties. But if that was declined, they ſhould all agree, he had deſerved ſo ſevere a Cenſure, as would abſolutely deprive him of all Power, that might prove dangerous to the Kingdom, or miſchievous to any to whom he was no Friend.* He ſhook his Head, and replied, *Stone dead hath no Fellow. That if he were fined, and ſentenced to be impriſoned during Life, the King would preſently grant him his Pardon and Eſtate, remit his Fines, and give him his Liberty as ſoon as he had a Mind to receive his Service, which would be as ſoon as the Parliament was ended:* And when Mr. *Hyde* was ready to anſwer him, the Earl told him familiarly, *That he had been tired that Afternoon upon that Argument, and therefore deſired him to deſiſt for the preſent; aſſuring him, he would be ready to confer with him upon that Subject at any other time.* Not long after Mr. *Hyde* took an Opportunity to renew the Diſcourſe, but found him upon his Guard; and tho' he gave Ear to all the other would ſay with great Patience, yet he was very conciſe in his Arguments, and ſeemed fixed in his Reſolution; and when he was preſſed, *How unjuſtifiable a thing it was for any Man to do what his own Conſcience perſwaded him was ſinful; that he knew him ſo well, that if he was not firmly ſatisfied of the Guilt of the Earl of* Strafford, *the King could never oblige him to give his Vote for that Bill; and therefore he admired how he could urge the King to do an Act he declared ſo directly againſt his Conſcience; that he neither cou'd nor wou'd give his Royal Aſſent to the Bill.* The Earl anſwered with ſome Commotion, (as if indeed he

was really of that Opinion himſelf) *That the King in Conſcience was obliged to conform himſelf and Opinion to the Judgment and Conſcience of his Parliament.* 1641.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Bill had not that warm Reception in the Houſe of Peers that ſome expected; but after a ſecond Reading depended long at a Committee, and it was believed now the formal Trial, and Way of Judicature was declined, the Biſhops would not ſo ſtupidly (to ſay no more) exclude themſelves from voting in a Law, which was to be an Act of Parliament.

There were, however, ſeveral Cauſes concurred to the Deſtruction of the Earl, as a Deſign diſcovered of his endeavouring to make his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, ſome underhand Dealings with the Army to engage them againſt the Parliament, and the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. As to the firſt of theſe, Capt. *Billingſly* being examined upon Oath, confeſſed that he was acquainted with Sir *John Suckling*, who had lately offered him an Employment in one of the King's Ships, then at *Portſmouth*, afterwards Imployment for *Portugal*; that having Notice to meet at the Privy Lodgings at *White-Hall*, he did there receive Orders to get a Hundred Men to ſerve in the *Tower* under him, and if he did fail, he ſhould anſwer it with his Life; that afterwards meeting with *Suckling*, and acquainting him with it, he promiſed to furniſh him with the ſaid Number. Hereupon Sir *William Balfore*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, being examined, ſaid, *That he had Command to receive Capt.* Billingſly *with an Hundred Men into the* Tower, *which ſhould be under his Command; that the Earl of* Strafford *at that time expoſtulating with him about his Eſcape, told him he would attempt nothing in that kind without his Privity, and that he ſhould have the King's Warrant, which ſhould be to command him to remove the Earl of* Strafford *from the* Tower *to ſome other Caſtle, and he would take his Opportunity to eſcape; that the Lieutenant of the* Tower *not giving any complying Anſwer thereto, the Earl ſent again to intreat him to come to him, and would have perſwaded him to let him make his Eſcape, ſaying, Without your Concurrence it cannot be done; and if you will conſent thereto, I will make you preſent Payment of Twenty-two Thouſand Pounds: beſides,*

1641. *ſides, you ſhall have a good Marriage for your Son.* To which the Lieutenant reply'd, *That he was ſo far from concurring therein, that he was not to be any farther ſollicited in that Affair.*

In the mean time the King, perhaps, finding it very difficult for the Earl to ſave his Life by Flight, endeavoured to do it in Parliament by the following Speech he made on the Firſt of *May*.

My Lords,

The King's Speech in Favour of *Strafford*.

*I Had not any Intention to have ſpoken unto you of this Buſineſs this Day, which is the great Buſineſs of the Earl of* Strafford, *becauſe I would do nothing that might ſerve to hinder your Occaſions; but now it comes ſo to paſs, that ſeeing of Neceſſity I muſt have part in that Judgment, I think it moſt neceſſary for me to declare my Conſcience. I am ſure you all know that I have been preſent at the hearing of this great Cauſe from the one end to the other, and I muſt tell you that I cannot in my Conſcience condemn him of High-Treaſon. I am ſure you will not expect that a poſitive Doctrine beſt becomes the Mouth of a Prince; yet I muſt tell you Three great Truths, which I am ſure no Body knows as well as my ſelf.* 1. *That I never had any Intention of bringing the* Iriſh *Army over into* England, *nor never was adviſ'd by any Body ſo to do.* 2. *That there was never any Debate before me, neither in Publick Council, nor at a private Committee, of the Diſloyalty of my* Engliſh *Subjects, nor ever had I any Suſpicion of them.* 3. *It was never counſelled by any to alter the leaſt of any of the Laws of* England, *much leſs to alter all the Laws; nay, I muſt tell you this, I think no Body durſt ever be ſo impudent as to move me to it; for if they had, I ſhould put ſuch a Mark upon them, and made them ſuch an Example, that all Poſterity ſhould know my Intentions by it, for my Intention was ever to govern according to Law, no otherwiſe.*

*I deſire to be rightly underſtood. I told you in my Conſcience I cannot condemn him of High-Treaſon, yet I cannot ſay I can clear him of Miſdemeanor; therefore I hope that you may find a Way to ſatisfie Juſtice, and your own Fears, and not to preſs upon my Conſcience. My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conſcience is, yet I muſt declare unto you, that to ſatisfie*

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*my People, I would great Matters, but this of Conſcience, no Fear, no Reſpect whatſoever, ſhall ever make me go againſt it. Certainly, I have not ſo deſerved of the Parliament at this time, that they ſhould preſs me in this tender Point. Nay, I muſt confeſs, for Matter of Miſdemeanors, I am ſo clear in that, that tho' I will not chalk out the Way, yet let me tell you, that I do not think my Lord* Strafford *is fit hereafter to ſerve me or the Commonwealth in any Place of Truſt; no, not ſo much as that of a Conſtable; therefore I'll leave it to you, my Lords, to find ſome ſuch Way, as to bring me out of this great Streight, and keep our ſelves and the Kingdom from ſuch Inconveniencies. Certainly, he that thinks him guilty of High-Treaſon in his Conſcience, may condemn him of a Miſdemeanor.* 1641.

The Commons that attended did not ſeem at all pleaſed with this Speech, and therefore to paſs ſlightly over the ſolemnizing of the Marriage of the Lady *Mary* to the Prince of *Orange*, on the Second of *May*, it's manifeſt from the following Letter of the Speaker to the Army, that they now began to ſuſpect ſome Deſign formed againſt them.

Speaker's Letter to the Army.

*WE have had Cauſe to doubt, that ſome ill-affected Perſons have endeavoured to make a Miſunderſtanding in the Army of the Intentions of the Parliament towards them: To take away all Miſunderſtanding of that Kind, the Houſe of Commons have commanded me to aſſure you, that they have taken the Affairs of the Army into their ſerious Care; and tho' for the preſent their Monies have not come in as they wiſhed, and was due, by Reaſon of the many Diſtractions, and other Impediments, which this Houſe could no Ways avoid, yet let them reſt moſt aſſur'd, that they ſhall not only have their full Pay, but the Houſe will take their Merits into further Conſideration, in regard they take Notice that notwithſtanding their Wants, and Endeavours of thoſe ill-affected Perſons, they have not demeaned themſelves otherwiſe than as Men of Honour, and well-affected to this Commonwealth, which this Houſe takes in ſo good Part, that we have already found out a Way to get Money for a good Part of their Pay, and will take the moſt*

1641. *moſt ſpeedy Courſe, we poſſibly may for the reſt. So I remain*

From my Houſe at *Charing-Croſs*, *May* 4. 1641.

Your very Loving Friend,

*Will. Lenthall.*

The Flight of Mr. *Piercy* and Mr. *Jermin*, and the Confeſſion of Colonel *Goring*, before the Commons of a ſecret Oath, and other Propoſals, as well as *Piercy*'s Letter afterwards to his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, made all Things look with an ill Face, which my Lord *Cl*--- is pleaſed to depeint after this manner.

Correſpondence between the Court and ſome Officers of the Army.

Some Principal Officers of the Army, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons, and had been careſſed by the moſt popular Leaders, and had indeed more contributed to their Deſigns, than conſiſted with their Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the King, found themſelves now not ſo particularly conſidered as they at firſt expected, and that their Credit elſewhere, eſpcially in the Army, began to decline, for that more Care was taken of the *Scottiſh* Army than the King's, and the Parliament much depended upon their Intereſt in the Affections of the *Engliſh* Army. To redeem therefore what had been done amiſs, and reſtore themſelves to His Majeſties Favour, they bethought themſelves how to diſpoſe, or at leaſt to pretend that they would diſpoſe, the Army to ſome ſuch Declaration of their Duty towards the King, as might make other Men deſpair of being able to make uſe of it to his Prejudice, and for that Purpoſe had ſeveral Meetings with ſome of more immediate Truſt in both their Majeſties, by whom they might direct their Intentions to the King, and again receive his Royal Pleaſure how they ſhould beſt demean themſelves for his Service. He ſays, he could never learn from what was afterwards reported to the Houſe, nor from thoſe who were moſt converſant in that Deſign, there was any Thought of working farther upon the Army, than to prevent 'em from being made Uſe of, for the impoſing unjuſt and unreaſonable Things upon the King; and all that the King ever agreed ſhould be done by 'em, was, that as ſeveral Factious, Seditious Petitions had been procured from

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most Counties, and been presented to the Parliament, against the establish'd Government of the Church, with some Clauses scandalous to the Government of the State too; so the Officers of the Army should subscribe a Petition, which was brought ingross'd for His Majesties Approbation, before they would presume to recommend it to any for their Subscription. 1641.

It was addressed, *To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.* And contained in Substance, *The Wants and Necessities the Army laboured under; that they were not only destitute of Pay, but Martial Discipline, yet had the Parliament been troubled with no Complaint, either from 'em, or against 'em. How much they were bound to thank God, that had inclined His Majesties Heart so far to co operate with the Wisdom of his Parliament in a happy Reformation in Church and State; in His Majesties Gracious Condescention to the important Demands of the* Scots, *their Neighbours; in granting so free a Course of Justice upon all Delinquents; in removing all Grievances; and lastly, in that lasting Pledge of Security, the Bill of Triennial Parliament. That notwithstanding all these Acts of Grace in His Majesty, they heard certain pragmatical Persons remained as mutinous as ever, and were still attempting new Diminutions upon His Majestics just Regalities; whom nothing else but a Subversion of the Government could satisfie. And tho' they believed their Violence and Unreasonableness could have no Influence upon the Wisdom and Justice of the Parliament; yet to their great Trouble and Disquiet, they heard those ill-affected Persons were back'd by the Multitude, who flock'd in Thousands together at their Call, and beset the Parliament and* White-Hall *it self. That therefore their humble Petition was, Such Dangers might be removed by a Punishment inflicted on the Ring-leaders; that in all Humility they offered themselves to wait upon His Majesty for the suppressing 'em, and thereby vindicate the Nation, not only from precedent Innovations, but secure it for the future, which were likely to produce more dangerous Effects than the former.*

This Petition, signed at the Bottom *C R.* as a Token of His Majesties Allowance, was carried down

1641. to the Army, and ſigned by ſome Officers, but was ſuddenly quaſh'd, and no more heard of, till the Diſcovery of the ſuppoſed Plot. However, the Meetings continued between the Officers of the Army, and ſome Servants of His Majeſty, and others were by ſpecial Direction introduced into thoſe Councils, (all Perſons being bound by an Oath to Secreſie) for the better executing what ſhould be propoſed. At the firſt Meeting, one of the Perſons ſo admitted, after he had heard, *Their Deſign was only to obſerve and defend the Laws, that the King might not be compelled by the* Scots *Army or Arguments, to conſent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church; nor by the Power of any diſcontented Perſons, to ſubmit to a Diminution of his Juſt, Legal Power*; told 'em, *Thoſe Reſolutions would conduce little to His Majeſties Service; that their only way was to march the Army directly up to* London, *and ſo far awe the Parliament, as to make 'em do what the King ſhould command.* There was not a Man in the Company that did not perfectly abhor ſo odious a Propoſition, but contented themſelves in making ſuch Objections to it, as render'd it fooliſh and impracticable, and ſo the Meeting for that time broke up. Whether the Author of this deſperate Advice did it only as a Bait, to draw an Opinion from others, (for he bore a downright Malice to ſome of the Company) or whether the Diſdain to ſee his Counſel rejected, and Fear, leſt it might be diſcover'd to his Diſadvantage, wrought upon him, he ſays he knew not; but he immediately diſcovered all, and more than all, to thoſe who pretended the greateſt Care for the common Good, intimating how ſurpriz'd he was with the Horror of the Deſign, and how faithful he was reſolv'd to be to the Commonwealth; yet at the ſame time pretended an Abhorrence at Court to the Parliament Proceedings, and offer'd, *To reſcue the Earl of* Strafford *from the Lieutenant of the* Tower, *as he ſhould bring him to his Trial, and ſo enable him to eſcape.*

The Diſcovery being thus made to the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lords *Say* and *Kimbolton*, and no doubt communicated by them to their Aſſociates; as dangerous as the thing was afterwards repreſented to be, the

the whole was not publiſh'd till Three Months after to the Houſes, tho' they made an extraordinary Uſe of it by Parts, from the Moment they receiv'd the Secret; it being uſual with them, when they found the Heat of the Houſe allay'd, to inflame 'em again with ſome Diſcovery, or a Promiſe of a Diſcovery of ſome ſtrange Plot againſt themſelves, which, tho' upon Examination always vaniſh'd, yet, being apply'd in uſeful Articles of Time, ſerv'd to alarm common Minds with Fears and Apprehenſions, and ſo lead 'em to comply with thoſe who were like ſooneſt to find Remedies for thoſe Diſeaſes, which they only could diſcover. And in this Progreſs they often met with ſtrange Accidents for the Support of their Credit. 1641.

The uſe made of it in the Houſe of Commons.

This Plot concerning the Army being diſcover'd at the end of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, they for the preſent made no other uſe of it, than what might conduce to their Ends in that Buſineſs, reſerving the reſt for more neceſſary Seaſons. Therefore when the Bill of Attainder was preferr'd, leſt that great Work ſhou'd meet with any Interruption from Court, Mr. *Pym* one Day inform'd the Houſe of Commons, *He had great Reaſon to fear there was at that time as deſperate a Deſign againſt the Parliament, as had been in any Age; and he did not doubt but Perſons of great Credit at Court were concern'd in it: That ſome Officers had been treated with in* London *to raiſe Men, under a Pretence they ſhou'd go to* Portugal, *but that the* Portugal *Ambaſſador knew nothing of it, and that he had given no Perſon any Authority or Promiſe to that Purpoſe. That for the preſent he cou'd not impart to 'em all Particulars, which might prevent a farther Diſcovery; only adviſed a Meſſage might be ſent to the Lords, to deſire 'em to appoint a Committee to examine ſuch Witneſſes as ſhould be offer'd, to diſcover a Plot againſt the Parliament, and in the mean time that would join in a Meſſage to the King, and deſire His Majeſty would forbear granting Paſſes for a few Days to any of his Servants to go beyond Sea; for he believ'd ſome Men's Conſciences would tempt 'em to make an Eſcape, when they heard of this Examination.*

In the mean while the forementioned Perſons making their Eſcapes beyond Sea, this gave great Credit

1641. to Mr. *Pym*'s Vigilancy and Activity. And in this Diſorder and Trouble the Bill of the Earl's Attainder paſs'd with more Eaſe in the Houſe of Commons. Having got thus much Ground, Mr. *Pym* proceeded, and told 'em, *The Flight of theſe Eminent Men made it evident that his Information was true, and that his Fears were not groundleſs. He aſſur'd 'em, God had wonderfully preſerv'd 'em from a moſt prodigious Conſpiracy, which they ſhould ſhortly underſtand more at large. That tho' this Attempt was diſappointed, yet he was afraid of ſome new Device carrying on; and therefore he propos'd, for a better Evidence of their Unanimity, that ſome Proteſtation might be enter'd into by the Members of both Houſes, for the Defence of their Privileges, and the Diſcharge of their Duties to God and the King.*

This was entertain'd with general Approbation, and after a long Debate, theſe Words were agreed upon by a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe, and offer'd to the Houſe for the Proteſtation. *I A. B. do, in the Preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt, to Maintain and Defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power and Eſtate, the true Reform'd Religion, expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery or Popiſh Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine; and according to the Duty of my Allegiance, His Majeſties Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; as alſo the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawful Right and Liberties of the Subject; and every Perſon that maketh this Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful Purſuance of the ſame: And to my Power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good Ways and Means endeavour to bring to condign Puniſhment all ſuch as ſhall either by Force, Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary of any thing in this preſent Proteſtation contained: And further, that I ſhall, in all juſt and honourable Ways, endeavour to preſerve the Union and Peace between the Three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland; *and neither for Hope, Fear, or other Reſpect, ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, Vow and Proteſtation.* This was immediately taken by the Speaker, and all the Members preſent; as likewiſe by all the

Proteſtation is taken in both Houſes.

the Lords, except the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts*, who peremptorily refus'd it, alledging, *There was no Law that enjoin'd it, and the Conſequence of ſuch voluntary Engagements, might produce Effects that were not at firſt intended.* Which without Doubt was a wiſe Conſideration, but not preſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, for Two Reaſons; for that it was an Antidote, to expel and diſcover the Poiſon of the Plot mentioned before; but eſpecially, for that ſome Perſons, who were fearful of nothing more than the Alteration of the Church-Government, thought they had reſtrain'd thoſe Reformers from any ſuch Attempt, when they had once proteſted, *To Maintain and Defend the Proteſtant Religion, expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of* England: There being no other Scheme of that Doctrine than the 39 Articles, One of which is, *To preſerve the Government of the Church by Biſhops.* Whereas the other Party was extreamly ſatisfied, with having an Oath of their own contriving; upon which they commented within Two Days after, when ſome of 'em inform'd the Houſe, *That ſeveral well-affected Perſons abroad, of Exemplary Devotion to the Parliament, apprehended, that if they ſhould take that Proteſtation, they ſhould thereby engage themſelves to defend the Biſhops, which their Conſcience was againſt, and to which they hoped the Houſe would not oblige 'em:* Whereupon, without any great Oppoſition (the Houſe being thin) this following Order was made. 1641.

Order of the Commons.

*Whereas ſome Doubts have been raiſed by ſeveral Perſons out of this Houſe, concerning the Meaning of thoſe Words contained in the Proteſtation lately made by the Members of this Houſe,* [viz. *The true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine*] *the Houſe doth declare, That by thoſe Words was and is meant only, the Publick Doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to Popery and Popiſh Innovations; and that the ſaid Words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline or Government, nor of any Rights or Ceremonies of the ſaid Church of* England.

1641. This Explanation, without at all conſulting with the Houſe of Peers, they order'd *ſhould be printed and publiſhed; and that the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend Copies thereof to the Counties and Burroughs for which they ſerv'd. and intimate, That as they did juſtifie the taking it themſelves, ſo they cou'd not but approve it in all ſuch as ſhould take it.* Upon which Declaration ſome of the Clergy took it in *London*, and the adjacent Parts within few Days after the Publication. And for their better Encouragement a Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords, to oblige all the Subjects to take it.

*Bedford's* Death. Another Accident, by which the Earl of *Strafford* receiv'd much Prejudice, was the Death of the Earl of *Bedford* (before hinted) who had the greateſt Intereſt of any in the popular Party, and was beſides of great Civility and good Nature. Inſomuch, as the King reſolv'd to make him Treaſurer, and the more to oblige him, at his Deſire intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. *Hollis* Secretary of State, the Lord *Say* Maſter of the Wards, and the Lord *Kimbolton* Lord Privy-Seal, after the Death of his Father, who then had that Office. *Bedford* had ſecretly undertook to His Majeſty the Earl of *Strafford's* Life ſhou'd be preſerv'd, and that his Revenue ſhould be ſettled as amply as any of his Progenitors; in which he was ſo ſincere, that he deſign'd to endeavour an Act for the ſetting up the Exciſe in *England*, as the only Way to advance the King's Profit. He fell ſick a Week after the Bill of Attainder was convey'd up to the Lord's Houſe, and died ſhortly after, much afflicted (ſays my Lord *C*---) with the Paſſion and Fury he ſaw his Party running into; inſomuch as he declared to ſome of his Intimates. *That he feared the Madneſs of this Parliament wou'd do more Miſchief to the Kingdom than ever any long Intermiſſion of Parliaments had brought upon it.* He was a wiſe Man, and wou'd have propos'd temperate Counſels, but for want of Reſolution was not incapable of being carried into violent ones, if his Advice were not ſubmitted to; and therefore ſome who knew him thought his Death reſcued him as well from poſſible Guilt, as from thoſe

thoſe viſible Misfortunes which Men of all Conditi- 1641.
ons have ſince labour'd under. The Earl of *Bedford* being dead, the Lord *Say* (in Hopes of the Treaſurerſhip) ſucceeded him in his Undertaking, and faithfully promis'd the King, *He ſhou'd not be preſs'd in the Matter of the Earl of* Strafford's *Life.* This was the Lord that perſwaded the King to make that Speech in Parliament, in Favour of the Earl, which we have already given you, and which *Strafford* being beforehand advertiſed of, and ſuppoſing it would be rather a Prejudice than otherwiſe to his Cauſe, endeavoured to divert (tho' in vain) by this Letter to the King on the Fourth of *May.*

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty. *Strafford's* Letter to the King.

*I Hath been my greateſt Grief in all theſe Troubles, to be taken as a Perſon, who ſhould endeavour to repreſent and ſet Things amiſs before your Majeſty and your People, and to give Counſels tending to the Diſquiet of the Three Kingdoms.*

*Moſt true it is, that (this mine own private Condition conſidered) it had been a great Madneſs (through your Gracious Favour) I was ſo provided, as not to expect in any kind to mend my Fortune, or pleaſe my Mind more than by reſting where your bounteous Hands had placed me.*

*Nay, it is moſt mightily miſtaken, for unto your Majeſty 'tis well known, my poor and humble Advice concluded ſtill in this, that your Majeſty and your People could never be happy, till there was a right Underſtanding betwixt you and them, and that no other Means were left to effect and ſettle this happy Peace, but by the Counſel and Aſſent of your Parliament; or to prevent the growing Evils of this State, but by entirely putting your ſelf, in this laſt Reſort, upon the Loyalty and good Affections of your* Engliſh *Subjects. Well, ſuch is my Misfortune, that this Truth findeth little Credit; yea, the contrary ſeemeth generally to be believed, and my ſelf reputed as one who endeavoured to make a Separation between you and your People: Under a heavier Cenſure than this, I am perſwaded, no Gentleman can ever ſuffer.*

*Now I underſtand the Minds of Men are more and more incens'd againſt me, notwithſtanding your Majeſty*

1641. *hath declared, that in your Princely Opinion I am not guilty of Treaſon, and that you are not ſatisfied in your Conſcience to paſs the Bill.*

*This brings me into a very great Streight, there is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouch'd in all the Branches of it with any foul Crime; here are before me the many Ills which may befal your Sacred Perſon and the whole Kingdom, ſhould your ſelf and Parliament part leſs ſatisfied one with the other, than is neceſſary for the Preſervation both of King and People. Here are before me the Things moſt valued, moſt feared by Mortal Men, Life and Death.*

*To ſay, Sir, there hath not been a Strife in me, were to make me leſs Man than God knoweth my Infirmities make me; and to call a Deſtruction upon my ſelf and young Children (where the Intentions of my Heart have at leaſt been innocent of this great Offence, may be believed will find no eaſie Conſent from Fleſh and Blood, but with much Sadneſs I am come to a Reſolution of that, which I take to be beſt becoming me, and look upon it as that which is moſt principal in it ſelf, which doubtleſs is the Proſperity of your Sacred Perſon, and the Commonwealth, this is infinitely before any private Man's Intereſt.*

*And therefore in few Words, as I put my ſelf wholly upon the Honour and Juſtice of my Peers, ſo clearly as to wiſh your Majeſty might be pleaſed to have ſpared that Declaration of that on* Saturday *laſt, and entirely to have left me to their Lordſhips; ſo now to ſet your Majeſties Conſcience at Liberty, I do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, for Prevention of Evil, and which may happen by your Refuſal, to paſs this Bill, and by this Means to remove (praiſed be God, I cannot ſay this accurſed, but I confeſs) this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that bleſſed Agreement, which God, I truſt, ſhall ever eſtabliſh between you and your Subjects.*

*Sir, my Conſent ſhall more acquit you herein to God than all the World, and beſides, to a willing Man there is no Injury done; and as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infinite Contentment to my diſlodging Soul; ſo, Sir, to you I can give the Life of the World, with all the Cheerfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgement of your exceeding*

*Favours,*

*Favours, and only beg that in your Goodneſs you would vouchſafe to caſt your Gracious Regard upon my poor Son, and his Three Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than as their (in preſent) unfortunate Father may, hereafter, appear more or leſs guilty of this Death, God long preſerve your Majeſty.* 1641.

Tower, May 4. 1641.

Your Majeſties moſt Faithful, and Humble Subject and Servant,

*Strafford.*

Whatever the Intentions of the Lord *Say* might really be in the Advice before mentioned, the Event proved fatal; for the Commons were no ſooner returned to their own Houſe after the King had made that Speech, but they declared this laſt Act of His Majeſty to be *the moſt unparallell'd Breach of Priviledge ever heard of; that if the King might declare his own Opinion of any Bills depending in either Houſe, it was to forejudge their Counſels, and was the greateſt Obſtruction of Juſtice imaginable; that they, and whoſoever had taken the late Proteſtation, were bound to ſtand by the Privileges of Parliament, which were now too openly invaded and violated.*

The next Day Multitudes of People came down to *Weſtminſter*, and throng'd about the Houſe of Peers, exclaiming with great Outcries, *That they would have Juſtice*; profeſſing aloud, *They would be govern'd and diſpos'd by the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and would maintain their Privileges according to their late Proteſtation.* This Inſolence continued ſo many Days, till many Lords grew really fearful of having their Brains knock'd out, and abſented themſelves from the Houſe; others ſeeing what Aſſiſtants the Houſe of Commons were like to have to ſecond all their Deſigns, changed their Minds; and ſo in an Afternoon, when of the Fourſcore who had been preſent at the Trial there were no more than Six and Forty in the Houſe, (the People ſtill demanding at the Door, *Juſtice, Juſtice*) the Bill upon the Queſtion was carry'd, Eleven Lords only diſſenting, and ſo was ready for the King's Aſſent. The King con-

The Bill of Attainder paſs'd the Houſe of Lords.

1641. continued as reſolved as ever not to give his Conſent, and therefore the ſame Oratory, which had been victorious at *Weſtminſter*, waited on him at *Whitehal*, and crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice, they would have Juſtice.* The Privy-Council was ſummoned, to adviſe what Courſe was to be taken to ſuppreſs theſe Proceedings, who preſs'd the King to paſs the Bill, as the only Way left to preſerve himſelf and his Poſterity: His Majeſty told 'em, *'Twas directly contrary to his Conſcience, and being ſo, he was ſure they would not preſs him to it.* To that Point they deſired him to conſult his Biſhops, who they made no doubt would better inform his Conſcience. *Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York* was at his Elbow, who told him, *There was a private and a publick Conſcience; that by his publick Conſcience, as a King, he might ſtand obliged to do that which was againſt his private Conſcience as a Man. That the Queſtion was not, Whether he ſhould preſerve the Earl of* Strafford, *but whether he ſhould periſh with him, That the Conſcience of a King to preſerve his Kingdom, of a Husband to preſerve his Wife, of a Father to preſerve his Children, was of more Weight than the Conſcience of a Maſter or a Friend, in Behalf of a Friend or Servant.*

In the midſt of theſe Perplexities, the Earl of *Strafford* obſerving what Straits the King was in, the Rage of the People ſtill increaſing, and likely to end in his certain Ruin; and it may be knowing of a Deſign (and ſuch a Deſign there was, ſays my Lord *Cl*---) by a great Man, that had then a Command in the *Tower*, that if the King perſiſted in his Refuſal, he would have his Head ſtruck off in the *Tower*, to free the Nation from the Danger it ſeemed to be in, writ this following pathetical Letter to the King.

*Strafford's Letter to the King.*

SIR,

*TO ſet your Majeſties Conſcience at Liberty, I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the Prevention of ſuch Miſchiefs as may happen by your Refuſal to paſs the Bill, by this Means to remove, praiſed be God I cannot ſay this accurſed, but I confeſs, this unfortunate thing out of the Way towards that bleſſed Agreement, which God, I truſt, ſhall for ever eſtabliſh betwixt you and*

*your*

*your Subjects. Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God than all the World can do; beſides, to a willing Man there is no Injury done. And as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infinite Contentment to my diſlodging Soul, ſo, Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all Cheerfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in your Goodneſs you will vouchſafe to caſt your Gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his Three Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than their unfortunate Father ſhall appear more or leſs guilty of this Death. God preſerve your Majeſty.* 1641.

Your Majeſties moſt Humble and
Faithful Subject and Servant,

*Strafford.*

Upon the Delivery of this Letter new Arguments were applied to the King, that the Earl's free Conſent clearly abſolved His Majeſty, and ſo at laſt they wrought ſo far upon him, as to impower ſome Lords by Commiſſion to paſs the Bill. However, being ſtill uneaſie in his Mind, he could not forbear writing this Letter next Day to the Lords in the Earl's Behalf.

My Lords,

*I Did yeſterday ſatisfie the Juſtice of the Kingdom, by paſſing the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of* Strafford; *but Mercy being as inherent to a King as Juſtice, I deſire at this time, in ſome meaſure, to ſhew that likewiſe, by ſuffering that unfortunate Man to fulfil the natural Courſe of his Life in a cloſe Impriſonment; yet ſo, that if ever he make the leaſt Offer to eſcape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any ſort of publick Buſineſs; eſpecially with me, either by Meſſage or Letter, it ſhall coſt him his Life, without further Proceſs. This, if it may be done without the Diſcontentment of my People, will be an unſpeakable Contentment to me. To which end, as in the firſt Place, I by this Letter do earneſtly deſire your Approbation; and to endear it the more, have choſen him to carry it, that of all your Houſe is moſt dear to me: So. I deſire,*

King's Letter to the Lords, in Behalf of *Strafford*, *May* 1.

1641. *deſire, that by a Conference you will endeavour to give the Houſe of Commons Contentment: Likewiſe aſſuring you, that the Excuſe of Mercy is no more pleaſing to me, than to ſee both Houſes of Parliament conſent for my Sake, that I ſhould moderate the Severity of the Law in ſo important a Caſe. I will not ſay that your complying with me, in this my intended Mercy, ſhall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more chearful, in granting your juſt Grievances. But if no leſs than his Life will ſatisfie my People, I muſt ſay,* Fiat juſtitia. *Thus again recommending the Conſideration of my Intentions to you, I reſt,*

P. S. *If he muſt die, it were Charity to reprieve him till* Saturday.

This Letter, all written with the King's own Hand, the Peers received in Parliament, delivered by the Hand of the Prince. It was twice read in the Houſe; and after ſerious and ſad Conſideration, the Houſe reſolved preſently to ſend Twelve of the Peers Meſſengers to the King; humbly to ſignifie, *That neither of the Two Intentions expreſſed in the Letter, could with Duty in them, or without Danger to himſelf, his dear Conſort the Queen, and the young Princes their Children, poſſibly be adviſed.* All which being done accordingly, and the Reaſons ſhewed to His Majeſty, he ſuffered no more Words to come from them, but out of the Fulneſs of his Heart to the Obſervance of Juſtice, and for the Contentment of his People, told them, *That what he intended by this Letter was with an* (if) *If it may be done without the Diſcontentment of my People; if that cannot be, I ſay the ſame again that I writ,* Fiat juſtitia. *My other Intention proceeding out of Charity for a few Days Reſpite, was upon certain Information that his Eſtate was ſo diſtracted, that it neceſſarily required ſome few Days for Settlement thereof.* Whereunto the Lords anſwered, *Their Purpoſe was to be Suitors to His Majeſty for Favour to be ſhewed to his innocent Children; and if himſelf had made any Proviſions for them, that the ſame might hold.* This was well liking to His Majeſty, who thereupon departed from the Lords. At His Majeſties parting they offered up into his Hands the Letter it ſelf which he had ſent; but he was pleas'd

to

to ſay, *My Lords, what I have written to you, I ſhall be content it be regiſtred by you in your Houſe. In it you ſee my Mind, I hope you will uſe it to my Honour.* This, upon the Return of the Lords from the King, was preſently reported to the Houſe by the Lord Privy-Seal, and ordered that theſe Lines ſhould go out with the King's Letter if any Copy of the King's Letter were diſperſed. 1641.

All Things being thus tranſacted on the 12th of *May* the Earl of *Strafford* was convey'd from the *Tower* to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill* by a Guard of the Trained-Bands, accompanied by the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his firſt coming out, being to paſs under the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Lodging, who ſtood waiting at his Window to ſee him, he lifting up his Eyes, and eſpying him, made a profound Obeiſance to the Archbiſhop, ſaying, *My Lord, your Prayers and your Bleſſing.* The Archbiſhop lifted up his Hands, and gave him both; but being overcome with Grief, fell almoſt into a Swoon. The Earl going a little further, bowed to him a ſecond time, ſaying, *Farewel, my good Lord, God protect your Innocency*; when the Archbiſhop being a little recovered, returned his good Wiſhes with, *My Lord, God Bleſs and Strengthen you.*

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addreſs'd his Speech to the Lord Primate to this Effect.

My Lord Primate of *Ireland*,

*IT is my very great Comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this Day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many Years, and I do thank God and your Lordſhip for it. I am come hither by the good Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty, to pay the laſt Debt I owe to Sin, and to ſubmit to that Judgment which has paſs'd againſt me. I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind: I thank God I do freely forgive all the World; I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my Conſcience bearing me Witneſs, that in all my Employments ſince I had the Honour to ſerve His Majeſty, I never had any thing in the Purpoſe of my Heart, but what tended to the joint and individual Proſperity of King and People, altho' it has been my ill Fortune to be miſconſtru'd.* The Earl's Speech upon the Scaffold.

*There*

1641. *There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the Belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of* England *were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best Means under God to make the King and People happy.*

*For my Death I here quit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, tho' in the Intentions and Purposes of my Heart, I am not guilty of what I die for. And it is a great Comfort to me, that His Majesty believes that I do not deserve so heavy a Punishment as this.*

*I wish this Kingdom all Prosperity and Happiness, and I desire every one who hears me to consider seriously, whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in* Letters of Blood. *Let me never be so unhappy as that the least Drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgment against any of you, but* I fear you are in the wrong way.

*I profess I die a true and obedient Son of the Church of* England, *wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.*

His Execution. Having thus concluded his Speech, he desired all that were present to assist him with their Prayers, wherein he continued about a Quarter of an Hour, and then rising up, bids all his Friends *Farewel*, especially by Name Sir *George Wentworth*, his Brother, by whom he sent his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his Children, desiring him to charge his Son in his Name never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church. Then he undress'd himself to the Block, and having prayed awhile, gave the Executioner a Sign, who at one Blow sever'd his Head from his Body.

His Character. Thus fell this great Man (says my Lord *Cl---*) inferior to none in Power, and little to any in Fortune throughout the Three Kingdoms, who once led those People who now pursued him to his Grave. He was a Man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature, with some Additions of Art and Learning. His first Addresses to the Court were to confirm his Greatness in the Country, where he apprehended some Acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*,

*Savile.* But his first Attempts were so prosperous, 1641.
that he rested not till he had depriv'd his Adversary of all Power both in Court and Country; sending him home a most abject disconsolate old Man, where he was to have a Superiority over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North. These Successes, apply'd to a Nature too elate and boisterous of it self, and a quicker Progress into the greatest Employments in the State, made him more to disdain other Men, and contemn the Forms of Business, than perhaps he would, had he met with Disappointments in the beginning, and had risen gradually.

There is no Occasion to recite the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford* here at large; but there being a Proviso in it, that hath occasioned the common Discourse and Opinion among many People, as if this Judgment against the Earl was enacted never to be drawn into precedent in Parliament, whereas it expresly respects Judges in Inferior Courts, we shall insert it here, and the same runs in these Words. *Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices, whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this had never been had or made, saving always unto all and singular Persons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, others than the said Earl and his Heirs, and such as claim from, by, or under him, all such Right, Title and Interest of, in, and to all, and singular such of the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the First Day of this present Parliament, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.*

With this Bill of Attainder the King pass'd another, of almost as fatal a Consequence to His Majesty and the Kingdom, as that was to the Earl, the Act for the perpetual Parliament. In the mean time the vast Expence of the Two Armies was no otherwise supply'd, than by borrowing great Sums of Money in the City. About the time of the Act of Attainder, some Persons acquainted the House, *That there was now no Hopes of borrowing more; that those who had*

An Act for the perpetual Parliament past at the same time.

1641. *had lent chearfully already upon the Honour and Juſtice of the Two Houſes, began to conſider how deſperate that Security muſt be in caſe of a Diſſolution, the Fears of which were much juſtified in the Diſcovery of the late Plot; which, tho' not in each Particular publiſh'd to 'em, gave 'em Reaſon to think there was no good Meaning towards the Parliament.* This was no ſooner offer'd, than the Reaſonableneſs of the Objection was enforc'd, and the Neceſſity of ſome Expedient to ſatisfie the People of the King's gracious Intention and Reſolutions; and no Way cou'd be thought of ſo ſure, as an Act of Parliament, *That the Parliament ſhould not be Prorogued, or Diſſolved, but by Act of Parliament.* Which a Committee appointed thereunto having in leſs than an Hour prepared and brought into the Houſe, it was immediately read twice, and Committed, an Expedition ſcarce ever known in Parliament, and the next Day carry'd up to the Lords, who (tho' they at firſt had made ſome Amendments to it, the principal of which were, *That the Time ſhould not be left indefinite, but that it ſhould be Diſſolv'd in Two Years, except with Conſent of both Houſes*; this the Commons highly reſenting, their Lordſhips in the Hurry of Noiſe and Confuſion, when the Meetings of the People were ſo frequent, kindly conſented to it; and the King, by the Importunity of thoſe he moſt truſted, in the Agony of the other Diſpatch, was induced to include it in the Commiſſion with the Act of Attainder, and they were both paſs'd together. After the paſſing this Act, and Two other Bills, for aboliſhing the Star-Chamber Court, and the High Commiſſion, the larger Grievances ſeemed have been redreſſed.

But what Proviſion ſoever was made for the Publick, particular Perſons had received no Satisfaction. The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, and their high Proceedings in whatſoever the King was neareſt concern'd, left all thoſe, who had any Expectation of Offices and Preferments, deſperate in their Hopes; and yet an Accident happened, which might have been to 'em an Earneſt of future Encouragement. Some Paſſion aroſe at a Committee of the Lords in an Afternoon, between the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the

the Lord *Mowbray*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Arundel*, and from angry and diſdainful Words proceeded an Offer or Attempt of Blows; for which Miſdemeanor they were both the next Day ſent to the *Tower* by the Houſe of Lords: And the King, who had been long diſpleaſed with the inſolent indiſcreet Carriage of the Earl, took that Advantage to ſend for the Staff, and immediately put it into the Earl of *Eſſex* his Hands, who took it without any Heſitation. But this extraordinary Grace to this moſt popular Man in the Kingdom did not do the King's Buſineſs neither. 1641.

His Revenue was ſo far from being improved, that it was fallen much ſhort of it's uſual Dignity and Value. For, tho' upon paſſing the Temporary Bill, concerning Tonnage and Poundage, granting the ſame to His Majeſty for Two Months only, there were Promiſes made of a new Book of Rates, and a compleat Act, to His Majeſty's high Advantage in Point of Profit; yet when ſome, who expected full Satisfaction by ſuch an Act for Life, as had been uſual, moved it to the Houſe, when the Earl of *Strafford*'s Buſineſs was over, which had been always urged as neceſſary to precede all other Conſultations, they were preſently encountred with *The Odiouſneſs of the late Plot, which was not yet fully diſcovered; that notwithſtanding the King's Gracious Condeſcenſions in the late Acts, they had great Reaſon to fear ſome ill-affected Perſons ſtill inclined His Majeſty to the Diſſervice of the Parliament. That there had been a Deſign (as in time they ſhould be able to make appear clearly to the Houſe) not only to poiſon the Affections of the Army towards the Parliament, but to bring that Army up to* London, *with a Purpoſe to awe 'em. That the Confederates in this Deſign had taken an Oath to oppoſe the Removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, to maintain and defend the King's Prerogative to the utmoſt Extent, and to ſettle His Majeſties Revenue. That they had Reaſon to fear His Majeſties own Concurrence, at leaſt his Approbation of this Deſign: For they had clear Proof, that a Paper had paſſed His Majeſties Peruſal, full of many ſevere Invectives againſt the Parliament, and an Offer of Service to defend His Majeſties Perſon, which imply'd it was in Danger. And the better to en-*

1641. *courage all the Officers of the Army to ſign it, His Majeſty had himſelf written a* C *and an* R, *in token of his Approbation.*

300000 l. voted for a Gratuity to the *Scots*, beſides their Monthly Allowance

Moſt Men's Minds were ſtrangely moved with this Diſcourſe, ſo that the Two Houſes thought fit to undertake to *Preſent the* Scots *with* 300000 l. *beſides the* 23000 l. *a Month, whilſt their Stay here ſhould be thought neceſſary.* And this plainly looked as if they ſtood in need of their Friendſhip. We obſerved before, that upon Mr. *Pym*'s firſt Motion to the Houſe about a Plot, ſome Perſons of near Relation to His Majeſty immediately abſented themſelves; which were Mr. *Piercy* and Mr. *Jermyn*; the latter of which got ſafe into *France*; but Mr. *Piercy* deferring his Journey upon ſome Occaſions of his own, was diſcovered in ſome obſcure Place in *Suſſex*, near his Brother's Houſe, where he had concealed himſelf; and endeavouring to eſcape, was ſet upon by the Country People, and with great Difficulty, and not without ſome Hurt got from 'em. It was generally believed afterwards; that finding it almoſt impoſſible to tranſport himſelf into Foreign Parts, he found Means of returning to *London*, and was privately protected by his Brother, till his Hurt was cured, till the Strictneſs of the Enquiry was over, and till he had prepared that Letter to his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland*, which furniſhed the Committee with a double Evidence; for immediately upon the Receipt of that Letter from the Earl, they told the Houſe, *They were now prepared for a compleat Diſcovery*; and thereupon produced Colonel *Goring*'s Evidence, and Mr. *Piercy*'s Letter; all which Circumſtances ſo far tranſported the Houſe of Commons, that they quickly voted, *That there was a Deſign of bringing up the Army to force the Parliament*; reſolved to accuſe Mr. *Jermyn* and *Piercy* of High-Treaſon; committed *Wilmot*, *Aſhburn* and *Pollard* to ſeveral Priſons, and expelled them the Houſe, gave Colonel *Goring* publick Thanks, *For preſerving the Kingdom, and Liberties of Parliament*; and filled the People with Univerſal Applauſe of their great Wiſdom and Vigilancy.

Mr. *Piercy*'s Letter was the firſt viſible Inſtance of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s falling off from His Majeſties

Majeſties Service, which produced ſeveral ill Effects in the Minds of many. For as the Earl had the moſt unblemiſh'd Reputation both in Court and Country of any Man of his Quality in the Nation, ſo they, who knew him well, diſcerned that the Greatneſs of that Reputation proceeded purely from His Majeſties ſingular Grace and Favour, who from the late King's Death, to the very Minute of which we now ſpeak, proſecuted him with all manner of Reſpect and Kindneſs; and (as the King ſaid himſelf) *Courted him as his Miſtreſs, and converſed with him as his Friend*; and therefore many, who obſerved this great Lord purchaſe this Opportunity of diſſerving the King at the Expence of his Brother's Honour, and his own Gratitude, concluded the Court was much worſe than it appear'd to be. My Lord *C*--- detects the Matter thus, That the Earl being in great Trouble how to ſend his Brother away beyond Sea, conſulted with a confident Friend then in Power, who innocently brought Mr. *Pym* into the Council, who over-reached 'em both, by readily conſenting to Mr. *Piercy*'s Eſcape, the Earl's chief Care; but then obliged him, *Firſt to obtain ſuch a Letter from him, as might ſerve as an Evidence of the Plot after his Eſcape.* And thus the Letter was procured, which made a laſting Quarrel between the Two Brothers, and rendred the Earl more at the Devotion of thoſe Perſons whom he had truſted ſo far, than he had been before. 1641.

For my part, I do not wonder at all, (becauſe the thing is natural in it ſelf) that the Houſe of Commons took more upon 'em after the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, in every Reſpect, than they had done before. For being not to be diſſolved without their own Conſent, they called any Power they had a Mind to arrogate to themſelves, *A Branch of their Priviledge*; and any Oppoſition of that Power, *A Breach of their Privileges*; which all Men were bound to ſupport by their late Proteſtation; and they were the only proper Judges of their own Privileges. Hereupon they term'd whom they thought fit Delinquents, receiv'd all ſorts of Complaints, and committed whom they pleas'd to Priſon; and as if all other Privileges of

1641. Peers, and the King himſelf had been ſwallowed up in theirs, upon the Lord's rejecting a Bill ſent to 'em, *To compel all Perſons to take the late Proteſtation*; and the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts* having refus'd to take the ſame, they by a Vote declar'd, *That the Proteſtation was fit to be taken by every Perſon that was well-affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Commonwealth*; *and therefore, that what Perſon ſoever ſhould refuſe it, was unworthy to bear Office in the Church or Commonwealth*; and order'd further, *That the Vote ſhould be printed, and that the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend down Copies of it to their reſpective Corporations.*

The Two Armies were continued all this while at a vaſt Expence, many Men whiſpering, that the *Scots* would not return till the Bill againſt Epiſcopacy was paſs'd. Hereupon His Majeſty ſent 'em Word about the beginning of *July*, *That he deſired both Armies might be disbanded with all poſſible Speed*; *for the better doing whereof he had appointed the Earl of* Holland *General of his Army*, (the Earl of *Northumberland*, either for want of Health, or ſome other Reaſon, having reſign'd his Commiſſion) *and deſign'd to ſend him down thither forthwith, that His Majeſty himſelf, according to a Reſolution and Promiſe formerly made to* Scottiſh *Subjects, and for the better perfecting the Peace, meant once more to viſit that his Native Kingdom, and nam'd what Day* (about Fourteen Days after) *his Progreſs was to begin*; *and therefore wiſh'd 'em againſt that time to prepare ſuch Acts for the Good of the Kingdom, if any thing yet remained to be asked him, as were to receive His Majeſties Approbation.* However, they ſpent moſt of their time upon the Bill for the aboliſhing Biſhops, Deans and Chapters. It was much wondered at by many, why the King made Choice of the Earl of *Holland*, (tho' the Buſineſs was no more than Disbanding) rather than the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom perhaps a ſeaſonable Addition of Favour would in Time have made his perfect Creature; for tho' (according to *C*--) he was Proud and Ambitious, which Two Qualities were not attended with any Habit of ill Nature, he was naturally Faithful and Conſtant, and was very capable of being oblig'd. Then he was almoſt a declared Enemy

Enemy to the *Scots*, and would punctually have obſerved all Formalities and Decencies which any ways related to his Maſter's Honour, or that of the Nation. In ſhort, he might have been impoſed upon as to his Underſtanding, but could never have been corrupted either by Hope or Fear of the Two Houſes, and was more idoliz'd by the People, than really idolizing them. But in giving the Command to the Earl of *Holland*, the other who expected it, and to whom it had in ſome meaſure been offered, had Reaſon to be offended; for that it made him think the King diſtruſted him, and that His Majeſty had made him Chamberlain, rather becauſe none elſe could have borne the Envy of diſplacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than that there was any regard had to his own Merit and Honour. Beſides, the Earl of *Holland* was obnoxious to the Party, that was able to do Miſchief, by his Vigor in that great and terrible Office of Juſtice in *Eyre*, and other Particulars, ſo far, that they knew he durſt not offend 'em; but on the contrary, would buy their Favour and Protection at any Price: As it fell out, for ſome time after the King had paſs'd through the Army in his Way to *Scotland*, the Earl ſent a Letter, communicated to both Houſes, in which he hinted at ſome new Deſign of corrupting the Army, for which he could never after give the leaſt Colour, but it was of Uſe then to improve the old Jealouſies, and defeat whatever ſhould be offered in His Majeſties Behalf during his Abſence. 1641.

A Day had been fix'd in *July* for the King to paſs the Act for Pacification between the Two Kingdoms, in his Parliament in *Edinborough*; and it was reſolved on all Sides, that one Army ſhould be diſmiſs'd, and the other disbanded, before the King ſhould arrive in the North; but inſtead of forwarding that Work, the Commons declared, *There were ſtill ſome ill-affected Counſellors about His Majeſty, who obſtructed that Goodneſs and Bounty, which would otherwiſe naturally flow from him towards his People, and imprint a Diſlike in him of the Parliament it ſelf, and its Proceedings.* Their Intent (according to *C---*) was to drive the Duke of *Richmond* from the King, both becauſe they wanted his Office of Warden of

1641. the Cinque Ports for the Earl of *Warwick*, and for that he was in a manner the only conſiderable Man about the King that did not bow to 'em, but vigorouſly oppoſed all their Deſigns in the Houſe, and ſerved his Maſter with Honour and Reſolution; they could lay nothing like a Crime to his Charge, and therefore intended by ſome Vote to brand him, and make him odious. One Day whilſt they were very intent upon this Argument, and were about to name him, which hitherto they had not done, Mr. *Hyde* ſtood up, and ſaid, *He really believed the King had ſtill ſome evil Counſellors about him, whom it were much better to name, than to amuſe the Houſe with a general mention of 'em, as if they durſt not name 'em; that for his part, if a Day was appointed, he was ready to name one, whom upon due Reflections, he had great Reaſon to believe an evil Counſellor.*

They were mightily afraid he meant the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and for the future no more inſiſted upon the Diſcovery of evil Counſellors, tho' the Duke was never at reſt till they had forced him to reſign the Cinque Ports to the Earl of *Warwick*. And Mr. *Hyde*'s neareſt Friends were ſollicited to perſwade him not to attempt to prejudice the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*; and even His Majeſty himſelf was prevail'd with to ſend to him upon the ſame Score.

The Bill for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy read, and laid by.

As many expected the Houſe would enter upon no Buſineſs, till the Treaty of the Pacification was finiſh'd, they call'd one Morning for a Bill (brought in ſo long before by Sir *Edward Deering*) for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, read it a ſecond time, and committed it; and reſolved to proceed upon it the next Day; when there was a long Debate who ſhould be Chair-man of the Committee; they who were Friends to the Bill were for having Mr. *Hyde* in the Chair, that he might not by too frequent ſpeaking obſtruct it, and the other ſide were for Mr. *Crew*; but in Concluſion they who were for Mr. *Hyde* carry'd it, And after Twenty Days ſpent in that Matter, the King reſolving to begin his Journey for *Scotland*, they were forced to let it reſt; nor was it reſumed ever after, till the War began. For the Act of Pacification, and Order for Diſbanding, were thought

thought neceſſary to be diſpatch'd before His Majeſty ſhould begin his Progreſs, which on a ſudden drew the Houſe of Commons into a perplex'd Debate, many expreſſing dark and doubtful Apprehenſions of his Safety, not without ſome Inſinuations, *That were the King once with his Army, he might probably liſten to new Counſels before he conſented to diſband it*; and at laſt concluded, *To deſire the Lords to concur with 'em in a Requeſt to the King, to put off his Journey till the Act of Pacification was paſs'd, the Armies diſmiſs'd, and other Acts for the Behoof of the Kingdom ſhould be ready.* Thereupon both Houſes addreſs'd the King, (for indeed moſt Men were againſt his going into *Scotland*) who anſwer'd, *That the Houſes having had long Notice of His Majeſties Deſign for that Journey, he wonder'd they ſhould defer preparing what was neceſſary for his Approbation before he went; that he was content to comply with their Deſires ſo far, as to put it off a Fortnight longer; within which time they might provide whatever was of Importance, and it was not poſſible for him to exceed it.* 1641.

A Bill for ſettling the Militia.

This done, they dwelt ſtill upon their Fears and Jealouſies of the Peace of the Kingdom; of an Invaſion from abroad, and an Inſurrection of the Papiſts at home. Againſt all which, they ſaid, the Laws of the Realm had not yet made ſufficient Proviſion. And therefore Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* one Day brought in a Bill for ſettling the Militia by Sea and Land, in ſuch Hands as they ſhould.

Seconded by Solicitor *Saint-John.*

The Houſe was ſo generally offended at the very Title of this Bill, that they were for throwing it out without giving it a reading, and that with ſome Reproach to the Perſon that preferr'd it, *As a Matter of Sedition*: till *Saint-John* (who in Truth had drawn it) ſtood up, and ſaid, *He thought that Paſſion and Diſlike very improper, before the Bill was read; that every Member had an undoubted Privilege to propoſe any Law, or make any Motion, which in his Conſcience he thought uſeful to the Kingdom in general, or the Place where he ſerved in particular. As for the preſent Bill, he thought ſomething very neceſſary to be done was comprehended in it; for that ſuch a Power over the Militia, as was requiſite for the Security of the Kingdom, was not by Law veſted in any Perſon, or in the Crown it ſelf;*

1641. *ſelf; that ſince by their late Votes the Power of Lords-Lieutenants and their Deputies were determined, ſuch ought to be ſubſtituted in their Room, as might be able to ſuppreſs any Sedition, or repel an Invaſion, and therefore that the Bill ought to be read; and if any proper Expedient were found in it, to embrace it; if not, to think of a better; that when they were agreed upon the Power and Juriſdiction, it wou'd be then time enough for the Nomination of the Perſons; if the Matter ſeem'd too great for any Subject, it might be devolved upon the Crown, which had not yet a ſufficient Legal Power to the Purpoſes aforeſaid.*

This Diſcourſe from a Perſon of His Majeſties ſworn Council induced the Houſe to read the Bill; which was done with ſo univerſal a Diſlike, that it was never called for a ſecond time, but lay by, till a long while after the Subſtance of it was digeſted into Ordinances. In the mean time, the Day drawing near for the King's Departure, on a *Saturday* in the Afternoon (His Majeſty being to ſet out the *Monday* following) the Commons ſhewed a great Averſion to his going, and ſat all the next Day, in hopes to hinder it; but finding they could prevail no farther with His Majeſty, than whereas he intended to begin his Progreſs on *Monday*, after Dinner, to ſtay till *Tueſday* Morning, they earneſtly propoſed, *That he would leave a Power with ſome Perſons to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhould paſs both Houſes in his Abſence, and conſtitute a* Cuſtos Regni *to ſupply the Government till his Return.* But when they found ſuch a Commiſſion to paſs any Acts that were not agreed to by both Houſes at the Date of that Commiſſion, would be illegal; and that if the King were minded to comply with their Deſires, both the Perſon and Power of a *Cuſtos Regni* would require a great deal of Conſideration; there was a Commiſſion only given to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as Lieutenant-General on this ſide *Trent*, and the King having paſſed the Act of Pacification, began his Journey about the middle of *Auguſt*, leaving both Houſes ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

King goes for *Scotland.*

His Majeſties Privacy, tho' not Privy Counſellors, properly ſo called.

Sir *P. W.* tells us, That ſome little Time before (for Princes muſt have Counſellors) a new Triumvirate was raiſed; for the King had drawn over into his Party Three Perſons of the Houſe of Commons,

mons, who had ſeemed very lukewarm in his Intereſt, *viz.* Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, Sir *John Culpeper*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*. Theſe for ſome time lay hid, and were not diſcerned; and their Advices and Pens were moſt uſed upon emergent and important Diſputes betwixt the King and the Two Houſes: And they moſt commonly framed ſuch Anſwers, as were fit for the King to give in that Conjuncture; for they well knew the Temper of the Houſe of Commons, and were ſuppoſed to know that of the Nation. 1641.

He proceeds and ſays. Every one of theſe Perſons had ſome Eminency, diſtinct from the other: For the Lord *Faulkland* had prodigious Natural Parts, a Memory, and a Phanſie, which retained all it read or heard; and then as rhetorically ſet it forth; and his Notions were uſeful, and not common. He loved his Book, and ſo was a great Maſter of Books, but in Temper ſomewhat Hypochondriack; and therefore Men of Buſineſs often found that in him, which they practiced not themſelves, nor perchance would not, if they could have imitated him. That which crowned all was, that he was a Perſon of great Probity and Sincerity. Lord *Faulkland*.

Sir *John Culpeper* was a Man of as great a Memory as the other, and tho' not of an equal Learning, yet the Warmth of his Phanſie gave him a very ready Elocution. He excelled in making Inquiſition after, and Diſquiſition into any Affair, and whatever could be ſaid *Pro* and *Con*, fell within his Proſpect. So as Sir *P.* ſays, he had often heard him enumerate the ſeveral Opinions of at leaſt half a Score Perſons one after another, and diſtinctly and methodically anſwer every one: But he ſeldom made an entire Judgment of the Matter in queſtion; for his Apprehenſion was commonly better than his Reſolution; and he had an Eagerneſs or Ferocity, that made him leſs ſociable than his other Collegues; (for his Education and Converſe in the World had been in Part Military) and his Temper Haſty. Sir *John Culpeper*.

Sir *Edward Hyde* was of a cheerful and agreeable Converſation, of an extraordinary Induſtry and Activity, and of a great Confidence; which made him ſoon at home at a Court. His Natural Parts were very Sir *Edward Hyde*.

1641. very forward and ſound; his Learning was very good and competent; and he had a Felicity both of Tongue and Pen; which made him willingly harkened unto, and much approved; and having ſpent much of his Studies in the Law, this made his Diſcourſe and Writings the more ſignificant; and his Language and Stile were very ſuitable to Buſineſs, if not a little too redundant. So as it was ſuppoſed, tho' there was always a Concurrence of the others Two Judgments; that it was his Pen that was made moſt uſe of. Hence it was, that His Majeſties Propoſitions, Meſſages, Replys and Declarations were ſo well anſwering unto the Rules of the Houſe, and the Subject Matters treated of, and found ſo much better Acceptance with the World, than thoſe of the Houſe of Commons. Which for a time was very advantageous to His Majeſties Service; for it drew the Curtain, and made plain the Deceitfulneſs and unwarrantable Deſigns of the Contrivers in Parliament, and the Reaſonableneſs of His Majeſties Propoſitions. But he adds, he remember'd a wiſe Lord, who had great Influence on them all, would complain, that their Wit and Elegancy, as it was very delightful, ſo it would not long laſt uſeful: Since Conteſts betwixt a King and his Houſes of Parliament could not be ſeparated from ill Conſequences and Preſſures upon the reſt of the Subjects in general in their common Courſe of Life; and that would beget rather a Frowardneſs in Men to ſee ſuch Things treated of with Elegancy and Irony, than any Delight or Complacence; and therefore he was wont to ſay, *Our good Pen will harm us.*

A further Account of theſe Three great Men.

Theſe excellent Perſons, tho' they were great Maſters of Reaſon, yet could not pretend unto Experience; and being to pilot a Ship through a tempeſtuous Sea they never before had voyaged, (for they were to underſtand a Court, a Camp, and a Council-Board, all at once) it is rather to be wondred they did ſo well, than that they made ſome Errors. In this Conjuncture it was Neceſſity, that drew them into theſe great Affairs; but it is the uſual Vein of the Court of *England*, that it preſerves no Succeſſion among its Officers; nor gives Riſe unto Men by Gradations from one Employment unto

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a higher; and ſo chuſes its Miniſter of State, ſooner upon ſome Affection, and Recommendation of a Queen, or Favourite, or great Man, than upon the Qualification of the Perſon choſen: Too often thinking, that the Prince's Favour ſupplies his Miniſter's Reaſon, and that his Reaſon will not ſtand in Need of Experience. 1641.

Now the King perceiving his *Iriſh* Army was not likely to be employ'd in the Uſe for which it was raiſed, (which was to have made *Scotland* a Viſit) and finding an invidious Mention made often of it in the Houſe of Commons, reſolv'd to disband 'em, giving free Leave to any Officer of the Army, to tranſport what Men he could get of it into the Service of any Foreign Prince in Peace with this Crown; and ſhortly after, upon the earneſt Application of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, conſented that 4000 Men of that Army ſhould be ſent to ſerve the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*, and at the ſame time permitted as many as deſired it, to go into the Service of the *French* King. This the Houſe of Commons oppoſed with their utmoſt Might, and prevail'd with the King to forbid any of thoſe Soldiers to go into the Service of any Prince whatſoever. This Activity (according to my Lord *C*---) was thought to be owing to the Inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador, who was very intimate with the chief of the Faction; and ſome ſaid boldly, and One or Two ſince affirm'd it, as upon their Knowledge, *That Mr.* Pym *was gratify'd with* 5000 l. *by that Miniſter, for hindring the Supply to* Spain. But he believes the principal Motive was the Deſire of the Committee from the Parliament of *Ireland*; who queſtionleſs had ſome Proſpect of the Rebellion, which ſhortly after broke out; which if that Body of Men had been ſent abroad, would hardly have taken Effect.

H[illegible] ie- f[illegible] s h[illegible] ir- n[illegible] s[illegible].

T[illegible] *Iriſh* Army Diſbanded.

The King being ſet out upon his Journey, all neceſſary Care was taken for Disbanding the Army; and it was reſolv'd, *That a Committee of Lords and Commons ſhould attend His Majeſty into* Scotland; *to be preſent when the Act of Pacification ſhould be tranſacted there, and preſerve that good Correſpondence that was begun between the Two Nations.*

When

1641. When this Buſineſs was diſpatch'd, they thought it time to breath a little, and viſit their Reſpective Countries, who had receiv'd ſuch notable Services from 'em, and ſo about the latter end of *Auguſt* (having firſt appointed a Committee to ſit in their Abſence, for the Diſpatch of any important Matters, that occurred) they adjourned till the middle of *October* following; having, during their Nine Months ſitting, obtain'd the King's Aſſent to theſe important Laws following.

**An Act for Triennial Parliaments.**

A Bill for Triennial Parliaments; which contained many Clauſes in it prejudicial to Majeſty, in caſe the Crown ſhould omit ſending out the Writs. Yet ſince it was plain, that great Inconveniences had happened through a Diſuſe of Parliaments, and that the Crown could in no wiſe ſuffer, but through its own Default, it gain'd an eaſie Paſſage through both Houſes, and was enacted by His Majeſty the next Day after.

**An Act for aboliſhing the High-Commiſſion Court.**

An Act for aboliſhing the High-Commiſſion Court. It was erected in the Firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was of great Uſe for the maintaining the Peace and Dignity of the Church, whilſt it was exerciſed with Moderation. But of late, the great Power of ſome Biſhops at Court had made it overflow its Banks, and thereupon gain'd it many Enemies, ſo that the Propoſition for taking it away was readily liſten'd to; which the hotter Party obſerving, they who prepared the Bill added Clauſes, that did not only aboliſh that, but tended to deſtroy all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; yet it got a Paſſage through both Houſes, and waited for the Royal Aſſent. But when the King underſtood the Extent thereof, he pauſed a little, till both Houſes had conſidered, if the Remedy was ſuitable to the Diſeaſe. Upon this the Fire was kindled againſt the Biſhops, as the only Enemies to Reformation; inſinuating, *That ſince they oppoſed a juſt Regulation of their Power, the only Way was to tear 'em Root and Branch.* Whereupon the Biſhops themſelves beſought the King to paſs the Bill for their own ſakes.

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An Act for taking away the Star-Chamber Court; which of late was grown ſo exorbitant, that there were few Perſons, who had not ſuffer'd by it. For they had enlarged their Juriſdiction, from the Conuſance of Riot, Perjury, and the moſt notorious Miſdemeanors, to the vindicating all Proclamations and Orders of State; to the maintaining illegal Commiſſions, and Grants of Monopolies, ſo that no Man was free from the Laſh of it any longer than he reſolved to ſubmit to thoſe, and ſuch like extraordinary Courſes. And therefore, when a Bill was brought in to limit and regulate the Proceedings of that Court, it was ſuddenly ſuggeſted by a Member, (no Friend to Confuſion, or that Party who intended it) *That he conceived the proper Remedies for ſo inveterate a Diſeaſe would be entirely to abolish that Court, which it was very difficult, it may be impoſſible to reform.* Whereupon the Frame of that Bill was ſo far alter'd, that it ſerv'd utterly to take away that Court.

An Act for taking away the Star-Chamber Court.

An Act to aſcertain the Meets, Bounds and Limits of all Foreſts; which was of great Benefit to the People, who had been ſo intolerably troubled by the Juſtice in *Eyre*'s Seat, that few Men were ſure their Eſtates and Seats might not be brought within the Juriſdiction of ſome Foreſt; which would coſt 'em great Fines. And therefore, to eaſe 'em for the future, the King renounc'd his own immediate Right, which the Year before was thought at leaſt to be worth 200000 *l.* without any Complaint.

An Act for the aſcertaining the Limits of Foreſts.

An Act for limiting the Office of Clerk of the Market of His Majeſties Houſe; by which the People were delivered from many petty Vexations, and Extortions, exerciſed over 'em by the Deputies and Agents for that Office.

An Act for limiting the Clerk of the Market's Office.

An Act for the preventing vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood; by which, to atone for the late rigorous Proceedings upon that Claim, His Majeſty releaſed to his People an abſolute Right, the Diſcharge of it was a ſingular Benefit and Advantage to the Subject.

An Act for preventing vexatious Proceedings touching Knighthood.

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An Act for the free making Salt-Petre and Gunpowder within the Kingdom; which was a Part of the Prerogative. The Pretence for this Exemption was, *The unwarrantable Proceedings of those who had been entrusted in that Employment*; by whom undoubtedly many Men had been oppress'd: Tho' some will have it that the true Reason was, That they might upon Occasion have a good Stock of that Commodity in Readiness.

An Act for the free making Salt-Petre and Gunpowder.

An Act against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannery Courts; designed chiefly for the Benefit of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, the Inhabitants whereof had been much abused by the Impositions of that Court.

An Act concerning the Stannery Courts.

An Act adjudging all the Proceedings relating to Ship Money void.

An Act against Ship-Money.

All these were certainly good and necessary Acts in the main; and if any of them occasioned the Diminution of the Rights of the Crown, they were nothing to the fatal Bill that perpetuated this Parliament.

We might have taken Notice before the Recess of the Parliament of several Impeachments of Treason and High Misdemeanors exhibited by the Commons against the Judges that had formerly given their Opinions in Favour of Ship-Money and other Arbitrary Proceedings; as also how the Parliament concurred with His Majesty in a Manifesto in Favour of the King's Nephew the Elector *Palatine*, which had but little Effect upon that unfortunate Prince's Affairs; but now let us accompany His Majesty into *Scotland*, where on the Nineteenth of *August* he was pleased to make this Speech to his Parliament Convened at *Edinburg*.

King's Speech to the *Scotch* Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky Differences which have hapned between me and my People, and nothing that I have more desired, than to see this Day wherein I hope, not only to settle these unhappy Mistakings, but rightly to know, and to be known to my Native Country.*

*I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what Difficulties I have passed through, and over-*

*come*

*come to be here preſent; yet this I will ſay, if Love to my Native Country had not been a chief Motive to this Journey; other Reſpects might eaſily have found a Shift to do that by Commiſſion which I am come to perform my ſelf. And this conſidered, I cannot doubt of ſuch real Teſtimonies of your Affections, for the Maintenance of that Royal Power which I enjoy, after a Hundred and Eight Deſcents, and which you have profeſſed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I ſhall not think any Pains ill beſtowed.* 1641.

*Now the end of my coming is, ſhortly, this, to perfect whatſoever I have promiſed, and withal to quiet the Diſtractions which have and may fall out amongſt you. And this I mind not ſuperficially, but fully and chearfully to perform, for I do aſſure you that I can do nothing with more Chearfulneſs, than to give my People a general Satisfaction; wherefore not offering to endear my ſelf unto you in Words (which indeed is not my Way) I deſire, in the firſt Place, to ſettle that which concerns the Religion and Juſt Liberties of this my Native Country, before I proceed to any other Act.*

His Majeſty performed his Promiſe to them effectually; for during his Reſidence in *Scotland*, about Three Months, he ſpent moſt of his Time in Confirming all they had done, and Conferring Titles of Honour upon thoſe, (as Sir *P. W.* ſays) who had moſt demerited of him; but for the Proceedings of this Parliament at large there is nothing remaining but the Titles of ſome Acts, which you have in the third Part of the Firſt Volume of *Ruſhworth*, as he ſays, he cauſed them to be tranſcribed out of the Records, after the Battle of *Dunbar*, to which the Curious are referred; and he adds withal, That he the rather publiſhed them, for that the Records of that Kingdom were irrecoverably loſt, for being brought from thence to the *Tower* of *London*, and ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. ordered to be ſent back; the Ship that carried them was moſt unfortunately, ſome ſaid on purpoſe, caſt away in her Paſſage to *Scotland*.

But to reſume our *Engliſh* Affairs again, the Earl of *Holland* (according to my Lord *C*---) being diſguſted that the King, then at *York*, in his Way to *Scotland*,

1641. *Scotland*, would not make a Baron, which might then have been worth him 10000 *l.* and about the ſame time, having been informed by Sir *Jacob Aſhley* and Sir *John Conyers*, of ſome Paſſages in the late tampering with the Army, that had not been before heard of. As ſoon as the King was gone on his Journey, the Earl ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be by him Communicated in Parliament, *That he found there had been ſtrange Attempts to debauch and pervert the Army, but he did not doubt he ſhould be able to prevent any Miſchief.* The whole Letter was couch'd in ſo myſterious a Senſe, that Men were eaſily perſwaded it related to ſomething they had never yet been informed of; and by the Date it bore, it ſeemed to reflect on ſomething the King ſhould have been attempting. So that it revived their old Fears, and infus'd new ones into the People; every Man drawing what Senſe he thought fit, from what none of 'em could underſtand. Hereupon an Order of both Houſes was made, for the diſarming all Papiſts. Soon after the King began his Progreſs, upon a Motion of Adjourning the Houſes till after *Michaelmas*, which was generally approved of, many Members of both Houſes, willing to refreſh themſelves after ſo long an Abſence from Home, (eſpecially the Plague increaſing in Town, of which ſome Members had died) and imagining there was little more to be done till the King's Return, went into the Country; and others, who remained in Town, were leſs careful to attend the publick Service, but betook themſelves to thoſe Diverſions and Refreſhments that were more agreeable; inſomuch, as in leſs than Three Weeks after the King's Remove there were not left above 20 Lords, and about 100 Commoners, in both Houſes. But this was the Advantage ſome wanted; for they to whom the whole Conduct of the Reformation was committed, were ſure to ſtick cloſe to their Attendance, and ſo they now took upon themſelves the Conſultation of the higheſt Matters both in Church and State; but more particularly they enter'd upon the Debate of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, propoſed, *There might, in Regard of tender Conſciences, be Liberty to lay it aſide.* Which Propoſition, tho' it was made in a thin Houſe, by thoſe who

who were of the greateſt Authority, yet it was voted by the major Part, *That it ſhould ſtill be duly obſerved.* Notwithſtanding which, the next Day, when many who had been buſie in the Debate were abſent, they ſuſpended that Vote, and reſolved, *That the ſtanding of the Communion-Table ſhould be changed in all Churches; the Rails ſhould be pulled down, and the Chancel levelled with the reſt of the Church, and that no Man ſhould dare to bow at the Name of* Jeſus. Which Reſolutions being digeſted into an Order, it was carried up to the Houſe of Peers, who at preſent were ſo far from joining with 'em, that they directed a former Order of the Houſe of Peers, made the 16th of *January* before, to be printed, to this Purpoſe, *That the Divine Service ſhould be performed, as it is ſet down in the Acts of Parliament of this Realm; and that whoever diſturbed that wholeſome Order, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed according to Law*; and informed the Commons thereof, who nothing ſatisfied, purſued their own Order, and requiring all the Commons of *England*, *To ſubmit to their Direction*, declared, *The Order of the Lords was obtained by the Conſent of no more than Eleven of that Houſe, and that Nine others diſſented from it; and therefore that they ſhould pay no Obedience to it.* Whereas 'twas an Order made in full Parliament ſeveral Months before, and was by the major Part preſent ſeaſonably directed to be printed upon that emergent Occaſion. 1641.

One Article in the Act of Pacification was, *That there ſhould be a Publick and Solemn Day of Thankſgiving for a Peace between the Two Nations:* But no Time being fixed for that Act of Devotion, the Lords and Commons aſſumed to themſelves the the Power of appointing it; and to that End iſſued out an Ordinance, (as they term'd it) *That it ſhould be kept on the 7th of* September *following throughout* England *and* Wales; which was accordingly done; and after that Day's Solemnity, and the Commons Declaration againſt the Lords, about the Order mentioned before, and Recommendation of ſome of their own Miniſters, to be Lecturers in the Churches about *London*; they agreed to a Receſs, and ſo the

1641. House Adjourn'd from the 9th of *September*, to the 20th of *October* following. Each House constituting a Committee to meet twice a Week, or oftner upon Occasion, to transact such Business, during the Recess, as they were empowered to do by their Instructions.

Both Houses adjourn to *Oct.* 20.

The Power of the Committee of the Lords House.

The Instructions to the Committee for the House of Lords, (consisting of the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, the Lords *Wharton*, *Kimbolton*, and 12 more, but every Three had as full Power to act, as the whole Number, extended *only to the opening the Letters that should be sent from the Committee in* Scotland, *and the answering 'em; with Power to recal that Committee, if they thought it convenient; to remit Money to the Armies, and assist towards their Disbanding; and the removing the Magazines from* Berwick *and* Carlisle. But the Commons thinking this too restrained a Power for their Committee, they qualified theirs (who were Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Saint-John*, Mr. *Strode*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Harry Vane*, Alderman *Pennington*, Captain *Venn*, and others, every Six having as full Power as the whole) not only with such Powers as were granted to the Lords, but also *to proceed against such Delinquents as had been complained of to the House, and receive any Offers of Discovery they should make; to stir up all Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in their Duty, in repressing Riots and Tumults, and report to the House any Remisness in Obedience to their Commands; to receive the Accompts of any Accomptants to the Crown, in order to the Preparation of His Majesties Revenue; to think upon a Frame and Constitution for a* West-India *Company, and examine into the Fishing upon the Coasts of* England, Ireland *and* Scotland, and several other Clauses, which heightened the Authority of the Committee, and drew to 'em almost a general Application and Reverence. The Houses thus Adjourned, Mr. *Pym* was appointed Chair-man of the Committee for the Commons, who immediately, signed the Printed Declarations before mentioned, and ordered 'em to be read in all Churches; which occasioned some Disorders and Undecencies.

Of the House of Commons.

The Armies Disbanded.

At length the Armies were Disbanded, and the Earl of *Holland* returned in great State to his House at

at *Kenſington*, where he was preſently viſited, and careſs'd by all the Party oppoſite to the Court; his Lordſhip arm'd 'em with ſeveral Informations of ſome Occurrences in the late Army, that might be apply'd to the King's Diſadvantage; diſcovered to 'em what the King himſelf had ſaid to him, when he thought him firm to his Intereſt, and when, it's very likely, he was not well pleaſed with the Proceedings at *Weſtminſter*; and all the Particulars that Sir *Jacob Aſhley* and Sir *John Conyers* had entruſted with him, when they looked on him as devoted to His Majeſties Service; together with whatſoever the Lady *Carliſle* had told the Queen ſaid or did, which might ſerve to raiſe their Jealouſie or Malice to Her Majeſty. And he himſelf, (my Lord *C*--- adds) who had been always cheriſh'd by the Queen, and ſupported by her againſt the Intereſt of the Earls of *Portland* and *Strafford*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which would otherwiſe have cruſhed him, waited on Her Majeſty but once from the time of his Return out of the North, during the King's Abſence; and yet ſome who were Members of thoſe private Meetings at *Kenſington*, ſtill thought her Favour a greater Step to Preferment, than the Intereſt they could purchaſe in the others; and therefore always advertiſed her of what paſſed at thoſe Meetings: Which for want of a diſcreet Management, and thro' the Treachery of his neareſt Servants, turned more to their Advantage than her own. 1641.

In the mean time the ſmall Committee of the Two Houſes (as hath been before obſerved) that was appointed to attend the King into *Scotland*, for the better maintaining a Correſpondence between the Two Kingdoms, and to ſee all Things performed there relating to the Act of Pacification. Conſiſted of the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, a younger Son of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, who married a Niece of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s whilſt he ſat at the Helm, and was by him made a Baron; but that Dependance expiring by the Duke's and his Wive's Death, he became devoted to that Party that was averſe to it; in Confidence of which he was deputed to that Employment, entirely to be governed by the Two Members of the Houſe of Commons

1641. joined with him, who were Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Mr. *Hambden*. The latter of theſe muſt on all Occaſions be allowed a Perſon of great Addreſs and Abilities, fit for any Employment he had a Mind to undertake. The other, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, was a Gentleman by Birth; but being a Branch of a younger Family, was Maſter of but a ſlender Fortune, of about 500 *l.* a Year in *Yorkſhire*, and had ſpent much of his Time in Dogs and Horſes, the accuſtomary Amuſements of that Country. Being choſen to ſerve in Parliament, he ſtruck in with his Neighbours, *Hotham* and *Cholmondley*, and growing intimate with the whole Party, he in a ſhort time appeared rather to be without good Breeding, than to be incapable of it; and ſo they aſſociated him with Mr. *Hambden* in this Employment, to be ſeaſoned by the Inſtructions of ſo experienced a Maſter.

Mr. *Hambden.*

Sir *P. Stapleton.*

Tranſactions in *Scotland*, relating to *Montroſs*, *Argyle*, and *Hamilton.*

From the time the *Scottiſh* Army came into *England* there had been many Jealouſies between the Great Men of that Nation, but none ſo much obſerved as thoſe between the Earls of *Montroſs* and *Argyle*. The former thought he had deſerved more than any Man in his early Commodious Approaches towards Rebellion, (as my Lord *C* -- terms it) which he made the ſooner, perhaps, in Oppoſition to *Argyle*, who being then of the King's Council, he concluded would be of his Majeſty's Intereſt; but *Argyle*, immediately upon the firſt Pacification, having declared himſelf againſt the King, *Montroſs*, by ſecret Inſinations, offered his Service to him; and after His Majeſties Arrival in *Scotland*, came privately to the King, and acquainted him with many Particulars, *That* Hamilton *was as great a Traitor as* Argyle, and offered *to make it appear to the Parliament*; but deſired rather to have 'em both diſpatched, and readily undertook to do it himſelf; but the King, averſe to that Expedient, adviſed him to prepare the Proofs for the Parliament; when all of a ſudden, on a *Sunday* Morning, *Edinborough* was up in Arms, and *Hamilton* and *Argyle* withdrawn out of Town to their own Houſes, where they ſtood upon their Guards, declaring openly, *That they had withdrawn themſelves to prevent their being Aſſaſſinated, which they choſe rather, than by ſtanding upon their Defence*

*at* Edenbrough, *to interrupt the Publick Peace, and disturb the Parliament.* A perplex'd Account of this was immediately dispatched from the Committee at *Edinbrough* to *London*, with some Ambiguous Expressions concerning it, and what the End of it would be; and covertly insinuating, that the Design might look farther than *Scotland*; and these Dispatches reaching *London* the Day before the Parliament was to meet after the late Recess: It was believed by many, *That the Design of Necessity must aim at higher Matters than the Assassination of those Lords at* Edenborough. And Mr. *Hyde* walking with the Earls of *Holland* and *Essex* in *Westminster-Hall* the Morning the Houses were to meet, they both expressed a wonderful Concern at it, as believing, others had Reason to apprehend the same Assaults; Mr. *Hyde* thinking that Fear needless, told 'em merrily, *He knew what Opinion they both had of these Two Lords a Year or Two before, and wonder'd from whence that Alteration could proceed.* They answered, *That the Times and the Court were much changed.* And as soon as the Houses sate, and the Committee's Letter from *Scotland* was read, it was moved, *A Message might be sent to the House of Peers, that the Earl of* Essex, *whom the King had left General on this Side* Trent, *might be desired to order such a Guard as he thought sufficient for the Security of the Parliament*; which was done accordingly, and continued till they thought fit to have others.

1641.

The Earl of *Essex* appointed a Guard to attend the Parliament.

The Rebellion of *Ireland*, during His Majesties Stay in *Scotland*, made a wonderful Impression upon the Minds of all Men. The miraculous Discovery of their Design upon *Dublin* the Night before it was executed, prevented the Surprizal of the Castle; gave the Government an Opportunity of apprehending the Principal Conspirators, and preserved that City. The Time appointed was observed in the other Parts of the Kingdom, where the Disappointment at *Dublin* was not known. Forty or Fifty Thousand *English* Protestants were murdered by a general Insurrection of the *Irish*, before they suspected any Danger, or could draw into Towns, or strong Houses, and provide for their Defence. One *Oconelly*, who had formerly served Sir *John Clotworthy*,

The *Irish* Rebellion.

1641. *tby*, and was the Man that made the Diſcovery, was diſpatched from *Dublin*, with an Expreſs to the Lord *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and from *Ulſter*, and the Northern Parts, an Expreſs was ſent to the King himſelf at *Edenborough*; and His Majeſties Letters from thence to the Parliament, reached *London* within leſs than Two Days after the Meſſenger from *Dublin*, tho' it's ſtrangely remarkable that notwithſtanding the Maſſacre and Rebellion brake out on the 23d of *October*, yet the King did not proclaim them Rebels till the 1ſt of *January*, and then by Proclamation, gave a ſtrict Command that no more than Forty of them ſhould be printed, and that none of them ſhould be publiſhed till His Pleaſure was further ſignified. The Lord *Leiceſter*, immediately upon the Receipt of the Letters from *Dublin*, cauſed the Council to be ſummon'd, and inform'd 'em of the Condition of *Ireland*, as far as thoſe Letters contained, which was little more than the Diſcovery at *Dublin*, and the Confeſſion of the Conſpirarors. The Council reſolved to go in a Body the next Morning, being *Monday*, to the Houſe of Commons, (for the Houſe of Peers had Adjourn'd it ſelf till the *Wedneſday* following) and inform them of it, which they did accordingly. Moſt Men's Heads being fill'd with Imaginations of Plots and Traiterous Deſigns throughout the Three Kingdoms, a deep Silence and Conſternation poſſeſſed the whole Houſe; for the Affair ſeemed to be out of their Cogniſance; and when the King's Letters arrived, they were glad he had received the News of it, at a time when he could adviſe with ſo good a Council, that was then about him. The King had then no Information of the Diſcovery at *Dublin*; but the Letters from *Ulſter* (which he ſent to the Parliament) adviſed him, *Of a general Inſurrection in thoſe Parts; of the barbarous Murders committed there upon abundance of Proteſtants, and that Sir* Philim O Neil *appeared at the Head of the Rebels.* Upon which His Majeſty acquainted the Two Houſes, *That he was ſatisfied 'twas no unadviſed Inſurrection, but a premeditated Rebellion, which muſt be repreſſed by a vigorous War; the Management whereof he wholly reſigned to their Care and Wiſdom; that for the preſent*

be

*he had ordered a ſtout Regiment of* 1500 *Foot, commanded by experienced Officers, to be tranſported out of* Scotland *into* Ulſter, *for the Relief of thoſe Parts.* 1641.

Thereupon they appointed a Committee of both Houſes, *to conſider the Affairs of* Ireland, *and provide a Supply of Men, Arms and Money, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion.* Whatever Letters the Lord Lieutenant received he communicated firſt to them, (being himſelf one of the Committee) and they reported 'em to the Houſe, who were thereby poſſeſſed of a large Power and Dependance; all Men making their Application to their chief Leaders among 'em, for their Preferments in that War; a Miſchief, (ſays C---) tho' at firſt little conſidered, the King felt afterwards very ſeverely. However it were, broad Inſinuations were made, *That this Rebellion was contrived and fomented by the King, or at leaſt the Queen, to advance Popery; that the Rebels themſelves had declared they had His Majeſties Authority for what they did*; which in Charity muſt be thought a meer Calumny, whatever Colour of Truth it might bear.

We cannot here enter upon every Pace made by the Parliament for the Suppreſſion of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, it's enough to obſerve, that as the State of Affairs then were in *England*, they were not defective on their Part, wherefore let us take Notice that a Committee having been appointed at the beginning of the Parliament, *To prepare and draw up a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, and the particular Grievances of the Nation*; it hardly ſate, or was ever ſpoken of afterwards, till now Mr. *Strode* moved, *That the Committee might be revived and ordered to meet*; and ſome time after a new Bill was preferred in the Houſe, *For the taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, and for diſabling them to hold any Temporal Office in the Kingdom.* To which it was objected, *That to prefer any Bill, which had been rejected the ſame Seſſion, was contrary to the Courſe and Order of Parliament*; but to this they replied, *That ſomes Clauſes in this Bill varied from the former, and that the Safety of the Kingdom hanged entirely upon it*; and ſo, without any conſiderable Oppoſition, it paſſed the Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords. In the mean time

The Committee revived for drawing up a Remonſtrance.

A new Bill to take away Biſhops Votes.

1641. the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, *Chicheſter* and *Briſtol*, being void, by Death or Tranſlation, the King, during his Stay in *Scotland*, preferred to thoſe Sees Dr. *Prideaux*, Divinity Profeſſor in *Oxford*; Dr. *Winniff*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s; Dr. *Brownerigg*, Maſter of *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*; Dr. *Henry King*, Dean of *Litchfield*; and Dr. *Weſtfield*, of Great St. *Bartholomew's*, *London*; all conſiderable Men. But the Houſe of Commons, upon the News of the Deſignation, earneſtly urged, *That the Lords might be moved to join with 'em, in ſending to the King, to defer making any new Biſhops, till the Controverſie concerning Church-Government ſhould be decided*: And it was carried by the major Part, *That a Committee ſhould be appointed, to draw up Reaſons for the Lords, to join with them in that Deſire to the King.*

The King fills up divers vacant Biſhopricks.

It offends the Commons.

Being unable to prevent the Creation of the new Biſhops, they urged the Houſe of Peers to diſpatch that Work before 'em, e'er they could by their Confirmation, and other Ceremonies, be qualified to increaſe the Number of their Oppoſers, and demanded, *That no Recuſant Lord, or any Biſhop, might give his Vote in the paſſing that Bill*; *the laſt being Parties, the other conſider'd as improper Judges in the Kingdom's Behalf.* But finding that would not do, they preſſed with more Colour and Formality, that the Thirteen Impeach'd Biſhops might be expell'd the Houſe till they ſhould be brought to Judgment, with which the Houſe of Peers comply'd.

While theſe Things were tranſacting, it's fit we ſhould attend His Majeſty home from *Scotland*, where beſides his giving way to the altering of *the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops*, In Conſideration that he muſt of Neceſſity be abſent from that his Native Kingdom, it was thought convenient, *That the Abſolute Government thereof ſhould be entruſted with the Lords of the Secret Council*; *who were likewiſe made Conſervators of the Peace of the Two Kingdoms, during the Intervals of the Parliament, by whom theſe Conſervators were to be named, and which once in Three Years was to Aſſemble without any Summons from the King, if by ſuch a Day he neglected the Publication of ſuch Summons.* And for the ſame Reaſon, *All great Officers, as Chancellor, Treaſurer, Secretary,*

*cretary, and the reſt, were to be appointed by Parliament, or in the Interval by the Lords of the Secret Council*; before his Departure, as already hinted, His Majeſty made the Lord *Lowden* the principal Manager of the late Troubles, an Earl and Chancellor of *Scotland*, and conferr'd the other great Offices as he was directed. The Earl of *Argyle* he made a Marqueſs; their great General *Leſley*, Earl of *Leven*; their Lieutenant-General, Earl of *Calender*; and laſtly, (without any Conſideration for his own Friends, except a Pardon he obtain'd for 'em from the Parliament, upon Condition, *They came not near his Preſence, nor preſumed to receive any Benefit from him without their Conſent*) His Majeſty beſtow'd all the Lands of the Church, devolv'd to him, and whatever elſe he had to give in *Scotland*, to thoſe who diſcover'd it was not in good Hands before. All which, the King's Reception at his Return made him ſenſible of, when it was too late. 1641.

King confers Honours in *Scotland*.

When firſt the News was brought of his ſetting out from *Scotland*, and that all Things were accommodated there to the general Sstisfaction, the Committee for preparing the Remonſtrance offer'd the Draught they had made to the Houſe, and it was order'd to be read. It contain'd an Account of all the Illegal Practices from the firſt Hour of the King's Succeſſion to the Crown, down to that very Minute; not without ſome Reflections upon the King himſelf, the Queen and Council.

The Remonſtrance read in the Houſe.

It ſeemed generally to be diſliked in the Houſe, many ſaying, *It was moſt unneceſſary, for that all the Grievances ſet forth in it were already redreſſed; and it was unreaſonable, when the King had conceded to 'em in whatever they deſired, after ſo long an Abſence to be now welcomed home with ſuch a Load of Reproaches, for what others had done amiſs, and which he himſelf had Reformed.* Notwithſtanding all which, the other Party deliver'd themſelves with as high Expreſſion, and inſinuated, *That without a ſeaſonable Care to diſappoint ſome Counſels that were ſtill liſten'd to, they were in great Danger of loſing all the good Acts they had obtained:* And in the end prevailed to have a Day ſet apart, wherein the Remonſtrance ſhould be retaken into the Conſideration of the whole Houſe.

And

1641. And in the mean time made uſe of all their Credit and Skill to perſwade particular Men, that the paſſing the Remonſtrance was the only Expedient to preſerve and maintain all thoſe good Laws they had already made; applying to different Perſons, according to their particular Inclinations and Humour; aſſuring many it was deſign'd only to mortifie the Court, and curb the malignant Party that began then to be growing in the Houſe; which being done, it ſhould remain after that in the Clerk's Hands, and never be publiſh'd. When the Day came, in which it was to be reſumed, all the Morning was ſpent in other Debates, and the Remonſtrance, not called for till it was near Noon; and when ſome urged it was then too late to enter upon it, it was agreed it ſhould be deferr'd till the next Morning, and every Clauſe to be debated, the Speaker being in the Chair, for they thought it would take up too much time to reſolve the Houſe into a Committe. *Oliver Cromwell* (of little Repute, ſays *Cl---*, at that time in the Houſe) ak'd the Lord *Faulkland* why he was for deferring it; for it might have met with a ſpeedy Determination that very Day: And when my Lord anſwer'd, *There would not have been Time ſufficient, for ſurely it would require ſome Debate*, the other reply'd, *A very ſorry one*; concluding, by the Computation they had made, it would meet with but a ſlender Oppoſition. But he quickly found he had been out in his reckoning; for the Debate beginning about Nine next Morning, it continued all that Day till Twelve at Night with much Paſſion, and the Houſe dividing at laſt upon the Paſſing or not Paſſing it, it was carried in the Affirmative by the Majority of Nine Voices; and thereupon Mr. *Hambden* moved, an Order might be made for the preſent Printing it, which created a ſharper Debate than the former. Mr. *Hyde*, as ſoon as the Motion was made, ſaid ſomething warmly, *He believ'd it was not lawful to Print it, before it was ſent up to the Houſe of Peers for their Concurrence, and fear'd it might be miſchievous in the Effect*, and therefore deſired, if the Queſtion when it was put ſhould be carry'd in the Affirmative, he might have Leave to enter his Proteſtation; whereupon Mr. *Palmer*, and after him many others, with-

without Diſtinction, cry'd out, *They did proteſt*; ſo that there was ſcarce any quiet Debate after it; but the Houſe being compoſed by Degrees, about Two a Clock in the Morning they unanimouſly conſented to Adjourn till Two the next Afternoon: And when the Houſe roſe, the Lord *Falkland* ask'd Mr. *Cromwell*, *If there had been a Debate or no?* He anſwer'd, *He would believe him another time*, and aſſured him in his Ear. *That had the Remonſtrance been rejected, he never wou'd have ſeen* England *more, and he knew many other honeſt Men of the ſame Reſolution.* 1641.

The greateſt Part of the next Day was ſpent in private Conſultations, and a Reſolution taken not to admit that Preſident, *That Men ſhould proteſt againſt the Senſe of the Houſe*; which indeed was not uſual; and Mr. *Hyde* being the firſt that proteſted, or rather as'd Leave to do ſo, occaſioned the ſubſequent Clamour; which indeed was very diſorderly. But here they were divided among themſelves; all the leading Men were glad of this Opportunity, to be rid of *Hyde*; but Sir *John Hotham*, *Cholmondley*, and *Stapleton*, in Memory to the Service he had done 'em againſt the Court of *York*, oppoſed queſtioning of him, but were ready to join in proſecuting the reſt, whereof there was a ſufficient Number. This grew to ſo great a Difference among 'em, that for the preſent they agreed no farther, than that they would take Care that Afternoon that the Matter ſhould be enter'd upon the next Morning, and would conſider at Night what Perſon to fall upon. Mr. *Pym* lamentend to the Houſe, about Three a Clock, when it met, the Diſorders of the Night before, *Which, he ſaid, might have engaged 'em in Blood; which was owing principally to the Proteſtation offer'd, a thing never known there before, and a Tranſaction that ought to be examined into, that no Miſchief might hereafter flow from that Precedent; and therefore propos'd the Houſe would enter the next Morning upon that Examination, that Men in the mean time might recollect themſelves, and they who were the moſt guilty might be named, and make the beſt of their Defence.* With this Reſolution the Houſe adjourn'd; many wearing the Vexation of the Night before viſible in their Countenances. Next Morning they firſt enlarged themſelves upon the Offence

Mr. *Pym's* Speech.

1641. Offence it ſelf; that it never had been offered in that Houſe before, and that they ought to take Care it never ſhould again, by a ſevere Judgment of the Houſe upon thoſe who had been firſt guilty of the Preſumption.

Mr. *Hyde*. Mr. *Hyde*, who had great Reaſon to think himſelf the Perſon deſign'd, ſtood up (tho' ſome of his Northern Friends by their Signs, which he underſtood not, adviſed him to the contrary) and ſaid, *It behoved him to vindicate what he had done, ſince he was the firſt who mentioned the Proteſtation.* Upon which there was a great Noiſe and Clamour *to withdraw*, and as great *to ſpeak*. He went on, and ſaid, *He was not old enough to be acquainted with the Cuſtoms of That Houſe, yet he knew any Man in the Houſe of Peers might enter his Diſſent againſt the Judgment of the Houſe. That he knew no Reaſon why a Commoner ſhould not have the ſame Priviledge, if he thought not fit to be involved in a Vote, which might poſſibly prove inconvenient to him. That he had not offer'd his Proteſtation againſt the Remonſtrance, becauſe it continued ſtill within thoſe Walls, but againſt the Printing, which he thought in many Reſpects unlawful for them to do, and might be of dangerous Conſequence to the publick Peace.* What he had ſaid gave great Offence; and Mr. *Strode* could not refrain ſaying, *That Gentleman had confeſs'd enough himſelf, and therefore deſired he might withdraw*; which many others likewiſe inſiſted upon; till Sir *John Hotham* roſe with ſome Warmth againſt it, and his Son accuſed Mr. *Palmer* as the firſt Occaſion of the Diſorder, by ſaying, *I do proteſt*, without the Leave of the Houſe firſt ask'd. And ſo Mr. *Palmer* was call'd upon in a great Noiſe and Confuſion *to explain himſelf*; which as he was going to do, Mr. *Hyde* ſpoke to the Orders of the Houſe; and ſaid, *It was never known a Practice in that Houſe, that a Man ſhould be call'd upon to explain what he had ſaid Two Days before, which 'tis probable was then loſt to his Memory; and appeal'd to the Houſe, if they had any Precedent of that kind.* And no doubt it was irregular: But they were too reſolute to be diverted, till after a Debate of Two Hours he himſelf deſired, *That to ſave the Houſe any farther Trouble, he might explain and withdraw.* Which he did. After a long Debate, and

and Night coming on, they ordered, *That he ſhould be ſent to the* Tower; the forward Men among 'em urging earneſtly, *That he ſhould be expelled the Houſe*; but at laſt they were contented with his Commitment to the *Tower*, from whence he was again in a few Days reſtored to the Houſe. Juſt as the Houſe roſe that Day, they obtained, without much Oppoſition, an Order to Print their Remonſtrance; which, after ſome Clauſes and Expreſſions, were expunged, contained in Subſtance, *That from the very beginning of His Majeſties Reign, there had been a pernicious Deſign of Subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Nation. That the chief Promoters in it were the Papiſts, the Biſhops, the corrupt Part of the Clergy, and ſuch at the Council-Board as had ſold themſelves to Foreign Intereſts. Whoſe main Care was to ſow Diviſions between the King and his People, upon Queſtions of Prerogative and Liberty, and ſuppreſs the Purity of Religion, as the main* Remora *to the Change they undertook to introduce, countenancing ſuch Opinions and Ceremonies in Religion that brought ours neareſt to Popery, that ſo they might be able to compoſe a Body of* Papiſts, Arminians *and* Libertines, *as were to be conducive to their own Ends; and laſtly, by rendring the King averſe to Parliaments, and ſetting up other Methods of Supply, they had brought infinite Detriment to the King and People, and gave a Beginning to the Diſtractions that enſued.* They charged His Majeſty with *the Breach of the Parliament at* Oxford, *and the unfortunate Expedition to* Cadiz *in the Beginning of his Reign; the Loſs of* Rochel, *by which the Reformed Religion in* France *infinitely ſuffered; the precipitate War with* France, *and Peace with* Spain, *without their Conſent; and ſo throwing up the Cauſe of the* Palatinate; *and with a Deſign to force the Kingdom by ſome* German *Horſe, to ſubmit to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be exacted from 'em.* They put him in mind *of his Billetting Soldiers upon the Kingdom: of Coat and Conduct-Money; of the Parliament diſſolved in the Second Year of his Reign, tho' they had declared their Intent was to grant him Five Subſidies; which he afterwards extorted by a Commiſſion of Loan; of ſeveral Gentlemen impriſoned, upon a Refuſal to pay it; ſome whereof died in Priſon by Diſeaſes contracted there; of great*

1641. Commons Remonſtrance.

*Sums*

1641. *Sums raiſed by the Council; and of the Exciſe.* They remember'd him *of the Parliament diſſolved in the Fourth Year of his Reign; and the Impriſonment of ſome Members for Words ſpoken in Parliament, one of which died in Priſon, for want of ordinary Suſtenance, whoſe Blood ſtill cried for Vengeance. That Juſtice, Oppreſſion and Violence broke in upon 'em, without any Reſtraint, after the Diſſolution of that Parliament: How he had enlarged his Foreſts, and what Compoſitions were made thereupon: How he had levied a new Tax of Ship-Money; notwithſtanding which, the Merchants were expoſed to the Violence of the* Turkiſh *Pirats.* They ſet forth *the extravagant Cenſures of the Star-Chamber; the rigorous and illegal Proceedings of the Council-Table, and other new-invented Judicatories; the exceſſive Sharpneſs and Severity of the High-Commiſſion Court, (whereby ſeveral Learned Pious Miniſters were ſuſpended, excommunicated, and deprived) which they ſaid almoſt equalled the* Romiſh *Inquiſition.* They acquainted him *of the Liturgy and Canons ſent into* Scotland, *and forcing that Nation to arm in their own Defence; of the Pacification, and Breach of that Pacification; how he afterwards called a Parliament, in Hopes to corrupt it, and make it countenance his War upon* Scotland; *which when it would not do, he diſſolved it, and then impriſoned ſome of the Members; and forced Men to lend Money againſt their Wills, and ſent ſuch as refuſed to Priſon.*

Then they extolled their own Services; *That they had redeemed the Kingdom from thoſe Difficulties they found it groaning under, and which at firſt ſeemed to be inſuperable: That they had confounded Ship-Money, and all Monopolies; and ſo quelled thoſe living Grievances, the evil Counſellors, by the Juſtice done to the Earl of* Strafford; *the Flight of* Finch *and* Windebank; *the Accuſation and Confinement of the Archbiſhop; that the preſent Times were not only eaſed, but the future like to be preſerved.* They recounted *all the good Laws, and the Benefit redounding to the Nation from thoſe Laws; and complained of what Obſtructions they met with, in purſuing the wholſome Deſigns they had entertained for the Benefit of the Nation. That a malignant Party had endeavour'd to imprint an ill Opinion in His Majeſty of their Proceedings; as if they had obtained many Things from him detrimental to the Crown, in Reſpect*

*ſpect of Prerogative and Profit*; *to obviate which Slander, they declared their principal End had been His Majeſties Greatneſs, Honour and Support.* Then having ſlightly touched upon His Majeſties Graces and Favours; *as being little more than was their Due, and no Prejudice to himſelf.* They fell on the malignant Party, and ſaid, *That they had endeavoured to ſow Jealouſies between them and their Brethren of* Scotland; *and had ſo ſtrong a Party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers, as obſtructed the paſſing many wholeſome Bills ſent up from the Houſe of Commons; that they attempted to poiſon the late Army, and bring it up againſt the Parliament and City of* London; *had raiſed the Rebellion in* Ireland, *which, if not prevented by their Wiſdom, they had done here likewiſe.* Then they declared, *They intended to have a general Synod, conſiſting of the moſt Learned, Judicious Divines of this Kingdom, which, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome abroad, profeſſing the ſame Religion, ſhould conſult of all Things requiſite to the Peace and good Government of the Church: That they would provide a handſome Competency for Conſcientious and Preaching Miniſters throughout the Nation: That they intended to reform the Two Univerſities, that the Streams derived from thoſe Fountains might be clear and uncorrupt, and prove an Honour and Comfort to the whole Land. That they would petition His Majeſty to make choice of ſuch Miniſters and Ambaſſadors at home and abroad, as his Parliament could put Confidence in; otherwiſe they could not grant him ſuch Supplies for his own Support, or ſuch Aſſiſtance for the Proteſtant Party abroad, as ſhould be deſired.* They declared withal, *That the Commons might upon good Grounds, except againſt ſome Men from being Counſellors, and yet not charge 'em with any particular Crimes; for that there are many Reaſons for Diffidence, that lay not in Proof. That all good Means ſhould be uſed to unite the Two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *in a mutual Defence of each other, for the common Good and Honour of both*; with other Matters of this Nature. 1641.

I know not how thoſe Men, who having perhaps with great Diligence labour'd to procure their Countries Good, can anſwer to God and their own Conſciences,

1641. ſciences, that ſupine Lazineſs, Negligence, and unſeaſonable Abſence, which were the firſt Inlets to thoſe Inundations. By which Means a handful of Men came to preſcribe Laws to the major Part, and by Degrees converted or reduced the whole Body to their Opinions.

The King laboured at that time under greater Diſadvantage than himſelf, or any of his Progenitors had before; having no Servants of Intereſt or Ability in the Houſe of Commons, that were faithful or affectionate to him. If that Stratagem of gaining Men by Places had been put in Practice as ſoon as the Reſolution was taken at *York*, of calling a Parliament; and if Mr. *Pym*, and others, had been preferred with Mr. *Saint John*, whilſt they had Innocence enough (ſays my Lord *Cl*—) about 'em to truſt the King, and to be truſted by him, being not yet perſonally exaſperated againſt him, it is to be imagined, they would rather have contributed to the Support of the Royal Building, of which they made principal Pillars, than have ſet their Hands to the pulling it down about their Ears. But the Rule the King before preſcribed himſelf, that they ſhould firſt deſerve, before they ſhould receive any Favour, tho' at another time it might have been proper, was then very unſeaſonable. Since, as on one Hand they could not ſerve him, without that Qualification, ſo it was not to be expected on the other, they would upon no Encouragement deſert their own Party. And ſo whilſt His Majeſty expected they ſhould demonſtrate their Inclinations to his Service, by their Moderation in thoſe Proceedings with which he was moſt offended, and that they laboured all they could, by Oppoſition make it appear, how much they were able to do him good, he grew ſo far provoked and diſobliged, and they ſo obnoxious, that not thinking themſelves ſecure in his Favour, they continued vigorouſly to oppreſs his Power. The City, notwithſtanding all this, made great Preparations for His Majeſties Reception. And therefore on the 23d of *November* the King enter'd *London*, with the higheſt Acclamations of Joy from the Citizens, and after a ſumptuous Entertainment by the Lord-Mayor, at the *Guild-Hall*, where the King, Queen, and Prince, with

with the whole Court, were feasted, the whole City attended him to *Whitehal*, where, upon his coming, the Earl of *Essex* resigned his Commission of General on this side *Trent*, which had been granted for the Safeguard of the Kingdom, during His Majesties Absence in the *North*. The next Day, at *Hampton-Court*, His Majesty took away the Seals from Sir *Harry Vane*, and appointed the Guard, which had been kept at *Westminster*, to be dismiss'd; and shortly after issued out a Proclamation, *For Obedience to be given to the Laws established for the Exercise of Religion.* 1641.

The chief Sticklers in the House nettled at these Proceedings, and perhaps not liking the Entertainment the King met with in the City, resolved now to present their Remonstrance, together with a Petition, in which they complained *of a malignant Party, who prevailed so far, as to introduce divers of their Instruments into the Privy-Council; to which, among other wicked Matters, they imputed the Rebellion of the Papists in* Ireland; *and therefore in Order to their Suppression, they desired His Majesty would concur with his People in a Parliamentary Way, to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament; that he would drive from his Council such Persons as continued to favour any of the Oppressions, with which the Nation had been grieved, and for the future employ such about him, as the Parliament had Reason to confide in. That he would forbear to alienate any of the Lands in* Ireland, *which should be forfeited to the Crown, by Means of the Rebellion. Which Concessions from His Majesty would encourage 'em chearfully to apply themselves to such Courses, as should support his Royal Estate, make him considerable abroad, and loved at home, and lay a firm Foundation of Greatness and Prosperity to him and his Royal Posterity in future Times.* Commons Petition.

This Petition was presented, with the Remonstrance, to His Majesty at *Hampton-Court*, on the 1st of *December*, and both were shortly after by Order Printed, and spread about the Kingdom, tho' the King desired they would defer the Publication of either, till they had received his Answer; which he shortly after sent, telling 'em, *With how much Unparliamentarines they had published their Remonstrance,* King's Answer to the Remonstrance.

1641. *of which the World ſhould have ſuch a Senſe from him, as his Prudence and Honour ſhould direct. That he ſhould be as ready to puniſh that malignant Party they mention in their Petition, if they would but diſcover 'em to him, as they could be to deſire it. That he had convinced the World, how far he was from protecting any evil Counſellors, when he ſo readily expoſed thoſe to Trial they had required of him, as he would ſtill do, if they would produce a particular Charge againſt any one of 'em, but he wiſh'd they would forbear ſuch general Aſperſions, for in that they reflected upon the whole Body of his Council. As to the Choice of his Counſellors and Miniſters of State, he told 'em, he hoped they would not deny him the Right all Freemen have, but ſuffer him to call ſuch to his ſecret Council, and publick Employments, as he ſhould think fit; and he would take Care to make Choice of ſuch as were eminent for their Abilities, and againſt whom there could be no juſt Cauſe of Exception. That in what related to the Biſhops, they ſhould conſider they had a Right to vote in Parliament, as well by the Conſtitutions of that, as the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. As for what concerned Religion and publick Worſhip, if the Parliament adviſed to call a National Synod, he would conſider it, and give 'em all reaſonable Satisfaction therein, being reſolved to maintain the Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Law, as well againſt all Popiſh Invaſions, as from all Irreverence of Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, with which it was now too nearly threatned, and againſt which His Majeſty required their vigorous Aſſiſtance.*

*As to what concerned* Ireland, *he queſtioned whether Reſolutions of that Nature were proper to be declared before War was determined: However he thank'd 'em for their Advice, and conjured 'em to loſe no Time in furniſhing the Supplies thither, and to chaſtiſe the Inſolence and Cruelty of the Rebels, which was every Day increaſing.*

In the mean time Letters came daily from *Ireland*, preſſing for Relief of Men, Money, and Proviſions, which perhaps could not be provided equal to Men's Expectations, tho' it was earneſtly recommended by the King to the Houſes upon his coming from *Scotland*,

*Scotland.* The ſlow raiſing of Men was imputed to the Difficulty of getting Volunteers; and therefore a Bill was prepared for Preſſing, which quickly paſs'd the Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords. But it being declared, *That the King could in no Caſe, but upon an Invaſion from a Foreign Power, preſs a Freeborn Subject*, this ſeemed a new Doctrine to the Lords, and the Attorney-General deſired the Lords, *That he might be heard on the King's Behalf, before they conſented to a Clauſe ſo prejudicial to his Prerogative.* This Stop put an unſeaſonable one upon the Affairs of *Ireland*; the Houſe of Commons ordered their Committee to meet no more about that Buſineſs, and declared the Loſs of *Ireland* muſt lye at the Lord's Door. In the mean time Letters came daily from that Kingdom, deploring their miſerable Condition. In this Strait they were at a Nonplus. Whereupon Mr. *Saint-John* told His Majeſty in private, *How much he was troubled at the Interruption given by the Commons, who unreaſonably inſiſted upon a Preamble ſo prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative. That it would be very happy, if an Expedient could be found out to remove that Rub, ſo fatal to the* Iriſh *Affairs*; and adviſed His Majeſty, *To come to the Houſes, and expreſs his Princely Zeal for the Relief of* Ireland; *and then taking Notice of the Bill depending, to offer, that the Bill, to avoid further Diſputes, might paſs with a* Salvo jure *to the King and People, referring ſuch Diſputes to Times that could better bear them.*

1641. A Bill in the Houſe of Commons, for preſſing Men for *Ireland.*

This Advice His Majeſty follow'd, for now the divided Lords and Commons preſently unite in a Petition to the King, *Acknowledging his Royal Favour and Protection to be a great Bleſſing and Security to 'em, in the Preſervation of thoſe private and publick Liberties and Privileges belonging to 'em; of which, when they were infringed, they were bound humbly to appeal to his Juſtice for Redreſs and Satisfaction; becauſe the Rights and Privileges of Parliament were the Birthright and Inheritance, not only of themſelves, but the whole Kingdom: One of which Privileges undoubtedly was, That His Majeſty was to take Notice of no Debate depending in either Houſe, but by their Information and Agreement, or to declare his Approbation or Diſlike of*

Parliament's Petition to the King.

1641. *any thing, till in due Course it was presented to him; they declared the Speech His Majesty had lately made to 'em, was a great Breach of those Privileges; and therefore besought him that he would not for the time to come break in, or interrupt 'em, and would declare the Name of such Person, by whose Mis-information he was induced to it, that he might be punished as he deserved; and this they did advise His Majesty to do, as the surest Way to procure and confirm a Confidence and Unity betwixt him and his People.*

*Ireland* was still unhappily little considered, and when the King offered *to raise by Commissions Ten Thousand Volunteers for the Service of that Kingdom, upon Condition the Houses would declare to see 'em paid*, the Proposal was absolutely rejected; so great a Diffidence they had, or at least would seem to have of him and his Courtiers, whilst his own Privy-Counsellors for the most part, and all his own Servants, either opposed him in publick, or privately betray'd him.

There was about this time a Debate started in the House, as if meerly by Accident, that was almost the sole Ground of the Mischiefs that ensued. Upon a Discourse of something that happened whilst the late Army was disbanded, an obscure Member moved. *That the House would consider if the Militia were so settled by Law, that a sufficient Force might be suddenly drawn together to suppress any Insurrection or Rebellion, if it should be attempted.* The House sate silent for a long time, most Men being amused by the Newness of the Thing, till some of the least observable seeming to be moved with the Weight of the Motion, it was at last proposed, *A Committee should be appointed to consider of the present State of the Militia, and the Power of it, and provide such a Bill for the settling it, as might make good the publick Peace, and repel any Foreign Enemy, or Domestick Insurrection.* Against which another Member stood up, and said, *That without doubt the King, who had the just Power of making War and Peace, had likewise that of the Militia residing in him; that as yet no Defect of Power dangerous to the Kingdom had appeared, and we might reasonably hope there never would.* With this the House seem'd well satisfied, till *Saint-John* stood up, and

and ſaid, *He could not ſuffer a Debate containing ſo many weighty Particulars to be laid aſide, without ſome Reſolution; that he ſhould be very glad if that Power were veſted in the King, which for his part he knew was not. That the Debate was not about taking the Power away from the King, but to enquire if ſuch a Power were placed in him, or any where elſe, as was neceſſary for the Preſervation of the King and People; if there was not, then to ſupply him with ſuch a Power and Authority. He bid 'em remember, how the Crown had iſſued out Commiſſions to great Men to be Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and they to others to be Deputy-Lieutenants: and to conſider what Votes had been paſs'd, upon what had been done by Vertue of ſuch Commiſſions; ſo that he did preſume no Man would hereafter venter to execute any ſuch Commiſſion, let the Neceſſity be never ſo urgent; and therefore they ought to conſider, if there was not a Defect of Power, and how it was to be ſupplied.* Hereupon the King's Solicitor-General was order'd to prepare and bring in ſuch a Bill as he thought proper; and in a few Days he preſent'd one, which contain'd in the Preamble, *That the Power over the Militia was not ſettled ſufficiently for the Security of the Kingdom, in caſe of any ſudden Accidents*; and then an Enacting Clauſe, *That henceforward the Militia, and all the Power thereof, ſhould be inveſted in*——&c. leaving a large Blank to inſert Names; and afterwards, *The Abſolute Authority to execute*——&c. the Meaning of which was readily underſtood; and with ſome Warmth preſs'd, *That this Bill would reſume all Power out of the Crown, and veſt it in Commiſſioners.* To which the Sollicitor replied, *That the Bill took no Power from thoſe who had it, but provided to place it where it was not; nor were any Commiſſioners named, but a Blank left to be filled up, as the Houſe thought fit, and the Power placed in ſuch Hands as they ſhould judge proper, in the King's for ought he knew, and he hoped it would be ſo.* With this the Bill was received and read; many who had been formerly Deputy-Lieutenants, and lay under the Laſh, hoping this Settlement would provide for the Indemnity that had paſſed before, concurr'd in the Deſire, that ſome Proviſion might be made for a general Security. The Contrivers of

1641.

Militia Bill.

1641. it were well enough ſatisfied that it was once read, not deſigning to proceed in it, till ſome more favourable Opportunity; and ſo it reſted.

Now the King having diſmiſſed Sir *William Balfour* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and given Col. *Lunsford* his Command. The Commons took the Alarm, and alledged, *He could not be removed without ſome Deſign upon the City and Kingdom; and that Man who was to ſucceed him, was a Perſon of great Licence.* They therefore deſired the Lords to join with 'em in a Petition to the King, *That the Tower might be entruſted in better Hands.* The Lords replied, *The Cuſtody of the* Tower *was ſolely in the King's Diſpoſal, and therefore they could not be competent Adviſers in it.* Tho' at the ſame time they privately intimated their Advice to His Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to make Choice of a fitter Perſon, againſt whom there could be no Exception. For indeed Sir *Thomas Lunsford* was not then ſo well thought of; thereupon he reſigned the Place, and gave it to Sir *John Byron*. They receiv'd little Satisfaction from this Change, ſince no Regard was had to the Perſon of their Recommendation.

All this while the Bill for removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers was depending before 'em, and like to make as ſmall a Progreſs as it had done Six Months before; tho' Mr. *Burton*, formerly mentioned, printed a Sermon he had preach'd at *Weſtminſter*, under the Title of *The Proteſtation Proteſted*, wherein he maintained, *The late Proteſtation obliged all Men to expel both Biſhops and the Liturgy out of the Church, as Impious and Papiſtical.* At laſt a Petition was publiſh'd in the Name *of the Apprentices in and about* London; and directed, *To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in the Parliament now Aſſembled:* Shewing, *They foreſaw great Miſchiefs coming upon 'em, to nip 'em in the Bud upon their firſt Entrance into the World, the Cauſe of which they could impute to none but the* Papiſts *and Prelates, and their Party. They deſired His Majeſty in Parliament to obſerve, That notwithſtanding the unwearied Induſtry of the Houſe of Commons, to root out Popery and Popiſh Innovators, all their pious Endeavours were ineffectual; which had encourag'd many deſperate Men to plot againſt the Peace and Safety of his Dominions;* witneſs

Prentices Petition againſt the Biſhops.

*witneſs the unheard of Cruelties acted by the* Papiſts *in* Ireland; *and therefore they deſired Care might be taken of all Popiſh Lords, and other Eminent* Papiſts; *the Laws againſt* Jeſuits *put in Execution; and that Prelacy might be rooted up: That ſo the Work of Reformation might go on chearfully; their diſtracting Fears be removed; the Freedom of Commerce and Trade be ſupported, for the Encouragement of the Petitioners*, &c. This, being ſpread abroad, great Multitudes of Perſons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and flock'd about the Houſe of Peers, crying up and down, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops.* 1641.

The King (as was ſaid before) having diſmiſs'd the Guards attending the Two Houſes, the Commons (for the Lords refuſed to join with them) petition'd His Majeſty, *In regard of ſome Deſigns they apprehended from the* Papiſts, *that they might keep ſuch a Guard about 'em as they thought neceſſary.* To which His Majeſty anſwer'd, *That he knew they had no juſt Reaſon to fear, but were as ſecure as himſelf and his Children, yet ſince they expreſs'd ſuch Apprehenſions of Danger, he would order a ſufficient Guard for 'em*; and thereupon appointed the Train-Bands of *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex*, in fit Numbers to attend.

The Commons Petition the King for a Guard.

King's Anſwer.

This Security was not approved of, and it was ask'd, *Quis cuſtodiet ipſos Cuſtodes?* And when the Rabble came firſt down, and with great Rudeneſs preſs'd to the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of *Dorſet*, who was then Lord Lieutenant of *Middleſex*, in great Paſſion bid the Guard fire upon 'em, which frighted the Rabble, and ſent 'em in Haſte away. But the Commons were highly provoked at this Uſage of their Friends, and talk'd of accuſing the Earl of *Dorſet* of High-Treaſon, at leaſt of Impeaching him for ſome Judgment he had been Party to in the Star-Chamber, or Council-Table; by theſe Hints teaching him how careful he was to behave himſelf, they concluded to have no Guard at all, ſince they could not have ſuch as pleas'd them; declaring, *Every Member might have his own Servant attending at the Door with what Weapons they thought fit.* Hereupon People crowded in greater Numbers than before about the Houſe of Peers, ſtill crying out with one Voice, *No Biſhops, no Popiſh Lords.* The

1641. House of Peers complain'd, at a free Conference with the Commons, of these Tumults, telling 'em, *Such Disorders would make their Freedom questionable, and so cast a Blemish on those good Laws they had already made, and prevent making any more, and therefore desired they would join with them in a Declaration for suppressing such Riots.* This Conference was no sooner reported than laid aside by the Commons, *for Matters of more weighty Concern.*

The Tumults encreased; and when some of the Mob, who were got into the Abby, and would have pulled down the Organ, and some Ornaments of the Church, were by Force driven out, they threaten'd, *They would return with greater Numbers, and pull down the Church it self.* Upon this the Lords sent again to the Commons, and desired therefore they would join with 'em in the Declaration for suppressing such Riots. But this Conference could not be obtain'd, the Debate being still adjourn'd to some other time, after several Speeches to justifie and commend their Affections; some saying, *They would not discourage their Friends, for this was a Time they must make use of all Friends.* Mr. *Pym* himself saying, *God forbid they should by any Means dishearten People from obtaining their Desires in such a Way.*

The Lords finding they could obtain nothing this Way, required the Advice of the Judges, *What Course they might lawfully take to suppress those Tumults*; and thereupon directed the Lord-Keeper to issue out a Writ upon the Statute of *Northampton* to the Sheriff and Justices to set a strong Watch in such Places as they judg'd most convenient, to hinder that unlawful Conflux of People to *Westminster*, to the Disturbance of their Consultations. In Obedience to which, the Justices of Peace appointed Constables to stand at the Water-side, and other Places, with a strong Watch, to prevent that unlawful Resort. But the Commons sent for the Constables, and examining their Warrants, required 'em to discharge their Watches; and Voted the setting such a Watch, *A Breach of Privilege*, and sent one of the Justices of Peace to the *Tower*.

The Lords direct a Writ to be issued out to appoint Watches.

Are discharg'd by the House of Commons.

The Tumults increase.

Things by this time were brought to great Confusion, the Conflux grew more numerous about *Westminster*; the People sometimes in their passing from

from the City thither making a Halt before *Whitehal*, would cry out, *No Biſhops, No Biſhops, no Popiſh Lords*; adding, *They would bear with a Porter's Lodge no longer, but would ſpeak with the King when they thought fit.* At *Weſtminſter* they pulled Papers out of their Pockets, and read the Names of ſeveral Perſons aloud, calling 'em *Diſaffected Members of the Houſe of Commons*, and many of the Lords, *Falſe, Evil, and Rotten hearted Lords.* They threatned to pull down the Lodgings where the Biſhops lay, attempted to force the Doors of the Abby, where a ſtrong Guard was conſtantly kept; inſulted the Perſons of ſome Biſhops in their Coaches: And had not the Archbiſhop of *York* met with a ſeaſonable Reſcue, 'tis thought he would have been murder'd by 'em. So that all the Biſhops, and ſeveral Members of both Houſes, withdrew from their Attendance in Parliament, out of a ſerious Senſe of the Danger their Lives were in. 1641.

Biſhops and ſome others withdrew.

The King all this while reſided at *Whitehal*, where, beſides his uſual Retinue, many Officers of the late Army, who ſollicited their Arrears, and an Employment in the *Iriſh* War offer'd themſelves for a Guard to His Majeſties Perſon, and were entertain'd (my Lord *C*--- confeſſes) with more Ceremony than upon a juſt Computation of all Diſtempers, was at that time thought ſeaſonable. Theſe Officers treated the People firſt with Words of great Contempt, which being returned with equal Scorn, they cudgell'd ſome of the moſt forward among 'em. This the Commons took very ill, and interpreted a Levying War by the King, and much pitying the poor People that were ſo treated when they came with Petitions to them, and was an Argument for ſtrengthening their Numbers. From theſe Conteſts roſe the Terms of *Roundhead* and *Cavalier*, which afterwards ſerved to diſtinguiſh the Two Parties.

Some Officers repel the Mob about *Whitehal*

*Roundhead* and *Cavalier.*

The King having at that time no Member in the Houſe of Commons of any Relation to his Service, that would be zealous in it, he reſolved to call the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, Knight of the Shire of *Kent*, to his Council, and to make the former Secretary of State, and the other Chancellor of the Exchequer. They both had great Authority in the Houſe,

The Lord *Falkland* made Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper* Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1641. Houſe, and having no Dependance in the Court, what they ſaid made the more Impreſſion. No Man could be more ſurpriz'd than the Lord *Falkland* was, when he had an Intimation of the King's Purpoſe. He never pretended to be a Courtier, nor had any Veneration for the Court but only ſuch a Loyalty to the King, as the Law required of him. Two Conſiderations were of the greateſt Weight with him; one, leſt the World ſhould think his own Ambition ſollicited that Promotion for him, and had oppoſed ſome Proceedings of the Houſe, the better to ingratiate himſelf with the Court; the other, leſt the King ſhould expect ſuch a Reſignation of himſelf and his Reaſon, which he could never ſubmit to; for he was ſo perfect an Adorer of Truth, that he could as eaſily turn a Thief as an Hypocrite.

But at laſt he was prevailed with to ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, and he and *Colepepper* were both inveſted in thoſe Offices, to the no ſmall Reſentment of ſome Perſons in the Houſe.

The King reſolved at the ſame time to remove another Officer, and prefer Mr. *Hyde* to his Place, who poſitively refuſed it, and aſſured His Majeſty, *That he could do him better Service as he was; that he had the Honour to be very intimate with the Two Perſons his Majeſty had ſo ſeaſonably advanc'd, and by his Converſation with them ſhould be ſo well inſtructed, that he could be more uſeful to his Service, than if he was under a nearer Relation to it.* The King replied, *He found he muſt for ſome time defer the Deſire he had of obliging him, but aſſured him, he would both find a proper Time, and ſuitable Promotion for him, which he ſhould not refuſe. In the mean time he wiſh'd thoſe Three would conſult together, how to manage his Affairs in the Houſe, and declared, he would do nothing that concerned his Service in the Houſe of Commons, but by their joint Advice*, tho' in a very few Days he ſwerved from it.

The Biſhops, who (as was before obſerved) were driven from the Houſe of Peers, could not attend with Patience as they ought to have done till the Storm was over. And therefore, being influenc'd chiefly by Dr. *Williams*, then Archbiſhop of *York*, they

they expoſed themſelves to ſuch a Diſadvantage, which all their Enemies could never have brought upon 'em. For he being returned to his Houſe, the Deanary at *Weſtminſter*, ſent for all the Biſhops that were then in Town, about Twelve or Thirteen in Number, and propoſed, *That they would unanimouſly prepare and ſend to the Houſe a Proteſtation againſt the Force that had been uſed upon them, and againſt whatever Acts ſhould paſs during their Abſence, which was occaſioned by that Force.* Which having himſelf immediately drawn up, they all approved, relying upon his great Experience in the Rules of the Houſe, where he had been a Member for many Years, and ſate in ſome Parliaments as Speaker, whilſt he was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and ſo without any farther Communication or Advice upon ſo important a Matter, as ſoon as it was fairly engroſſed, they all ſet their Hands to it. This the Archbiſhop immediately preſented to the King; it being directed to His Majeſty, with an humble Deſire, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſend it to the Houſe of Peers, and command it to be enter'd in the Journal of that Houſe. His Majeſty, readily upon the Receipt of it, believing it to be drawn by mature Advice, deliver'd it the Lord Keeper, who happen'd then to be preſent, commanding him to preſent it the Houſe as ſoon as it met, which was to be within Two Hours after. The Petition was to this Effect. 1641.

*To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the Lords and Peers now Aſſembled in Parliament.*

The Humble Petition and Proteſtation of all the Biſhops and Prelates now called by His Majeſties Writ to attend the Parliament, and preſent about *London* and *Weſtminſter* for that Service. The Biſhops Petition and Proteſtation.

*THAT whereas the Petitioners are called up, by ſeveral and reſpective Writs, to attend in Parliament, and have a clear and unqueſtioned Right to Vote in whatever*

1641. *ever is debatable therein, and ought to be protected by your Majesty, quietly to attend that great Service.*

*They Humbly remonstrate, that as they have that undubitable Right, so are they ready to perform their Duties accordingly, if they may be protected from Force and Violence; and do abominate all Actions tending to Popery, or the Support thereof, or any malignant Party whatsoever, to which their own Reason and Consciences shall not move 'em to adhere.*

*But whereas they have been at several times violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted, in their coming to attend the Service of that Honourable House, and lately chased away in great Danger of their Lives, and upon sundry Complaints to both Houses can find no Redress or Protection; They likewise Humbly Protest before your Majesty, and the Noble House of Peers, that saving to themselves all Rights of Sitting and Voting at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote till your Majesty shall secure 'em from all Affronts, Indignities, and Damages in the Premises.*

*And do therefore in all Duty and Humility Protest against all Laws, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves Null, and of no Effect, which have in their Absence already pass'd, or shall hereafter pass during this their forced and violent Absence.*

And Humbly beseeching your most Excellent Majesty, that this their Petition and Protestation may be recorded.

*They will ever Pray.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *John*, Eborac. | *Geo.* Hereford. |
| *Tho.* Duresme. | *Rob.* Oxon. |
| *Rob.* Cov. and L. | *Ma.* Ely. |
| *Jo.* Norwich. | *Godfr.* Glouc. |
| *Jo.* Asaphen. | *Jo.* Peterburgh. |
| *Guil.* Ba. and Wells. | *Mor.* Llandaff. |

As soon as this Protestation was read in the House, some Lords expressed a great Satisfaction in it; affirming the Hand of God appeared now in bringing that to pass, which otherwise they never could have effected; and without any Declaration of their own Judgment and Opinion upon it, they sent presently to

to desire a Conference with the Commons, upon a Business of great Importance, where they only read, and then delivered the Protestation to them. But the Commons within Half an Hour after sent up to the Lords, and without any further Examination accused all those Bishops of High-Treason, by which Means the whole Twelve of 'em were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*, where they remained till the Bill pass'd. 1641. They are accused of Treason, and committed to the *Tower*.

'Tis certain this forward Pace of the leading Members of the Commons was so far from tending to the proposed Advantages, that it must unavoidably lessen their Authority, had not the Lord *Digby*'s volatile turbulent Spirit prevail'd with the King to give 'em some new Advantages, and depart from his Resolution of doing nothing without very mature Deliberation. It was *Digby*'s Advice that got *Balfour* removed from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and *Lunsford* into his Place; who was so little known in the World, unless upon the Disadvantage of an ill Character; so that in the most peaceable of Times his Promotion would have been very ungrateful to the People: And by the same fatal Advice, *Herbert*, the King's Attorney, one Afternoon, whilst both Houses were sitting, informed the Peers, that the King had commanded him to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton* and Five Commoners of High-Treason, and that His Majesty himself had delivered him in Writing several Articles, upon which they were accused, and read in a Paper these following Articles, by which the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Mr. *Strode*, were accused of High-Treason, for Conspiring against the King and the Parliament. The Lord *Kimbolton* and Five Members of the Commons accused of Treason.

Articles of High-Treason and other Misdemeanors against the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, &c. Members of the House of Commons. The Articles against 'em.

I. *THAT they have Traiterously endeavoured to destroy the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and deprive the King of his Regal Power, and to place on his Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.*

II. *That*

1641. II. *That by many foul Aſperſions they have endeavoured to alienate the Affections of his People, and make His Majeſty odious to 'em.*

III. *That they have endeavour'd to draw the late Army to Diſobedience to His Majeſties Command, and join with them in their Traiterous Deſign.*

IV. *That they have Traiterouſly invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to Invade* England.

V. *That they have Traiterouſly endeavour'd to Subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.*

VI. *That for the compleating their Traiterous Purpoſes they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by Force and Terror to compel the Parliament to join with 'em in their Traiterous Deſigns, and to that End have actually rais'd and countenanc'd Tumults againſt the King and Parliament.*

VII. *That they have Traiterouſly conſpired to Levy, and actually have Levied War againſt the King.*

The Serjeant at Arms demanded at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons the Five Members.

The Lords were ſtartled at this Alarm, but took Time till the next Day to conſider of it, that they might ſee in the mean while how the Commons would carry themſelves. At the ſame time a Serjeant at Arms demanded at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons the Perſons of Five of their Members to be delivered to him in His Majeſties Name, who had accuſed 'em of High-Treaſon. The Commons were not much ſurprized at this, for they quickly were informed of what had paſs'd with the Lords; and ſome of the King's Servants, by ſpecial Warrant, had been ſealing up the Studies and Trunks of ſome of the accuſed Members; upon Information whereof, they made an Order before the Serjeant came to the Houſe, *That if any Perſon whatſoever ſhould come to the Lodgings of any Member of that Houſe, and there offer to put a Seal upon the Doors, Trunks or Papers of ſuch Members, or to ſeize upon their Perſons, ſuch Member ſhould require the Aid of the next Conſtable, to detain ſuch Perſons till the further Orders of the Houſe ſhould be known; that if any Perſon whatſoever ſhould offer to Arreſt or Detain any Member of that Houſe, without firſt acquainting the Houſe therewith, it ſhould be lawful for ſuch Member to ſtand upon his Guard, and for any Perſon to aſſiſt him,*

*him, according to the late Proteſtation.* So that the Serjeant, after he had deliver'd his Meſſage, was no more call'd in, but a Meſſage ſent to the King, *That the Members ſhould be forth coming as ſoon as a Legal Charge could be preferr'd againſt 'em.* In the mean time the King reſolving to go to the Houſe of Commons himſelf, Sir *P. W.* ſays, the Deſign was betrayed by that buſie Stateſwoman, the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, who had now changed her Gallant from *Strafford* to Mr. *Pym*, and was become ſuch a She-Saint, that ſhe frequented their Sermons, and took Notes: But the King knowing nothing of this, went thither with his uſual Guard, and ſome Gentlemen, and commanding his Attendance to wait without, himſelf, with the Elector *Palatine*, his Nephew, went into the Houſe, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all; and the Speaker riſing from the Chair the King went into it, and ſaid, 1641.

The King comes to the Houſe of Commons.

Gentlemen,

*I Am ſorry for this Occaſion, for coming unto you; yeſterday I ſent a Serjeant at Arms, upon a very important Occaſion, to apprehend ſome that upon my Commandment were accuſed of High-Treaſon, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Meſſage; and I muſt declare unto you here, That albeit no King that ever was in* England *ſhall be more careful of your Privileges, to maintain them to the utmoſt of his Power, than I ſhall be; yet you muſt know, that in Caſes of Treaſon no Perſon hath a Privilege: And therefore I am come to know if any of thoſe Perſons that I have accuſed for no ſlight Crime, but for Treaſon, are here. I cannot expect that this Houſe can be in the right way that I do heartily wiſh it; therefore I am come to tell you, that I muſt have them whereſoever I find them.*

King's Speech in the Houſe of Commons.

Then the King looked round the Houſe, and the Speaker ſtanding below by the Chair, the King asked him, *Whether any of thoſe Perſons were in the Houſe? Whether he ſaw any of them? And where they were?*

The Speaker thus ſurprized, yet with much Prudence falling on his Knees, anſwered the King to this Purpoſe.

May

1641.

Speaker's Speech.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

*I Have neither Eyes to ſee, nor Tongue to ſpeak in this Place, but as the Houſe is pleaſed to direct me, whoſe Servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majeſties Pardon, that I cannot now give any other Anſwer than this to what your Majeſty is pleaſed to demand of me.*

Then the King again caſting his Eye round about the Houſe, he ſpake to this Effect.

*WEll, ſince I ſee all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you ſend them me as ſoon as they return hither. But I aſſure you on the Word of a King, I never did intend any Force, but ſhall proſecute againſt them in a Legal and Fair Way, for I never meant any other.*

*And now ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit Occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, that whatſoever I have done in Favour, and to the Good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.*

*I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as ſoon as they come to the Houſe, you will ſend them to me; otherwiſe I muſt take my own Courſe to find them.*

When the Lord *Digby*, the only Perſon that gave the Counſel, found the ill Succeſs of the Impeachment in both Houſes, and how much People were diſguſted at the Proceeding, he adviſed the King to go the next Morning to the *Guild-hall*, and acquaint the Mayor and Aldermen of the Grounds of it. And to make the World believe there was no Dejection or Sorrow for whatever was done, the ſame Night a Proclamation was prepared to prevent the Perſons accuſed from flying out of the Kingdom, and forbid all Perſons to receive and entertain 'em, when it was very well known they had all removed themſelves that Night into the City, which was all Night in Arms, ſome running from one Gate to another, and crying out, *That the Cavaliers were come to ſet the City a Fire*, and ſome adding, *The King himſelf was at the Head of 'em.*

The

The next Morning His Majeſty, who was not ignorant of that Night's Tranſactions, ſent to the Lord-Mayor to call a Common-Council, and about Ten went himſelf, attended only with Three or Four Lords, to the *Guild-hall*, and told 'em, *He was very ſorry to hear they entertain'd ſuch Apprehenſions of Danger: That they might judge how much he rely'd upon their Affections for his Guard, having brought none with him: That he had accuſed ſeveral Perſons of High-Treaſon, againſt whom he intended to proceed in a lawful Way, and therefore preſum'd they would not harbour 'em in the City*; and uſing many other Expreſſions of the Eſteem he had for 'em, and telling One of the Sheriffs (who was thought of the Two the leſs devoted to his Service) that he intended to dine with him, he departed not only without that chearful Applauſe he might expect, but as he paſſed through the City the People crowded together, crying out, *Privilege of Parliament*, *Privilege of Parliament*; and One among the reſt, bawled out with a loud Voice, near his Coach, *To your Tents, O* Iſrael. However the King, tho' much mortified, purſued his Reſolution, and having din'd with the Sheriff, he returned to *Whitehal*, and the next Day a Proclamation came forth, for the Apprehenſion of the Accuſed Members, forbidding any Perſons to Conceal or Entertain 'em; and at the ſame time the Articles of the Charge were Printed and Diſpers'd. 1641. And goes to the *Guild-hall*.

When the Commons next met, they took not ſo much Notice of the Accuſing the Members, as the King's coming to the Houſe, a thing never known before, and his declaring, *He would have 'em where-ever he ſhould find 'em, was an Argument that he intended to have brought a Force into the Houſe to lay hold of 'em, had they been there*; *which was the higheſt Breach of Privilege imaginable.* They who ſpoke with moſt Paſſion ſeemed to be moved chiefly upon a general Concern; concluding, after great Lamentations, *That they did not think themſelves ſafe in that Houſe, till Men's Minds were more compoſed*; *that the City was full of Fears, and zealous for their Safety*; *and therefore wiſh'd the Parliament might Adjourn to ſome Place there.* But that was found impracticable, ſince it could not be done without the Conſent of the

1641. Peers, and His Majeſties Concurrence; ſo at length they concluded, *That the Houſe Adjourn for Two or Three Days, and appoint a Committee to ſit Morning and Afternoon in the City; and all who came to have Voices; Merchant-Taylors-Hall* being appointed the Place of Meeting. Upon this they Adjourn'd for ſome Days, to conſult with their Friends in the City; and the Lords correſponded ſo well with 'em, that they Adjourn'd till the ſame time, but appointed no Committee to ſit in the City. The Committee, at their firſt Meeting the next Morning, found a Guard of ſubſtantial Citizens in Arms, ready to attend 'em, and a Committee of the Common-Council to give them Welcome, and to aſſure 'em, *Care ſhould be taken to ſecure all their Members from Violence*; and to acquaint 'em further, *That the Common-Council, in Contemplation of what they might ſtand in need of, had likewiſe nominated another Committee of Aldermen and Common-Council-men, who ſhould meet at a Place appointed, at thoſe Hours the Committee of the Houſe ſhould meet, to the end they might better know their Pleaſure, and take Care to ſee it obey'd.* The Committee began with diſcanting upon the Manner of the King's coming to the Houſe, and all he did there; the ſeveral Members mentioning what they would undertake to remember, what His Majeſty ſaid or did, upon his going to, or returning from the Houſe; others reporting what ſome of the great Men, who waited upon His Majeſty, ſhould ſay, and gave every thing its Commentary. And whatever Perſon was named had Orders to attend, and not a Man had Courage to refuſe obeying the Summons, or anſwering whatever Queſtions the Committee would put to 'em.

Both Houſes Adjourn for ſome Days.

The Accuſed Members were altogether in one Houſe in *Coleman-Street*, whither Perſons truſted by the Committee paſs'd to and fro, to communicate and receive Inſtructions. For it was not judged convenient for 'em yet to appear, however againſt the Day the Houſe was to meet, they had prepared Matter enough for a Report, and formed ſuch Votes as they thought fit to offer upon the Breach of Privilege. And ſo upon the Report of the Committee, the Houſe

1641.

Commons Declaration about Breach of Privilege.

Houſe declared at their firſt Meeting, *That the King's coming to the Houſe, and demanding the Perſons of divers of their Members, was a high Breach of Privilege of Parliament, and that they could not ſit there till they had obtain'd a full Vindication of it, and ſuch a Guard for their Security, as they might confide in. And therefore did Adjourn themſelves again for Four Days, appointing the Committee to meet again in the ſame Place, to conſider and provide for all Things that related to the Good and Safety of the City and Kingdom.* Then ſome Votes were offered, in which they voted, *That the King's coming to the Houſe was the higheſt Breach of Privilege poſſible, and ſo was the Arreſting, or endeavouring to Arreſt any Member; who ſo Arreſted, might lawfully reſcue and redeem himſelf; and that all who beheld ſuch a Violation of Parliamentary Priviledges, might and ought to aſſiſt the Perſon injured, and forcibly procure his Liberty.* This the Houſe confirm'd, and then Adjourn'd again for ſome Days, appointing the Committee to meet again; which they did twice a Day, and form'd more Votes of a brighter Allay, which the Houſe met only to confirm and proſecute ſuch Matters as were brought before 'em, by way of Petition from the City.

The King anſwers the Remonſtrance.

The King on his part not to be wanting to himſelf, reſolved about this time to publiſh a Declaration to all his Subjects, in Anſwer to the Remonſtrance lately diſperſed by the Houſe of Commons over all the Kingdom; in which he took Notice *of the Fears and Jealouſies, which ſo much affected the Minds of his People, with Reference to their Religion, their Liberty, or their Civil Intereſts. The Fears relating to the firſt he obſerved to be of Two Sorts; either as the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed might be impeach'd by the Popiſh Party, or as it contained ſome Ceremonies which gave Offence, real or pretended, to tender Conſciences. For the firſt, he was willing to declare to all the World, that as from his Childhood he had been educated in the Eſtabliſhed Religion of the Church of* England, *ſo he hoped he ſhould be ready to ſeal it with his Blood, if it pleaſe God to call him to that Sacrifice. As for Matters of Ceremony, he ſaid, he was ready to comply with the Advice of his Parliament, that ſome Laws ſhould be made in Behalf of tender Conſciences, to exempt 'em from*

1641. *Puniſhment or Proſecution for neglecting ſuch Ceremonies, provided it were done with that Modeſty, Temper and Submiſſion, that the Peace and Quietneſs of the Kingdom ſhould not be interrupted, nor the Decency and Comlineſs of God's Service be diſcountenanc'd. Concerning the Civil Liberties, he ſaid, thoſe excellent Laws paſs'd by him this Parliament, were laſting Monuments of his Princely and Fatherly Care of his People. He told 'em he underſtood very well the Rights and Advantages he had quitted, in his paſſing thoſe Acts; and therefore had Reaſon to hope, as he omitted no Opportunity of making their Condition comfortable and happy, they would make him ſuitable Returns of Gratitude and Duty; ſince no Particular ſhould be preſented to him, for the Eſtabliſhment of their Happineſs and Security, to which he was not reſolv'd to contribute his utmoſt Aſſiſtance with the ſame Alacrity. He ſaid, if thoſe Reſolutions were ſincere, and he took God to witneſs they were, certainly no ſiniſter Deſign upon the Publick could accompany 'em. And therefore that it was not one of the leaſt of his Misfortunes, that having not retain'd in his Service, or protected any Perſon diſagreeable to the Parliament, or advanc'd into any Degree of Favour or Grace thoſe who were not eminently eſteem'd among the People, there ſhould ſo ſoon ariſe a Miſunderſtanding of their Fidelity and Integrity. However, if he had been deceiv'd in ſuch his Choice, the Particular ſhould no ſooner be made known to him, than he would leave thoſe who deſerv'd it to publick Juſtice. If notwithſtanding all this any malignant Party ſhould perſiſt, and chuſe rather to ſacrifice the Peace and Welfare of their Country, than fail of their own ſiniſter Ends and Ambitions, he made no doubt but God in his own time would diſcover them, and the Wiſdom and Courage of his Parliament would concur with him to ſuppreſs and puniſh 'em.*

*Having ſaid and done all he could to manifeſt the Clearneſs and Integrity of his Intentions, he could not but believe all his good Subjects would confeſs his Part was fully perform'd, and that their Happineſs depended now wholly upon themſelves: He hoped the Loyalty and good Affections of all his Subjects would join with him in the conſtant Maintenance of a good Underſtanding between him and his People, and that their own In-*

*Intereſt, and a compaſſionate Senſe of the miſerable State of the poor Proteſtants in* Ireland, *would induce 'em to a friendly Intelligence and Unity among themſelves; that ſo they might unanimouſly undertake the happy Relief and Recovery of that unhappy Kingdom, where thoſe barbarous Rebels committed ſuch inhumane Outrages, as no Chriſtian Ear could hear without Horror, or any Story parallel. He concluded in conjuring all his People, by all the Obligations of Love, Duty, and Obedience, to help him to recover the Peace of that Kingdom, and preſerve the Peace of this; to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which might either cool their Affections to him, or interrupt their Charity to each other. And then he ſaid, if an inevitable Judgment did not hang over this Nation for the Sins thereof, he did not doubt but God would render him a great and glorious Prince, and them a free and happy People.* 1641.

This Declaration at leaſt for the preſent had ſo little Effect to His Majeſties Advantage, that on the contrary the majority of the Common-Council ſent a Petition to the King, in the Name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, which was preſented to His Majeſty the next *Sunday* Morning with great Solemnity, repreſenting *under what Fears and Diſtractions the City then labour'd, by reaſon of the great Succeſs of the Bloody Rebels in* Ireland, *and diſmiſſing a Perſon of Honour and Truſt from being Lieutenant of the* Tower. *The fortifying* Whitehal *in an unaccuſtomed manner, ſome Men there abuſing and wounding ſeveral Citizens going by, the placing divers Canoneers and others in the* Tower, *the Diſcovery of ſeveral Fire-works in the Hands of Papiſts, and the Miſ-underſtanding between His Majeſty and His Parliament: That His Majeſties late going to the Houſe of Commons, follow'd by a Number of Men in Arms, had exceedingly increaſed their Fears; the Effects of which not only tended to the Decay of Trade, which they already in a great Meaſure felt, but to the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all his Subjects; and therefore they prayed His Majeſty to adviſe with His Parliament, for the ſpeedy Relief of the Proteſtants in* Ireland; *that the* Tower *might be put into the Hands of an honeſt Man; all ſuſpicious Perſons be removed from about*

The City petitions the King.

1641. Whitehal *and* Weſtminſter, *an approved Guard to be appointed for His Majeſties Safety, and that of His Parliament; the Lord* Kimbolton, *and the Five Members of the Houſe of Commons, might be allowed their Liberty, and not be proceeded againſt otherwiſe than according to the Privileges of Parliament.*

The King would have declined receiving ſuch a Petition if it could have been avoided; but the Torrent was too ſtrong to be reſiſted, and therefore he the ſame Day return'd this Anſwer; *That for the melancholy Buſineſs of* Ireland *he had omitted nothing on his part; he wonder'd the Petitioners ſhould ſtill entertain their Fears about the Tower, ſince he had removed a truſty Servant from thence, only in Compliance with their Fears, and put in another of undiſputable Reputation, and known Ability, and whatever Preparation of Strength was there made it was with as great a Regard to the Safety and Advantage of the City, as of himſelf and Children. As to the unuſual fortifying* Whitehal *with Men and Ammunition, he made no doubt but they knew upon what Grounds he was induced to entertain that Guard; that a diſorderly riotous Aſſembly of People had not only diſquieted his great Council, but brought his own Royal Perſon in Danger; and if any had been roughly treated or wounded, he was ſure it proceeded from their own arrogant tumultuous Demeanors. He knew nothing of the Fireworks in Popiſh Hands, nor underſtood whom nor what they meant. He was perſwaded, if they knew the true Grounds upon which thoſe Members had been accuſed of High-Treaſon, they would believe his going to the Houſe of Commons, with Attendants no otherwiſe armed than as Gentlemen with Swords, was an Act of great Grace and Favour to that Houſe, and the moſt peaceable way of performing that neceſſary Piece of Service, ſince ſuch Orders had been made for the oppoſing what Authority ſoever for their Apprehenſion; his Proceedings againſt 'em be intended ſhould be juſt and favourable, according to the known Laws of the Land, to which all innocent Men would readily ſubmit. And this extraordinary Way of ſatisfying ſo unuſual a Petition, he ſaid, he hoped his People would interpret as the greateſt Inſtance of his favourable Intentions towards 'em, and his ſingular Eſteem of that City, of which he hoped they would enter-*

The King's Anſwer.

tain

*tain ſo grateful a Senſe, as never to decline his juſt Commands and Service.* 1641.

The Committee of the Commons ſtill continued ſitting in *London*, and minded chiefly no other Buſineſs but their own Privileges. And the Sheriffs had Orders to appoint a Guard for them, whilſt it continued there, and attend the Houſes when they ſhould ſit again at *Weſtminſter*. The accuſed Members were with great State conducted to the Committee, where they ſate to find out ſome Way for their own Vindication. Then the Commons agreed upon a Declaration, in which they ſet forth, *That the Chambers, Cloſets, and Trunks of Mr.* Hollis, *Sir* Arthur Haſlerigg, *Mr.* Pym. *Mr.* Hambden, *and Mr.* Strode, *under a Pretence of His Majeſties Warrant, had been ſeal'd up, which deſtroyed the Common Liberty of every Subject, as well as the Privilege of Parliament; that the ſame Day a Serjeant at Arms had demanded the ſame Members to arreſt 'em; that the Day following His Majeſty came to the Houſe, attended by a Multitude of armed Men in a hoſtile manner, to the great Terror and Diſturbance of the Members then ſitting. That His Majeſty, ſeating himſelf in the Speaker's Chair, demanded thoſe Perſons ſhould be ſurrender'd up to him, which was a high Breach of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and did iſſue out ſeveral Warrants under his own Hand for the Apprehending 'em, which he could not lawfully do.* And thereupon they declared, *If any Perſon ſhould arreſt Mr.* Hollis, &c. *or any other Member of Parliament, without the Conſent of that Houſe, whereof he is a Member, he ſhould be reputed a publick Enemy of the Commonwealth.* Then they publiſhed, *That upon ſeveral Examinations it plainly appear'd, ſeveral Soldiers, Papiſts and others, about Five Hundred in number, came with His Majeſty to the Houſe, and that ſome of 'em with their Piſtols cock'd near the Door of the Houſe, ſaid,* I am a good Marksman, I can hit right; *others ſaid,* A Pox take the Houſe of Commons, let 'em be hang'd; *and as the King returned, they ſeem'd highly diſcontented, asking, When comes the* Word? *That ſome of 'em, being ask'd, What they thought the Company deſign'd to have done? They replied, That queſtionleſs, if the* Word *had been given, they ſhould have cut all the Throats of the Houſe*

The Commons Declaration.

1641. *of Commons. Upon which they ſaid, they were of Opinion that their Deſign was to take away ſome of the Members, and if they had met with any Oppoſition, to fall upon the Houſe in a hoſtile manner.*

Thereupon they declared, *It was a traiterous Deſign againſt the King and Parliament; and whereas the Members accus'd had Leave to abſent themſelves, to avoid the many Inconveniences which might otherwiſe have happen'd, ſince which time a Paper, printed in the Nature of a Proclamation, had been iſſued out for their Apprehenſion and Impriſonment, ſuggeſting, that their Guilt had made 'em fly.* They did further declare, *That the ſaid Paper was falſe, ſcandalous, and unlawful; notwithſtanding which Paper, or any Warrant, or other Matter againſt 'em, they might and ought to attend the Service of the Houſe, and the Committees then on Foot; and that any Perſon whatſoever might lawfully entertain, harbour, and converſe with them; and whoſoever ſhould be call'd in Queſtion for the ſame, ſhould be under the Protection and Privilege of Parliament.*

They further declared, *That the publiſhing the Articles of High-Treaſon againſt the accuſed Members was a high Breach of Privilege, ſcandalous to His Majeſty and his Government, manifeſtly tending to the Subverſion of the publick Peace, and a great Injury and Diſhonour to the Members, and that their Liberties and Privileges ſo infring'd and broken, could not receive a ſufficient Vindication, till the King would be graciouſly pleaſed to declare the Names of thoſe who adviſed him to the particular Acts before mention'd, that they might meet with condign Puniſhment.*

This Declaration was no ſooner framed by the Committee, than it was publiſh'd in Print throughout the Kingdom. But now to cloſe up the Affairs of this tremendous Year in *England* with the Words of my Lord C—— himſelf; he ſays, the Truth is, theſe late Proceedings of the King had created a wonderful Change in the Minds of all ſorts of People; they who before had loſt their Reputation, except with the meaner Sort, who could be of ſmall uſe to 'em when the greater ſhould forſake 'em, and were ſo diſpirited, that they deſpaired of ever compaſſing their Deſigns, (and had ſome of 'em taken

ken up their old Thoughts of leaving the Kingdom) grew now more Couragious than ever, and quickly found their Credit was as great, and the Court reduced to a lower Condition, more Diſ-eſteem and Neglect than it ever had ſuffer'd before; all their former Noiſe of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the Parliament, which before had been laugh'd at, was now thought to be built upon good Grounds; and what hitherto had been only whiſper'd of *Ireland*, was now talk'd aloud, and publiſh'd in Print. The Shops in the City, for the Generality, were ſhut up, and the People at a Gaze, as if they waited only for Directions, and were prepared for any Undertaking. On the other Hand, they who with the greateſt Courage had thwarted their Seditious Practices, were now confounded with the Thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Tho' they were far from the imagining the accuſed Members had been much wronged, yet they thought they had been called to an Account for it at a very unſeaſonable time; and the expoſing the Dignity, Majeſty and Safety of the King, in his coming in Perſon in that manner to the Houſe of Commons, and going the next Day to the *Guild-hall*, where he met with ſuch Reproaches to his Face, added to their Anger and Indignation All which was juſtly charged upon the Lord *Digby*, who was before leſs belov'd than he deſerv'd, and was now the moſt univerſally hated of any Man in the Nation. 1641.

Having already given you an ample Relation of the Revolution in *Portugal*, we come now to ſhew that the new King omitted nothing that might conduce to his Eſtabliſhment on the Throne. After his Arrival at *Lisbon*, he preſently appointed Governors for all the Frontier Towns, chuſing for that Purpoſe Men of Fidelity, Valour and Experience; who immediately went away to their Poſts with what Forces they could gather, and uſed all poſſible Diligence to put the Places committed to them into a Poſture of Defence. Commiſſions were given out to raiſe Forces, and immediately after the Coronation, the *Cortes* or Parliament was ſummon'd: They met the 28th of *January*, and by a ſolemn Act acknowledg'd

New Governors placed in the Frontiers of *Portugal*.

1641. ledg'd King *John* to be their lawful and rightful Soveraign, as deſcended by the Princeſs his Mother from Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Emanuel*. In this Aſſembly of the Three Eſtates the King declared, that for the Support of his Houſhold he would content himſelf with his own private Revenue, and would lay apart all thoſe of the Crown to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Kingdom, and that the People might reliſh the Sweetneſs of his Government, he aboliſhed all new Taxes impoſed by the *Spaniards*. The moſt conſiderable Employments he gave to ſuch of the Conſpirators as had beſt deſerved, yet, *Pinto* had no Share in this Promotion, but nevertheleſs, had ſo great an Influence over the King, that tho' he had not the Title of a Miniſter of State, nothing of moment was done without him. Having ſettled all Things at home, the King next bent his Thoughts towards Foreign Princes. He diſpatched Ambaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to move them to own him, and at the ſame time to gain Allies, and raiſe new Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. A League offenſive and defenſive was concluded with the *Hollanders* and *Catalonians*, both at that time in Arms againſt the King of *Spain*. That Monarch not being in a Condition to uſe immediate Force for the reducing of *Portugal*, ſtill hop'd he might by fair Means or Threats work upon the new King, and to that end writ a Letter to him in the Stile of a Sovereign, but in moſt affectionate Terms. The Anſwer was ſuch, as no leſs touched the King of *Spain*, than the News of the Revolt had done before. He had his Hands full in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Rouſſillon* and *Catalonia*, and yet rather than ſeem to abate any thing of his Royal Grandeur, reſolved to hazard all, rather than ſuffer this Affront to paſs unreveng'd. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was order'd to raiſe Forces in *Andaluzia*, the Count *de Monterey* in the Two *Caſtiles*, and the Marqueſs *de Valparaiſo* in *Leon* and *Galicia*. And becauſe a Fleet was the moſt abſolutely neceſſary, the Duke *de Maqueda*, Admiral of the Ocean, had Orders to gather all the Veſſels that were fit for Service, and to infeſt the Coaſt, whilſt the others acted by Land.

Ambaſſadors ſent to all the Courts of *Europe*.

Of

1641.

Of all the Ambaſſadors ſent by the King of *Portugal* to the Chriſtian Princes, only the Biſhop of *Lamego*, deſigned for *Rome*, miſcarried: The Matter of the Veſſel that carried him put into *Cartagena*, a Port of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, and delivered him up to the *Spaniards*, for which Treachery he received a Reward of 2000 Crowns. That Prelate's Life was in great Danger, for he had certainly been executed, but that the King was put in Mind that the Marqueſs *de la Puebla*, and Five or Six other Perſons of Quality were Priſoners at *Lisbon*. This Conſideration mov'd him to order the Biſhop ſhould be civilly treated, leſt the Priſoners at *Lisbon* might ſuffer for his ſake. Fortune, which the Year before had ſo highly favoured the new King, ſtill ſeemed wholly devoted to his Party. All the Forts on the Coaſt of *Africk*, (except *Ceuta* and *Tangier*, which at laſt afterwards ſubmitted) upon the firſt News of what happned in *Portugal*, withdrew themſelves from their Obedience to the *Spaniards*, and ſent to acknowledge King *John*, and aſſure him of their utmoſt Fidelity. Nor was this all, for the Vice-Roy of *Braſil* having Intelligence of the Revolution, ſent his Son to *Lisbon* to take the Oath of Allegiance to the new King, in his Name, and in the Name of all the Inhabitants of that Coaſt, who teſtified an extraordinary Satisfaction for that Change. The Iſlands *Azores*, reſolved not to be the laſt that declared for the King, and to give him ſome Proof of their Fidelity, at the very beginning of his Reign, they ſeized 10 Ships coming from *India*, that knew nothing of the Revolution, and ſent them to *Lisbon*, after having taken off all the Soldiers that were aboard them. In *May* alſo this Year a Caravell diſpatch'd Expreſs from *India*, by *John de Sylva Tello*, the Vice-Roy, brought the News that the King had been Proclaimed iu his Dominions in *Aſia*, and as far as the Coaſt of *China*. And to compleat this Prince's Happineſs, tho' before there was a mortal Enmity betwixt the *Portugueſe* and *Hollanders*, yet now on the 12th of *June* a Ceſſation of Arms betwixt the Two Nations was agreed upon and concluded, at the *Hague*, for Ten Years, and ſoon after the States ſent an Ambaſſador to Congratulate the King, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown. The *Portugal*

King *John* Proclaimed in *India*.

A Ceſſation of Arms with the *Dutch*.

1641. *gal* Ambaſſador returning, brought with him Two Regiments of Horſe, and conſiderable Supplies of Arms and Ammunition. The *Catalonians* alſo ſent the Lord *Sala* on the ſame Account, and to ratifie the League before concluded by the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador.

A Conſpiracy againſt the new King, diſcovered.

All new erected Monarchies are ſubject to a Thouſand Accidents, and unleſs protected by ſome Heavenly Power, can ſcarce continue long in their full Splendor. The King of *Portugal* was raiſed to the Throne of his Anceſtors, in a manner almoſt miraculous, he mounted without any Oppoſition, 600 Towns and 15000 Villages ſubmitted to him in leſs than Eight Days, and all the People of the Kingdom declared they were never happy till his Acceſſion to the Crown. Nevertheleſs, no ſooner was he ſeated on the Throne, but he found many Enemies, and among them ſome of thoſe who helped to raiſe him to that Grandeur. About 100 of the greateſt Men in his Kingdom conſpired to deſtroy him; and if Heaven had not protected him, there had been but a ſhort Space betwixt the Birth and Grave of his Sovereignty. The Archbiſhop of *Braga*, the chief Inquiſitor, Two other Biſhops, the Marqueſs of *Villareal* and his Son, the Duke *de Caminha*, were the principal Conſpirators: *D. Lorenzo*, *Pidez de Carvallo*, the Count *de Armamar*, and *D. Auguſtin Manuel*, were brought in as Aſſociates; the Jews in *Lisbon* were concerned in the Deſign, and there was a Party in the Fleet then lying at *Belem*, one Man being aboard every Ship, in order to Fire it upon a Signal given. *Lawrence Pidez de Carvallo* was to break into the Queen's Apartment with 100 Men, to ſecure all there. It was given in Charge to the Jews to fire the City in Eight or Ten Places, that the People being buſied there, they might have time to force the Palace. The Inquiſitor-General ſent Letters into *Spain* to acquaint the King with the Deſign, that the Forces on the Frontiers might be ready to march to *Lisbon*, upon the firſt Advice, and the Duke *de Maqueda* to enter the Port with the Fleet of *Spain*. Concerning the manner of diſcovering this Conſpiracy, there are Three ſeveral Accounts. One is, that the Letters being directed

directed to the Marqueſs *de Ayamonte*, who was Governor of the *Spaniſh* Frontiers; he broke them open, and ſent them back to the King of *Portugal*, when he had ſeen the Contents, which is moſt probable, he being afterwards Convicted of High Treaſon, and put to Death at *Segovia*, for Conſpiring againſt his King, with the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the new King of *Portugal*. Another ſays, That a Spy employed by the King to go often into *Spain*, meeting a *Bohemian*, who was employed to carry the ſaid Letters, and ſuſpecting ſomething by his Diſcourſe, made him Drunk, then Stabbing him, and having taken the Pacquet, brought it to the King; but this ſeems not to have any thing of Probability, or conſequently of Truth. The third is, that *D. Alfonſo de Portugal*, Count *de Vimioſo*, being deprived of his Command on the Frontiers, and grievouſly reſenting that Affront; the Archbiſhop of *Braga* conceived the Deſire of Revenge would eaſily engage him to enter into the Conſpiracy. He diſcovered the whole Deſign to him, and the Count ſeeming to embrace the Propoſition, acquainted the King with the whole Matter. The Conſpiracy being diſcovered, the King ſo ordered the Affair, that moſt of theſe Perſons therein concerned were apprehended, without the leaſt Noiſe or Confuſion. The 5th of *Auguſt*, at 11 at Night, was the Time appointed, for putting the Conſpiracy in Execution. That very Morning the King cauſed all the Troops that quartered in the Neighbouring Villages to march into *Lisbon*, upon Pretence of a Review to be taken in the large Place before the Palace. He with his own Hand gave ſeveral Billets ſealed up to Perſons he could confide in, with poſitive Orders to every one not to open his Billet till 12 at Noon, and then punctually to obey what it directed. Then having ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Braga*, and Marqueſs of *Villareal*, under Colour of Communicating ſome important Affairs, they were both ſeized in the King's Lodgings about Noon, without any Noiſe: At the ſame time a Captain of the Guards apprehended the Duke of *Caminha*, in the Place before the Palace. Thoſe who had received the Billets having opened them, found each an Order, which

1641.

The principal Conſpirators ſeized and puniſhed.

1641. which was ſo punctually executed, that 47 were taken without any Difficulty, none endeavouring to eſcape. When the News of the Conſpiracy was noiſed abroad, it is not poſſible to expreſs the Rage conceived by the Multitude againſt thoſe that were the Fomenters of it, every Man deſiring to be the Executioner of them, as is the Nature of the Rabble where-ever they conceive a Hatred. The Wrack forced a Confeſſion from many of the Criminals, and the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitor, the Marqueſs of *Villareal*, and Duke *de Caminha*, to ſave themſelves that Miſery, owned the whole Deſign. The Marqueſs, the Duke, the Count *de Armamar*, and *D. Auguſtin Manuel*, were ſentenced to be Beheaded. The Archbiſhop and Inquiſitor, becauſe of their Character, the King condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. All the others were adjudged to be Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered, and they all ſuffered according to the Sentence pronounced againſt them. It is remarkable, that when the Marqueſs on the Scaffold had ſpoke to the People, they cried out furiouſly, *Let him die, let him die:* To which the Marqueſs anſwered, *So the Jews cried out againſt Chriſt.*

Several Military Expeditions.

Theſe Executions having ſecured the Prince, he bent all his Thoughts upon War, and having to that Purpoſe obtained of the King of *France* Five Colonels of Horſe, Three of Foot, and Two of Dragoons, he ordered them to be ready to march to the Frontiers, and raiſed new Troops to reinforce his Army that lay then before *Bajadoz:* However, they were otherwiſe employed, for the Council not thinking it expedient to waſte an Army before a Town that did them no harm, thoſe Troops that beſieged it were recalled to ſerve elſewhere. The firſt Act of Hoſtility I meet with betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, was in the Province of *Alentejo*, near *Elvas*. A Party of *Spaniards* having broke into that Province, exerciſed all manner of Cruelties to terrifie the People, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, nor even the Churches. *D. John de Acoſta*, who commanded at *Elvas*, having Notice hereof, ſent out Five Companies of Foot, under the Command of *Gaſpar de Sequeira Manuel:* Theſe were followed by 400 Men, under the Conduct of *Luis Mendez de Vaſconcellos;*

*cellos*: Theſe being joined by certain Troops, Three Leagues from *Campo Major*, marched towards the *Spaniards*, who ſtill continued their Ravages, and charging them, killed 200 upon the Spot, purſuing the reſt to the Gates of *Bajadoz*, where they took Shelter. This unfortunate beginning was followed by like Conſequences; 600 *Spaniards* advancing into the Province of *Alentejo* to ſurprize the Town of *Montalvao*; *Maſcarenhas*, Colonel of a *Portugueze* Regiment, with only Four Companies, attacked them before they came to the Town, and with ſuch good Succeſs, that having killed 18 or 20, the reſt retired to the Paſs on a ſmall River, and he fearing ſome Ambuſh, becauſe Night drew on, purſued no further. In the Morning, perceiving they were quite gone, he followed them as far as the Town of *Ferreira* in *Caſtile*, which he Plundered and Burnt without any Oppoſition, tho' it might eaſily have been defended againſt a greater Power. Beyond the Mountains the *Spaniards* had Sacked and Burnt Four open Towns; to revenge which, *Lewis Gomez de Figueiredo* paſſed over into *Galicia*, took the Town of *Monterey*, and having Pillaged it, reduced it Aſhes. To requite this, another Party of *Spaniards* fell into the Country about *Braganza*; but the Inhabitants and Soldiers who quartered thereabouts aſſembling, cut moſt of them in pieces, and then piercing into *Caſtile*, burnt Seven Villages, and the Town of *Geronda*, of which, they left nothing ſtanding but the Walls. At the ſame time *Luis Gomez de Figueiredo*, with 1500 Foot and 300 Horſe, fell upon the Marqueſs of *Tarraſona*, who marched towards *Valverde* with 2000 of the former, and 200 of the latter; and after a Fight, which laſted about Four Hours, obtained the Victory, which had been greater, but that Night coming on, hindred the Purſuit. 1641.

Daily Action more and more incenſed the Two Nations, and an implacable Hatred had taken Poſſeſſion of their Hearts, ſo that the Frontiers were never free from Slaughter and Rapine. *D. Gaſton Coutinho*, the *Portugueze* General, being informed that 6000 *Spaniſh* Foot and 800 Horſe had fortified themſelves in Two Villages, one whereof was in *Galicia*, the Other War like Exploits.

1641. the other in *Portugal*, he marched with 30 Horſe to view them, and finding their Works weak enough to be overthrown, if attacked with Vigour, ordered his Foot to advance: A Parry of the Enemies Horſe that advanced, was eaſily repulſed, which cauſing ſome Conſternation in the main Body, gave time to plant Two Pieces of Canon againſt them. Theſe Two Pieces having play'd ſome time, *D. Gaſton*, who had made Four Battalions of his Foot courageouſly aſſaulted the Works in as many Places: The Soldiers being as forward in the Purſuit of Honour as their Officers, nothing could withſtand them: They forced the Entrenchments, took Four Redoubts, entred the Place, and took all the Baggage; but not contenting themſelves with this Victory, and the gaining of 11 Colours, they burnt all the Villages for Two Leagues about. Above 400 *Spaniards* were killed upon the Place, 14 Officers and 70 Soldiers were taken. Nor was this all, the *Portugueze* General making his Advantage of the Enemies Conſternation, the next Day marched into *Galicia*, and purſuing thoſe that having eſcaped, had fortified themſelves in another Village, forced them again to retire, burnt Nine Houſes, and then returned home with Honour, and his Soldiers enriched with Plunder. In the mean while, *Vaſco de Azevedo Coutinho*, and *Emanuel de Souſa de Abreu*, being continually infeſted by the Excurſions of the *Spaniards*, gathered all the Forces they could, and marched to *Lobos*, in the Caſtle of which Place, the *Spaniards* always had a ſafe Retreat, after committing their ordinary Ravages. This Caſtle they aſſaulted, and carried with the Loſs only of 22 Men; which done, they burnt 700 Houſes, as well in the Town of *Lobos*, as in the neighbouring Villages. This was not yet the laſt Stroke of ill Fortune the *Spaniards* felt. *Martin Alfonſo de Mello*, underſtanding a great Body of the [illegible] was marched from *Badajoz* to attack *Olivenza*, a Town ſeated on the River *Guadiana*, which parts [illegible] and *Portugal*, aſſembled all the Forces he could to relieve that Place. Being on his March, an Expreſs came to him from the Governor, giving an Account that they had aſſaulted the Town in Two Places, but met with ſuch a vigorous Oppoſition,

tion, that they were forced to retire with the Loſs of 200 Men; nevertheleſs, he deſired ſome Succour, leſt they ſhould return. They accordingly returned, hoping to ſurprize the Place, feigning themſelves a *Portugueze* Convoy with Proviſions, yet met they with no better Succeſs, being again repulſed with the Loſs of 140 Men. *Alfonſo* ſtill hoped to be able to overtake them in their Return; but they taking another Way than was given out, he miſſed of them, and therefore diſmiſſed his Troops to their ſeveral Garriſons. 1641.

It was generally a received Opinion throughout all *Spain*, tho' the Author of it was not known, that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* held a ſecret Correſpondence with the King of *Portugal*, and favoured his Cauſe. The Ground of this Suſpicion was, that King *John* had to his Queen the Siſter of that Duke, and upon this Jealouſie, it is thought the King of *Spain* talking one Day with the Count Duke *de Olivarez*, complained to him, That he had Three or Four times obſerved the Family of *Guzman* was fatal to his Grandeur: The Count Duke, who was himſelf of that Family, immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, ſummoning him to appear at Court with all poſſible Speed. He obeyed, and being come to *Madrid*, he was perſwaded, that to clear himſelf of the Imputation of Diſloyalty caſt upon him, he ſhould publiſh a Manifeſto, containing a Challenge to the new King of *Portugal*; tho' others were of Opinion, That the Duke knowing himſelf to be in ſome Meaſure guilty publiſhed the ſaid Declaration and Challenge of his own Accord, to obliterate the ill Opinion entertained of him: However it were in Reality, 'tis certain he publiſhed and diſperſed throughout all *Spain* and *Portugal* a Cartel in Vindication of his Honour, charging the new King with the Crime of Rebellion, and challenging him to ſingle Combat, with all the Formalities uſed in the like Caſes. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, challenges King *John*.

In the mean time the Biſhop of *Lamego*, who had been betray'd to the *Spaniards* as aforeſaid, being exchang'd for certain *Spaniards* of Quality, continued his Journey to *Rome*, on his Embaſſie to the Pope. Upon his Arrival the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador pro-

1641. proteſted, that he would immediately return home, in caſe the Pope received him as Ambaſſador from *Portugal*. Upon which the Pope ordered he ſhould come to Town by Night, but ſuffered him to be viſited as an Ambaſſador; he of *France* ſent his Coach to fetch him from *Civita Vecchia*, with a Guard of all the *Portugueze* and *Catalonians*, that were then at *Rome*; but this Ambaſſie had not the deſired Effect.

As for the Affairs of *France*, *Richlieu*, who by his Conduct muſt daily acquire more Enemies, now ſtrengthned himſelf by an Alliance with the Houſe of *Conde*, in marrying a Daughter of the Mareſchal *de Breze* to the Duke of *Enguien*, but during the Divertiſement thereof he contrived to mortifie the Parliament of *Paris*, which had preſumed more than once to make ſome Oppoſition to his Demands: For ſome Weeks after the King aſſembled all the Chambers together, and went thither, accompanied by the Princes of the Blood and other Grandees; where he cauſed a Declaration to be read, which prohibited the Parliament from concerning themſelves with any Affairs of State, and commanded them to receive his Edicts, not to diſapprove, but confirm them: He further declared, he intended to take the Abſolute Power into his Hands, of diſpoſing all the Offices of Parliament, and to reward ſuch as he pleaſed with them. At the ſame time he depoſed the Preſident *Barillon*, Two Counſellors, and ſome others that had been baniſhed before. He likewiſe ordered, That the Parliament every Three Months ſhould give the Chancellor an Account of what they did, and every Year take a Permiſſion from His Majeſty to continue in their reſpective Functions. Now thoſe who had the Courage to defend the Rights of the Parliament, urged in vain, That the Perſons who compoſed it had never intended to be their King's Tutors, nor to arrogate a Power ſuperior or equal to theirs, nor to ſet up for Tribunes of the People, as their Enemies wrongfully accuſed them. They owned themſelves to be the King's Subjects, and to derive their Power from his Authority; but then they ſaid, that a Secret of Policy lay concealed in the Exerciſe of their Offices, which the Flatterers at Court were not acquainted with:

That

That the ancient Kings of *France* being ſenſible, 1641.
that a pure Monarchy, where all the Laws depend upon the Will of a ſingle Perſon, was but of a ſhort Continuance, had wiſely tempered the Form of Government, by mixing ſome Appearance of an Ariſtocracy with it, and by eſtabliſhing Laws, which they themſelves were not allowed to violate, that ſo the People might with greater Chearfulneſs ſubmit to their Soveraign Authority: That for this end they had voluntarily ſubmitted their own Edicts to the Examination of that Parliament, that ſo they might fully be informed, whether they contained any thing contrary to the known Laws and Rules of Equity; That their Conſcience and true Intereſt obliged them to obſerve theſe Laws impartially, and not to violate Juſtice; That however, in caſe they were of Opinion the Parliament did not give them good Council, they were ſtill at Liberty to have Recourſe to their Abſolute Power, as it appeared by theſe Terms in their Edicts, *For ſuch is our good Pleaſure:* That Declarations were not addreſt to the Parliament out of pure Formality, which was wholly unneceſſary; but That the People might afterwards obey them without any Repugnance: That it had been the ancient Policy of the Kings of *France*, to make all Sorts of Favours deſcend upon themſelves, but to ſee Juſtice adminiſtred in the Sovereign Courts: That this diſcharged the King from the Odium that might enſue upon the Exerciſe of any ſevere Act of Juſtice, and beſides diſengaged them from the Importunity of their Courtiers, who without this might lead them to commit ſeveral Things highly prejudicial to the Welfare of the States.

But now to other Affairs, the Duke of *Lorain*, after having for a conſiderable time ſollicited for a Paſs-board to come to Court, at length arrived on the 10th of *March* at St. *Germains*, where he was received with all imaginable Reſpect: His main Buſineſs was to endeavour at leaſt to regain one Part of his Country, to procure ſome Money for the Subſiſtance of his Troops, and to engage the Cardinal to act in his Favour at *Rome*, for procuring him a Divorce from his Dutcheſs, that he might marry his Miſtreſs, the Counteſs of *Cantecroix*. The Divorce

1641. could by no Means be obtained, but on the 29th of *May* they concluded a Treaty with him, whereby they reſtored *Lorain* and the Dutchy of *Bar* to him, upon Condition he would do Homage for the latter; and that *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jametz* and *Dun*, with all their Dependencies, ſhould continue reunited to the Crown; *Nancy* was likewiſe continued as a Pledge in the King's Hands to the end of the War. Beſides this, the Duke was to renounce all manner of Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to reſign his Troops to the King, who was to entertain them as his own, and to pay the Dutcheſs *Nichola* 160000 Livres by way of Penſion. Laſtly, the Duke farther agreed, That all his Dominions ſhould devolve to the Crown of *France*, if he in the leaſt infringed this Treaty. But the Duke, as ſoon as ever he returned home, forgetting all his Engagements, quickly brought a *French* Army upon him, who once more maſtered all the Places belonging to him, while he himſelf retir'd with what Troops he had into the *Low Countries*.

As for the Affairs of the *Low Countries*, the *French* under *Meilleray*, after having taken ſome Forts about *Aire*, laid a formal Siege to the Place; upon which the Cardinal *Infanta* failing to relieve it, he ſent a ſmall Party to make a Diverſion in the *Bolonois*. In the mean time the Place defended it ſelf with great Vigour, divers Works were taken and retaken ſeveral times, and the Beſiegers bought very dearly every Foot of Ground they got; however having at length made great Breaches with their Mines, they reduced the Gariſon and Burghers to capitulate on the 16th of *July*. *Genap* was ſurrendred on the ſame Day to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Cardinal *Infanta* was ſo concerned at the Loſs of *Aire*, that having drawn a conſiderable Army together, he would block up the *French* in their Camp before the Place, and indeed he put them ſo hard to it, that *Meilleray* was neceſſitated to draw off by Night; he was no ſooner gone, but the Cardinal entred his Lines, and began the Siege of the Place; the *French* who could not well relieve or throw any Supplies into the Place, by way of Diverſion, took *Lens*, *La Baſſee*, and made Inroads into *Flanders*; they

they likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of *Bapaume*. 1641.
In the mean time the Cardinal *Infanta* falling ſick in the Camp at *Aire*, was carried to *Bruſſels*, where he died on the 9th of *November*. It was believed in *France*, his Death would cauſe the Siege of *Aire* to be raiſed; but *Melo*, who had the Management of it, continued it with great Reſolution; ſo that at laſt, after the Beſieged had conſumed all their Proviſions, they ſurrendred on the 7th of *December*; and ſo the Campaign ended on that ſide, not very much after all to the Reputation of the *French* Generals, who were blamed for taking ſo little Care of that Conqueſt, which coſt them ſo much Blood, and which they ſaw retaken before their Faces, without finding a Way to hinder it. On the other ſide the *Spaniards*, inſtead of uſing Lenity to reclaim the revolted *Catalonians*, were extreamly cruel to them; ſo that inſtead of ſubmitting, they called in the *French*, with whoſe Aſſiſtance they defeated the *Spaniards* at *Montjai* near *Barcelona*: and *La Mothe Houdancourt* being come from *Italy* with 3 or 4000 Men to *Catalonia*, he relieved *Aytone*, beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and increaſed the Gariſon of *Lerida*: *Conſtantin* not long after fell into his Hands. In the mean time, as the Forces which were ſent by Land to *Catalonia*, run great Dangers, ſo long as the *Spaniards* were Maſters of *Rouſſillon*; *Conde* entred that Country with 5000 Foot, and 1300 Horſe, he quickly took *Canet* and *Elve*, and *Angeles* opened her Gates to him; then dividing his Forces into Two Bodies, *La Mothe* did as it were beſiege the *Spaniſh* Army under the Cannon of *Terragone*. Now the *Spaniards* having attempted to relieve their Troops, and the Town (reduced by great Extremities) by Sea, met with but very indifferent Succeſs the firſt time; but reſolving not to abandon the Enterprize, they fitted out a Fleet of 60 Sail, followed by ſeveral Brigantines laden with Proviſion; and having in a manner ſurprized that of *France* under the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, he was glad to make the beſt of his Way to *Provence*, with the Loſs of Three of his Ships, and his Conduct upon this Occaſion was highly cenſured, ſo that the Officers at *Thoulon* would not own him for their Admiral.

*Spaniards* retake it.

1641. K. *Lewis* by this time having accepted the Donation of *Catalonia*, appointed the Mareſchal *de Breze* to go thither to command in Quality of Vice-Roy, and to ſwear at *Barcelona* in his Name to preſerve the Privileges of the *Catalonians*: He was already arrived at *Rouſſillon*, where we muſt leave him to Orders to block up *Perpignan*, to hinder any Relief of Ammunition from coming to it, becauſe the King propoſed to attack it the following Campaign. And we ſhall here ſay ſomewhat more once for all concerning the unfortunate Queen-Mother, who after ſhe had reſided ſome Time at *London*, was obliged to leave the Kingdom; and the States-General not daring to entertain her for fear of the Cardinal, ſhe was forced to go to *Cologn*; and who, tho' Wife, Mother-in-law and Mother of the greateſt Kings of *Europe*, wandred without Refuge or Shelter, as a Spectacle of Humane Miſery, and now died here in a poor hired Houſe, without almoſt either Money, Friends or Followers.

Queen-Mother's Death.

*Richlieu* was undoubtedly as much pleaſed with this, as he was for obtaining a Cardinal's Cap for his dear Friend and Confident *Julius Mazarine*. But to paſs this over, and not to enter into the Particulars of the Count of *Soiſſons*, Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Bouillon* forming a Deſign to diſpoſſeſs the Cardinal, and but juſt to mention the Retirement of the Dukes of *Vendoſme* and *Beauford* into *England*, as being now of the number of his profeſſed Enemies; it's ſufficient to obſerve that he managed his Affairs with that Dexterity, that he forced the former Princes to conclude a Treaty with *Spain*, to furniſh them with Forces, purely to diſpoſſeſs them of *Sedan*, and to ruin them. The King towards the beginning of Summer had advanced as far as *Albeville* to be nearer *Artois*, when he deſigned to beſiege *Aire*; and there it was that he publiſhed a Declaration bearing date the 8th of *June*, wherein after he had obſerved that the Princes who were at *Sedan* had committed divers Hoſtilities, and joined themſelves to *Spain*, he ordered all his Subjects to take them for declared Enemies, if they did not within a Month acknowledge their Fault, and ſubmit themſelves to his Clemency. In anſwer to this, the

Civil War.

the Princes made a long Manifeſto, dated *July* 2. tho' the ſame did not appear publick till after the Battel of *Sedan*: it was entituled, *A Manifeſto for the Satisfaction of the Princes of the Peace*, tho' the Count of *Soiſſons* only ſpoke; and in a manner it contained little elſe than Complaints againſt the Cardinal, the greateſt Part of which were undoubtedly well grounded. Now leſt theſe diſcontented Princes and Lords ſhould be branded for Enemies to their Country, they ſaid, that they had taken all neceſſary Precautions that the Emperor and the King of *Spain* ſhould lay down their Arms as ſoon as they ſhould conjointly obtain a ſure and honourable Peace, which they believed could never be durable as long as the Cardinal had Power to break it, as he had done the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*, and as long as every one did not enjoy what of Right did belong to him: That they took up Arms with no other Proſpect than to ſettle a laſting Peace, which the Cardinal ſeemed in Appearance to deſire, but not in Reality: That it was but natural they ſhould defend themſelves as well as they could againſt the violent and treacherous Proceedings of the Miniſter: Laſtly, they exhorted the Three Eſtates of the Kingdom to join with them, to obtain Satisfaction for the great Wrongs the Cardinal had done them, promiſing nevertheleſs to treat with all Civility, ſuch as were willing to continue Neuters, and declared the Cardinal and his Adherents to be Enemies to the King and State. 1641.

The Parliament of *Paris* before this Declaration appeared, made an Arreſt, whereby they declared all thoſe to be guilty of High-Treaſon that kept any Correſpondence with theſe Male-contents, or any Way abetted or aſſiſted them. In the mean time *Chatillon* entred the Principality of *Sedan* before the Enemy were ready; but *Lamboy* having joined the Princes on the 5th of *July*, marched with 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe to fight the Mareſchal, who had 1000 Horſe and as many Foot more than they: For all that he had poſitive Orders not to hazard a Battel; but the Princes having paſſed the *Meuſe* within a Quarter of a League of his Camp before he perceived it, he was ſurprized next Day to ſee their Army march towards him near the Wood of

1641. *Marſee.* Hereupon *Chatillon* drew up his Army forthwith in Battalia, while the Enemy did the ſame in too narrow and much leſs advantageous a Poſt, ſo that in all Probability, they muſt have been beaten: The Mareſchal's Right began the Battle with ſome Advantage, but the Horſe in the Left Wing turned back quickly upon the Foot, and put them into Diſorder; ſo that the Royal Infantry being attacked by the Princes, was broken after a ſhort Reſiſtance, and fled with the Cavalry, that could not be brought to rally again, which obliged the Mareſchal to retreat, as the reſt had done; whereas the Regiment of *Rouſſillon*, and Two Troops of Horſe of the Queen-Mother, and that of *Monſieur*, who were in a manner the only Troops that did any Service, pierced to the very Place where *Soiſſons* was, who bravely marching up to charge them, was here ſlain with a Piſtol ſhot, tho' the Enemies Horſe that charged him were entirely cut in Pieces: The Loſs of the *French* was 500, accrrding to the modeſteſt Computation, and 2000 were made Priſoners, their Cannon and Baggage falling into the Enemies Hands. The Conſequence of this Victory was *Lamboy*'s taking *Dunchery*, tho he held it but a little time: But the King's Army having received conſiderable Reinforcements, reſolved to attack *Sedan*, unleſs *Bouillon* made a ſudden Accommodation, which he thought fit to do, and the King granted him and all his Party a full Pardon, and a Neutrality for the Principality of *Sedan*, that it might not be expoſed to the Excurſions of the *Spaniards*.

Battle of *Sedan.*

Affairs of *Piedmont.*

Having done in theſe Parts, let us once more croſs the *Alps*, where finding Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, not thinking himſelf obliged to ſtand to the Treaty he had made with *France*, towards the latter end of the laſt Year, this quickly brought *Turenne* to take the Field, who took *Montcalvo* and the Caſtle in a few Days, and gave perpetual Alarms to the *Spaniſh* Forces that were in *Piedmont*. And to ſay the Truth, the *Spaniſh* Troops of *Milan* in the Parts appear'd very daſtardly, elſe the brave Prince *Thomas* in all Probability would have routed the *French*, as they beſieg'd *Ivrea*, as well as he might have done at *Chivas*, had the *Spaniards* ſtood their Ground, and

been

been willing to have come to an Engagement; however, the Prince having made a Shift to ſend ſome Succours into *Ivrea*, *Harcourt* raiſed the Siege; but not willing to be idle, reduced *Sera*, *Mondovi*, and on the 29th of *July* ſate before *Coni*, which Prince *Thomas* endeavouring to relieve in vain, it was at laſt ſurrendred to the *French*, while the *Spaniards* had the Opportunity to retake *Montcalvo*. 1641.

Having no farther Occaſion to tarry any longer in *Italy*, and having before mentioned the Preparations made by the *Turks* for the Siege of *Aſoph*; they were held in Suſpence for ſome Time, for fear of a War in *Hungary* with the Emperor; but being ſoon ſatisfied by the coming of his Envoy to the Port, and the Return of a *Chiaus* to *Vienna*, with a Ratification of all the former Articles and Conditions of Peace, they ſent a Letter to *Poland*, to demand a Paſſage for the Army to the Siege of *Aſoph*; but that not being agreed to, the *Turks* prepared to open their Way thither, and the *Poles* to oppoſe their Paſſage: Tho' many Diſaſters happened in the mean time, enough to diſcourage the former, and particularly when the Viſier was ready to depart, a dreadful Fire hapned at *Conſtantinople*; to the quenching of which, applying not only his Orders, but his Perſon, he adventured ſo far, that he burnt both his Hands, and ſinged his Beard in that manner, that he was forced to take his Bed for ſeveral Days, where he was honoured with a Viſit from the Sultan. But notwithſtanding this and a great many other Obſtructions, and eſpecially the Fear of *Ibrahim*'s Death, the Baſha, with the Army, at laſt, came before *Aſoph*; where being moleſted with frequent Sallies, they made ſome furious Aſſaults upon the Place, but were ſo repulſed with Arms, Combuſtible and Scalding Matters, and otherwiſe, that they were forced to retire into their Trenches, ſo that now the Captain Baſha and others, tried what Bribes would do, tho' to little Purpoſe, ſo that the *Turks* lay ſtill for Fifteen Days together; when receiving ſome Supplies by Sea, they prepared for, and continued another Aſſault for Seven Days together, and yet not being able to gain an Inch of Ground, they were forced to raiſe the Siege, after they had endured

*Aſoph* beſieged by the *Turks* in vain.

1641. endured great Hardſhips, loſt 3000 *Spahies*, 17000 *Janizaries*, and 8000 other Soldiers, beſides *Moldavians*, *Wallachians* and *Tartars*; and in ſhort, ſo unſucceſsful all Matters went this Campaign, that the *Veteranes* avouched they had never endured more cruel and miſerable Hardſhips. However, ſomewhat to bear up the Spirits of the *Ottomans*, they were enriched with the Birth of a young Prince, called, *Mahomet*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Empire; and having ſettled all Differences with the Emperor of *Germany*, and concluded a Peace for Twenty Years, in Favour, and to the Advantage of the Chriſtians, they were invigorated to renew the Siege of *Aſoph*, and the Viſier diſplacing the Captain-Baſha, took the Office and Title upon himſelf; then making *Muſtapha* Baſha of *Sileſtria*, the Command of the Army was conferred on him. At the News of which, and of the Fleet of Galleys, deſigned to attack them by Sea, the *Coſſacks* apprehended their Danger ſo great, that without the Aſſiſtance of the *Muſcovites*, they concluded it impoſſible to defend the City; but receiving Anſwer to their Requeſt of his Protection, that he had lately concluded a Peace with the *Turk*; ſince which, having no Occaſion of Breach from him, he could not with any Juſtice engage ſo ſoon in a War againſt him; they thereupon abandoned the City, ruined the Places, and carried their Moveables along with them; about which Time alſo the *Perſian* renewing his League with the *Turks*, upon Condition the Sophy ſhould demoliſh the Fortreſs of *Fortrina*, which contrary to the Articles he had built upon the *Caſpian* Sea, the *Turks* were mightily pleaſed with both.

*Aſoph* abandoned by the *Coſſacks*.

But the manner of this Nation being to obſerve Capitulations no longer than they turn to their Advantage, they contrived by this Stratagem to ſurprize the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Raab* in *Hungary*, ſome Soldiers in Countrymens Habit, being covered in ſeveral Carts with Hay, were got in, and preſently jumped out to ſurprize the Centinels and Gates, wherein they were to be ſeconded by 4000 Men, lying in a Valley near at Hand; but it hapning that an Officer of the Gariſon returning from hunting, diſcovered this Party, which made him quicken his Pace

*Raab* attempted to be ſurprized by the *Turks*.

to

to the Town, and overtaking the forementioned Cart, which ſeemed to be laden after an unuſual manner, this increaſed his Suſpicion the more, and coming to the Town, acquainted the Officers therewith, who immediately put the Gariſon in Arms, and having permitted the Carts to enter, the Bridge was drawn up, the Carts ſearched, and the whole Fraud detected; but the Emperor being at Variance with the *Swede*, could not reſent this as he would, by reaſon of the *Swediſh* War, to which we now proceed. 1641.

*Swediſh* War proſecuted.

General *Bannier* towards the beginning of the Year thought it adviſable to make an Attempt upon the City of *Ratisbon*, where the Emperor and the States of the Empire then were, in order to aſſiſt at the Diet. And he had ſo much the greater Hopes to ſucceed in his Deſign, becauſe the *Imperialiſts* were diſpers'd in their Winter Quarters; and that the *Danube* was frozen over. 'Tis true, indeed, he approach'd the Place, which was all in Alarm with his advance Guard: And, beſides, the *Swedes* might have poſted themſelves in *Bavaria*; but in the mean time there came on ſuch a great Thaw, that 'twas impoſſible for them to paſs over the River. But tho' that General miſs'd of his Deſign againſt *Ratisbon*, he did not at all doubt of carrying the War into the Emperor's Country and *Bavaria*; and he had certainly done it, had he not been too ſoon left by *Guebrian*, who commanded the Troops of *Weimar*, and had retir'd towards the *Mein*; notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition *Bavaria* could make to diſſwade him from the Undertaking. Thus that General return'd to *Cham*, to ſee if he could perſwade *Guebrian* to join him again: Otherwiſe he was reſolv'd to go into *Bohemia*, that he might have Communication with *Stalhanſch*, and carry the War into *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Sileſia*.

But before he could put his Deſign in Execution, the Enemy met together ſo quickly and unexpectedly, that *Bavaria* had no better Expedient left him than to retreat with all Expedition, tho' the Ways through which he was to paſs were very deep and incommodious. He inſtantly called in his Regiments from *Cham*, and began his March through the

1641. the Foreſt of *Bohemia*. In the mean time Colonel *Slange* having delay'd a little to join the main Body with Three Regiments which were under his Command, was ſurrounded by the Enemy near a Wood, where, however he defended himſelf vigorouſly with his Cavalry for Three Days behind an old Wall; and after he had been thrice attack'd, was forc'd at laſt to ſurrender on Diſcretion. This Loſs of Three Regiments ſav'd all the *Swediſh* Army, which otherwiſe had, undoubtedly, loſt all their Foot and Artillery, if the Enemy had march'd directly towards *Cham*. But tho' by this means *Banier* had an Opportunity to advance in his March, he found himſelf cloſely purſu'd by 10000 *Imperialiſts*, who yet durſt not ſtand their Ground when that General fac'd about to them: So that the *Swedes*, by a haſty Retreat, paſs'd over the *Eager* at *Caden*, and came, at length, to *Annabery*, through the Foreſt of *Bohemia*.

But on the other ſide, *Piccolomini* with his Foot, took a ſhorter way by *Schalkenwald*, that he might be before *Banier* at the Paſs of *Preiſznitz*; and had undoubtedly got his Deſign, and routed the whole *Swediſh* Army, if *Banier* had not come up half an Hour before him, and paſs'd over his Troops, by which means he put a Stop to the Enemies, and hinder'd them from purſuing him any further. After this the *Swedes* took up their Quarters at *Suitkau*, to refreſh themſelves after the Fatigue they had endur'd. Upon which *Guebrian* again join'd *Banier*, being adviſ'd by *Koningſmark* not to march towards the *Rhine* by the way of *Bambery*, but to the Country of *Voigtland*. *Guebrian* was then ſufficiently convinc'd of the bad Effects of his ſeparating his Troops from thoſe of the Allies, who otherwiſe could have made *Auſtria* the Seat of the War. Beſides all theſe Misfortunes *George* Duke of *Luneburg* happen'd to die, to the great Loſs of the Confederates; the Miniſters of that Prince abandoning the generous Deſigns which he had laid down: And to crown their Misfortunes, *Banier* fell into a dangerous Sickneſs, when they moſt ſtood in need his Prudence and Service. The *Swedes* Army, and that of *Weimar*, finding the Enemy with a conſide-

rable

rable Force, was entring into the Country of *Voigtland*, march'd towards the River *Sala*; and the *Imperialiſts* endeavouring to paſs over it, were beat back with Loſs: For which cauſe they marched with all Diligence by *Hall* to *Bernbourg*, where they arriv'd ſooner than the *Swedes*, whom the winding of the River had oblig'd to take a longer Compaſs. 'Twas alſo for this Reaſon that they march'd towards *Halberſtad* to wait till the Troops of *Lunenburg* and *Heſſe* had join'd them; at which Place General *Banier* died. 'Twas believ'd, that at a Feaſt where he had been the Firſt of *November* before, at *Hilderhein*, with *George* Duke of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and Count *Schomberg*, he had drunk ſome *Muſcovy* Liquor; all the Perſons now mentioned dying likewiſe a little after. 1641. G. Banier's Death.

The *Swedeſh* Army by that General's Death was reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition: The greateſt Part of the Officers refuſing to obey for want of their Pay. Till then *Banier* had kept them in Awe by his Credit and Authority; but at length they diſcover'd their Reſentment without any Fear. The Four Major-Generals, *Adam Pfulh*, *Charles Guſtavus Vrangel*, *Arfwerd Wittenberg*, and *Chriſtopher Kingſmark*, took upon them to command the Army, till a new Generaliſſimo ſhould be ſent from *Sweden*. But the Colonels combin'd together, reſolving to have their Pay by Force, and, beſides, to be Sharers in the Command. But all their Deſigns were fruſtrated, partly by humouring them, and partly by gaining ſome of them by Bribes. In the mean time the Enemy cut a conſiderable Number of *Swedes* in Pieces near *Quedlinbourg*; and the *Swediſh* Army finding that they advanc'd, return'd to *Wolfenbotel*, and encamp'd near the Sluice of *Kibitzer* to hinder the *Imperialiſts*, from ſuccouring that Place, which the *Lunenburghers* pretended ro take by ſwelling up the River *Oker*. But the *Imperialiſts* taking another Round between *Schoningen* and *Helmſtad*, the *Swedes* marching near the Sluce of *Heſſe*, croſs'd the Paſſage, and got half a Days March before the Enemy; after which they join'd the Troops of *Lunenburg* and *Weimar* near the Sluce they had made on the River *Oker*. But tho' the *Imperialiſts* hop'd to get the

*Lunen-*

1641. *Lunenburg* Troops over to their ſide, becauſe *Auguſtus* of *Brunſwick* had already private Correſpondence with them, yet they reſolv'd to attack the Troops of *Heſſe*, which were to join them in a few Days, thinking it a Shame not to relieve *Wolfenbotel*, by pulling down the Sluce. But *Vrangel* receiv'd their Foot, and *Koningſmark* their Horſe with ſuch Bravery, that the Enemy was forc'd to quit the Field of Battle with great Loſs; and they had undoubtedly been totally routed, if the Troops of *Weimar* and *Lunenburgh* had aſſiſted them. However, more than 3000 of them lay on the ſpot, and 500 were made Priſoners.

The *Imperialiſts* beaten.

But notwithſtanding that Defeat of the *Imperialiſts*, the Condition of the *Swediſh* Army grew more dangerous, becauſe for want of a Generaliſſimo, Military Diſcipline was much neglected: Beſides, the *Imperialiſts* by their Sollicitations, and the *Danes* by great Promiſes, endeavour'd to Debauch the Soldiers. To which may be added, That Proviſion became daily ſcarce in the Army; ſo that the Lieutenant Generals found a vaſt Difficulty to keep Things in order till the Arrival of General *Leonard Torſtenſon*, who having been taken very ill with the Gout, could not come till *Autumn*. With him was ſent *John Liliehock* in Quality of Grand Maſter of the Artillery; and that *Torſtenſon*, upon the firſt entring into his Office, might gain the more Credit and Authority, he was provided with good Troops and Store of Money. At this time the *Lunenburghers* broke off from the other Confederates, and enter'd upon a ſerious Treaty of Peace with the Enemy at *Guzla*, notwithſtanding which the *Swedes*, *Weimarians* and *Heſſians* for ſome time guarded the Sluce near *Wolfenbotle*; and, beſides, defeated 2000 of the Enemies Horſe near *Hamburgh*, and had, by all Appearance, carried the Place, had not the *Lunenburghers* acted too faintly, in hopes that the Emperor would, of his own Accord, deliver up that Town to them. But the *Imperialiſts* daily advancing nearer, and endeavouring to cut off the *Swedes* Paſſages, they reſolv'd to leave the Siege of *Wolfenbotle*, and having broke down the Dike, went and encamped at *Saarſtad*

*ſtad* upon the *Loines*. From whence the *Heſſian* Troops marched to *Weſtphalia*, there to fix their Winter Quarters, while the *Swedes* continued in their Poſts till the Arrival of General *Torſtenſon* from *Pomerania*, the Lieutenant Generals being in the mean time obliged to appeaſe the Soldiers, partly with Money; and partly with fair Words. Upon *Torſtenſon*'s Arrival the Troops of *Weimar* went off, tho' he earneſtly intreated them to continue with him, till there were an Opportunity of engaging the Enemy, this broke all his Meaſures, ſo that he was forced to continue near *Kloſterberg* to obſerve the Enemies Motion, and the March of the *Lunenburghers* till the End of the Year. 1641.

Nor were the *Swedes* more ſucceſsful this Year in *Sileſia*, for tho' *Stalhanſch* uſed all his Endeavours to reſiſt the Enemy, yet they exceeding him in number, carried all before them; ſo that the *Swediſh* Troops, which were yet in this Province in a bad Condition, were forced to retire to the Country of *Newmark*, where all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed between *Sweden* and *Brandenburgh*, when the great *Frederick William* came to be Elector, who forming Deſigns different from thoſe of his Father, reſolved to obſerve a Neutrality with *Sweden*, and this ſame Year the Alliance between *Sweden* and *France* was prolonged to the end of the War, ſince there was indeed no Appearance of a Peace near at Hand. However the *Diet* all this while ſate at *Ratisbon*, and having before the end of the laſt Year reſolved that either the Electors in particular, or their Colleges in general, ſhould invite the King of *France*, Queen *Chriſtina*, and the Senators of *Sweden* to hearken to a Peace. They now for the Furtherance thereof came to theſe Concluſions: 1. *That an Act of Indemnity ſhould be publiſh'd for all Crimes during this War.* 2dly, *That the Affair with* France *and* Sweden *ſhould be treated of in ſeparate Aſſemblies, the one at* Munſter, *the other at* Oſnabrug *in* Weſtphalia. 3dly, *That the Differences about Religion ſhould be amicably determin'd by Commiſſioners appointed on both ſides for that purpoſe.* 4thly, *That the Treaty of* Paſſaw, *made in the Year* 1555. *ſhould be religiouſly obſerv'd.* 5thly, *That the Cauſe of the Elector* Pala-

1641. Palatine *ſhould be regulated by a ſeparate Treaty which ſhould afterwards be inſerted among the* Conſtitutions *of the Empire.* Moreover, in caſe that a Peace was not like to be concluded, it was Reſolv'd, *That for the eaſier carrying on of the War, one State or Province ſhould not be more burthen'd with Winter-Quarters than another, for that thoſe which eſcap'd ſhould have an Equivalent Tax laid upon them to eaſe the Charge and Damage of the reſt.* At length the Aſſembly at *Lubeck*, and afterwards at *Hamburgh*, ſettled there, through the Mediation of the King of *Denmark*, brought the Ambaſſadors of the Three contending Potentates to conſent to the following Preliminaries of a Treaty of Peace. 1ſt, *That purſuant to the laſt Reſolution at* Ratisbon, Munſter *and* Oſnabrug *ſhould be the Places of Treaty.* 2dly, *That what was negotiated in one of theſe Aſſemblies ſhould be look'd upon as done in the other.* 3dly, *That Ambaſſadors and Deputies, from all ſides, might, during the Negotiations, reſide freely at whether of the Places they pleas'd.* 4thly, *That Reciprocal Paſports, and Safe Conducts, ſhould be obtain'd from all Parties concern'd for that Purpoſe.* 5thly, *That as for the meeting of this Aſſembly, tho' it was appointed for the 25th of* March, *in the Year* 1642. *yet for fear any hinderance ſhould happen to retard the meeting of any of the Perſons concern'd, the opening thereof ſhould be deferr'd to the 10th of* July, *in the Year* 1643.

Preliminaries of Peace ſettled.

Having brought the Affairs of this memorable Year thus at length to a Period, the Remarkables of it are the Death of Sir *Richard Baker*, Knt. Author of the Chronicle of the Kings of *England*. He was born in *Oxfordſhire*, of which he was High-Sheriff, *Anno* ~~1621~~. He alſo wrote an Expoſition upon the Lord's Prayer, and perhaps not inferior to the beſt Comments on that Subject.

Sir *Richard Baker's* Death.

Now it was that Sir *Henry Spelman* paid his laſt Debt to Nature. He was born at *Coningham* in *Norfolk*, bred in *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards in *Lincolns-Inn*. He was a great Antiquary, and throughly underſtood the Law and Cuſtoms of *England*. He publiſh'd his *Britiſh* and *Saxon* Councils, *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*; concerning Sacrilege, *Gloſſarium Arcaiologicum*; the larger Works of

Sir *Henry Spelman's* Death.

of Tythes, *Aſpilogia de ſepultura*; the Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege, *&c. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*, &c. 1641.

Sir *Anthony Vandyck*, the famous Painter, likewiſe ended his Days and Labour this Year at *London*. He was born at *Antwerp* in 1599. ſerved under *Henry Van Baken*, and chiefly under *Rubens*. He travelled into *Italy*, *Holland* and *England*, where he enriched the King's Palace, and other publick Places, with rare Pieces of Invention. He grew very wealthy, and ſpent much in Amours and Chymiſtry; but in ſhort, was juſtly reputed one of the greateſt Maſters in the World. Van *Dyke's* Death.

It's time we ſhould now, tho' we cannot do it without Reluctancy, viſit diſtracted *England*. We have unadvertently in the Cloſe of the laſt Year's Affairs in *Britain*, made a little Incurſion into this; for it was on the 4th of *January* that the King went in Perſon into the Houſe of Commons, to demand the Five Members; and the other few Proceedings that ſucceed thereupon, being tranſacted between that and the 10th, His Majeſty that Day removed from *Whitehal*, and went with the Queen and Royal Children to *Hampton-Court*, and before his going ſent to the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* to attend him in his Journey, which by their Offices they were both obliged to. The Earl of *Eſſex* reſolv'd to go, and was getting ready accordingly, when the Earl of *Holland* came privately, and aſſured him, that if they went they ſhould be both murder'd at *Hampton-Court*; upon which they left the King to his ſlender Retinue, and went to the Committee then ſitting in the City, where the Common-Council likewiſe met to provide for whatever ſhould be deſired of 'em from the City; ſo the Committee having reſolved, *Whatever the Citizens of* London, *or any other Perſon had done in Behalf of the Parliament, was agreeable to their Duty, the late Proteſtation, and the Laws of the Land; and if any Perſon ſhould moleſt 'em for ſo doing, he was declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth*; then reſolving, *The Common-Council ſhould be made acquainted with that Vote*: The 11th of *January*, about Two in the Afternoon, the accuſed Members came from their Lodgings in the City to *Weſtminſter*, under the Guard of the Sheriffs and Train'd- 1642. *January* 4. King leaves *Whitehal* the 10. The accuſed Members conducted to the Houſe.

1642. Train'd-Bands of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, attended by many Thouſands of People more, exclaiming againſt Biſhops and Popiſh Lords, and for the Priviledges of Parliament; ſome as they went by *Whitehal* asking in much Contempt, *What was become of the King and his Cavaliers.*

The *Thames* was guarded from the *Bridge* to *Weſtminſter* with more than a Hundred Lighters and Long-boats, armed with ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, and equipp'd as ready for an Engagement. *Skippon*, who was Captain of the Artillery-Garden, was made Major-General of the City Militia. The Man (ſays my Lord *C*——) had ſerved long in *Holland*, and from a common Soldier rais'd himſelf up to be a Captain, and was accounted a good Officer; he had been bred long enough abroad to bring home with him a Diſaffection to the Church and State, tho' otherwiſe a Man of Order and Society, free from the Vices which the Officers of the Army are uſually exerciſed in. He that Day commanded their Guard that attended the accuſed Members to the Houſe; where, when they were enter'd, they magnified *the Kindneſs they had met with in the City, and their Zeal to the Parliament; and if they had launch'd out in their Expreſſions upon ſo extraordinary an Occaſion, it became the Honour of the Parliament to protect and defend 'em.* Upon which the Sheriffs were call'd in, and told by the Speaker, after he had given 'em the Thanks of Houſe, *They ſhould have an Ordinance of Parliament for their Indemnity, declaring that they had done nothing upon this Occaſion, but what was legal and juſtifiable.* Then the Maſters and Officers of Ships were called in, and received moſt hearty Thanks for their Kindneſs, and *Skippon* was appointed to attend with ſuch a Guard as he thought convenient every Day at *Weſtminſter*.

*Skippon* made Major-General.

The *Buckinghamſhire* Men preſent a Petition to the Parliament.

Theſe being diſcharged, ſeveral *Buckinghamſhire* Men delivered to the Houſe a Petition, in the Name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Buckingham*, which was brought to Town by about 1000 Men. *They commended the indefatigable Pains of the Houſe for Redreſs of the Severities they laboured under, but complained their Endeavours had been defeated, or retarded, by a malignant Party of Biſhops, Popiſh Lords, and others;*

1642.

*others; and to take away all Hope of a future Reformation, the very Being of a Parliament, and the Privileges thereof, had lately been assaulted in a very violent and unexampled manner, and the Members of the House were in Danger of their Lives, in whose Safety theirs and that of their Posterity consisted: They thought it therefore their Duty, according to their late Protestation, to maintain to the utmost the Persons and Privileges thereof, and were therefore come humbly to tender their Service, and wait in Expectation of their Order and Commands, being firmly resolved to live by 'm, or die at their Feet, against whatsoever illegal Attempts should be made upon 'em. They desired 'em therefore to assist the earnest Prayers of the Petitioners, that the Popish Lords and Bishops might be expell'd the House of Peers, that all evil Counsellors, the* Achans *of the Commonwealth, might be resigned up into the Hands of Justice, without which they despaired of* Israel's *Peace, or of reaping those glorious Advantages, the Fourteen Months Seed-time of their unexampled Endeavours had given their unsatisfied Expectations.*

The House returned their Thanks, and told em, *The Parliament was sufficiently secured by the great Care of the City, and therefore they might return home till farther Occasion required 'em, of which they should have timely Notice.* One of them said, *They had another which they intended to prefer to the King, but desired to be advised, whether that House would vouchsafe to recommend it, or whether they should deliver it themselves.* For this they received fresh Thanks, and were advised, *That Six or Eight of 'em should present it to His Majesty, in the Name of the rest; for the House was so sensible of their Wisdom and Discretion, that they conceived they of themselves were able to manage such a Business.*

Having thus caress'd the Commons, they presented another Petition to the Lords, *Complaining of the malignant Party which defeated the good Endeavours of the House of Commons*; and added, *That in regard of the late Attempts, they were come to live and die in their Defence, and therefore they did most humbly pray the Lords to co-operate with the Commons in the great Work of Reformation, and bring to exemplary Punishment all wicked Counsellors, Plotters and Delin-*

1642. *quents, and that the whole Kingdom might be put into a Posture of Defence.*

And to the King. The Lords received 'em as civilly as the Commons had done, and gave 'em great Thanks. From thence they went with their Petition to the King, in which they complained, *That having returned Mr.* Hambden *to serve as Knight of their Shire, they were highly amazed when they heard he among others was accused of High-Treason. They said, they could not but conceive, upon mature Deliberation, that the manner of their Impeachment was very derogatory to the Freedom of Parliament, for the Maintenance whereof they were bound by their Protestation, and did therefore humbly desire His Majesty, that Mr.* Hambden *and the rest, who lay under the Burden of that Accusation, might enjoy the lawful Privileges of Parliament.* So we may reasonably conclude the Date of the War in *England* commenc'd from this Day, for whatever was afterwards done was built upon those Foundations.

Things going on thus successfully with the Parliament, they now provided and declared, *No Member of Parliament should be Arrested upon any Pretence whatsoever*; adding, *That even in the Case of Treason, no Member ought or could be proceeded against, without first informing the House of the Charge and Evidence against him, and receiving their Leave and Direction in it.* And that Men might be more cautious for the future how they were concern'd in bringing any Reproach upon them, they appointed a Committee to frame a Charge against the Attorney-General *Herbert*, which was prepared accordingly, and vigorously prosecuted, as you will hear by and by.

About the same time, among other Petitions and Expostulations to the King, a Committee of Lords and Commons presented him a grievous Complaint of the Breach of Privilege they had sustain'd in his coming to the House, and desired he would discover to 'em the Authors of that pernicious Counsel, that they might receive exemplary Punishment. And when they heard the Lord *Digby*, who was generally thought the Author of that whole Contrivance, had transported himself beyond the Seas, several Witnesses affirm'd at the Bar, *That several*

Offi-

*Officers had a Meeting on ſuch a Day at* Kingſton *upon* Thames, *to whom the Lord* Digby *came in a Coach and Six from* Hampton-Court, *and after a long Conference with 'em, return'd back.* Whereupon they accuſed him of High-Treaſon to the Houſe of Peers, for levying War againſt the King and Parliament, and a Proclamation was iſſued out for his Apprehenſion. Now it was, upon freſh Information that much Proviſion was ſent every Day into the *Tower*, they ſent for Sir *John Byron*, and urg'd the King again to remove him, and recommended Sir *John Coniers*, as a Man in whom they could confide; and becauſe they had not a ſatisfactory Anſwer, they order'd Major-General *Skippon* to ſet ſuch a Guard about the *Tower* as might hinder more Proviſions from being carried in than would ſerve from Day to Day. 1642. The Commons accuſe the Lord *Digby* of High-Treaſon.

Both Houſes being now in perfect Union, they agreed in One Day, and executed Three Acts of Sovereignty; the firſt, *In commanding the Sheriffs to place a Guard upon, or rather beſiege the Tower of* London, *and prevent the going in of any Proviſions, or any Arms or Ammunition to be carry'd out.* The ſecond, *In ſending Sir* John Hotham *down to* Hull; of which, more anon. The third, *In ordering the Governor of* Portſmouth *to admit no Body into that Town and Fort, or any thing to be diſpoſed of there, without an Order from the King ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament.* After this they reſolved upon a Meſſage to be ſent to the Governor of the Prince, *That he ſhould not ſuffer the Prince to be tranſported out of the Kingdom, as he would anſwer his Breach of Truſt*; and declared further, *That whoſoever adviſed or attended upon him to that end, ſhould lye under the ſame Cenſure.* And then to vindicate themſelves from the late Incroachment, they cauſed the Attorney-General publickly to be examined upon interrogatories, *Whether he contriv'd, fram'd or adviſ'd the Articles of Impeachment? Whether he knew the Truth of 'em upon his own Knowledge, or by Information? Whether he could make 'em good when he was call'd upon to do it? From whom he had received 'em, and by whoſe Direction and Advice exhibited them? Whether he had any Proof of them before the exhibiting?* To which he having anſwer'd, Commons call the Attorney-General to an Account.

1642. ſwered, *That they were neither framed nor adviſed by him, or that he knew any thing of the Truth of 'em, or could undertake to juſtifie 'em, but that he had 'em from the King, who commanded him to exhibit 'em*; they preſently declared, *He had broken the Privileges of Parliament*; *that the Exhibition was Illegal, and he Criminal*; *that a Charge in the Name of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be ſent up againſt him to the Lords, to have Satisfaction for the great Injury and Affront put upon their Members by the Attorney-General, unleſs in Five Days time he brought his Proof, and made good the Articles againſt 'em.*

The King ſeeing how Things were like to go, offered now a general Pardon; and tho' he had removed himſelf out of the Noiſe of *Weſtminſter*, yet the Effects of it follow'd him cloſe upon the Heels; for beſides the *Buckinghamſhire* Petition, ſeveral of the ſame Nature were ſent him every Day from other Counties of the Kingdom. All which, together with the Declaration of the Lord *Digby*'s levying War at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and the Proclamation for his Apprehenſion being ſpread abroad, made the King remove to *Windſor-Caſtle*, from whence His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, and told 'em, *He perceived many look'd on his Proceedings againſt the Accuſed Members, as illegal, and contrary to the Privilege of Parliament*; *and that he might in every Reſpect ſatisfie all Men, he was willing to wave them at preſent*; *and when Men's Minds were thereby better compoſed, he would then proceed againſt 'em in an unqueſtionable Way*; *and he bid both Houſes be aſſured, he would be as tender of their Privileges as of his own Life or Crown, the Violation of which, as it was never his Intent, ſo if any Doubt relating thereunto remain'd behind, he was willing to aſſert it any reaſonable Way his Parliament ſhould propoſe to him*; *and therefore, all Jealouſies being laid aſide, he conjur'd 'em ſeriouſly to apply themſelves to the publick Affairs, eſpecially thoſe of* Ireland; *and deſired 'em that their Care of his lawful Prerogative might encreaſe equal to his for their Privileges, that ſo a Foundation might be laid of a perpetual Intelligence between His Majeſty and his Parliament, and the Welfare and Proſperity of the Nation.*

King ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes.

Upon

Upon the Report of the Committe for *Irish* Affairs the Commons paſſed ſome Votes for Arms and Money to be ſent thither, and both Houſes thinking fit now to adjourn, they appointed Committees armed with more Power than the Houſes had, to meet in *London*, which for the Convenience of the Common-Council, ſitting in the *Guild-Hall*, choſe *Grocers-Hall* to meet in. 1642. Committees appointed to meet in *London*.

And the Nation being now for the moſt part truly ready to receive all the Parliament's Dictates, and obey their Orders, the Commons ſent to quicken the Lords in the Bill concerning the Biſhops, and call'd to have *Saint-John*'s Bill for ſettling the Militia, that had been ſo long depending, to be read in their own Houſe, to which they now added, *The putting all the Forts, Caſtles and Garriſons, into the Hands of thoſe they could* Confide *in.* When this Bill was firſt read, few imagined it would have gone any further; but now there were few who did not look on it as of great Moment to the Safety of the Kingdom, ſo great an Alteration had the late Proceedings made, and ſo it paſs'd the Houſe with little Oppoſition, and was ſent up to the Lords for their Approbation. St. *John*'s Militia Bill reſumed.

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners now by a Petition to the King endeavoured to interpoſe their good Offices for accommodating Matters between him and the Parliament, for which the Commons return'd them Thanks; but the King told them he expected before they had intereſted themſelves in that Matter, they ſhould have acquainted him with their Reſolution in private: Neither would His Majeſty agree to their third Propoſition about relieving *Ireland*; but enough of this.

When the late Army was disbanded in the *North*, the King gave Command, that the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition belonging to it, ſhould be remov'd to *Hull*, where it ſtill was kept; and His Majeſty intended it ſhould remain there as a Magazine upon all Exigencies: And ſo he had ſent the Earl of *Newcaſtle* thither, ſome Time before theſe late Occurrences, with a private Commiſſion to be Governor thereof, as ſoon as the Publication of ſuch a Command ſhould be proper; and to engage by his own

1642. Intereſt in the mean time ſuch of the Country as were neceſſary to guard the Magazine. But whatever the King did, tho' it were never ſo privately tranſacted, was quickly diſcover'd to thoſe, from whom it ſhould moſt have been conceal'd. And ſo the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had not been Three Days in *Hull*, before the Houſe of Peers ſummon'd him to attend the Service of the Houſe, which he ſeldom did, being generally at *Richmond*, attending upon the Prince of *Wales*, to whom he was Governor. Before he would ſubmit to the Summons, he ſent to know His Majeſties Pleaſure; who thinking it too ſoon as yet to make any ſuch Declaration, appointed him to return; and he appeared in the Houſe without e-ever being queſtioned where he had been. But both Houſes moved the King ſhortly after, *to remove the Magazine from* Hull *to the Tower of* London; *ſince that Country apprehended ſome Deſign in keeping ſo much Ammunition in the Northern Parts:* And not receiving a ſpeedy Anſwer from His Majeſty, they ſent down Sir *John Hotham*, *to be Governor of* Hull, *and to draw in ſuch of the Country as he thought fit for the Security of the Place.*

Sir *John Hotham* ſent by the Commons to command *Hull.*

Now the Committee at *Grocers-Hall*, very much encouraged to find the Concurrence of the Two Houſes to moſt Things they propoſed, reſolved to reap all the Advantage they cou'd from that Seaſon of their Power; ſo they agreed upon *a new Remonſtrance, in which they wou'd repreſent to the King the Cauſes of the preſent Evils; and propoſe to him, by way of Advice, what Remedies were proper to be applied to 'em.* The Cauſes they ſaid were *the evil Council about the King and Queen; the Influence the Prieſts and Jeſuits had upon Her Majeſty, and Her Interpoſition in the great Affairs of State, diſpoſing of Places and Preferments of the higheſt Conſequence; the delaying a due Reformation of the Church-Government and Liturgy; the Want of a Preaching Miniſtry, and a competent Proviſion for them; the Votes of the Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers; the Favour ſhewed thoſe who had adhered to Delinquents, and the ill Uſage of thoſe who had appeared as Witneſſes againſt 'em; the Breaches of the Privileges of Parliament, and managing*

The Committee at *Grocers-Hall* agree upon a new Remonſtrance.

*ing the great Affairs of the Nation by Men unknown in Cabinet Councils; the advancing Men to Honour and Truſt, and removing others in Parliament Time, without the Conſent of that Supream Council; and divers other Particulars; to which they thought theſe Remedies following moſt natural to be applied. That all Privy-Counſellors, and others in Truſt and Imployment abroad, ſhould be diſmiſs'd from their Places, and only ſuch admitted as the Parliament ſhould recommend; and that thoſe who were ſo diſplaced, and ſhould not be again recommended, ſhould be forbid the Court; that all Prieſts, Papiſts, and ill-affected Perſons, tho' outwardly profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be removed from about the Queen, and ſuch an Oath, as ſhould be preſcribed by the Parliament, ſhould be taken by all her Servants.* 1642.

*That the King would baniſh from Court Mr.* Will. Murrey, *Mr.* Porter, *Mr.* John Winter, *and Mr.* Will. Crofts, *being all Perſons of evil Fame, averſe to the publick Peace and Proſperity of the Kingdom, and the Promoters of Jealouſies and Diſcontents between the King and the Parliament; that the King would not liſten to any Advice from the Queen, in Matters concerning Religion, or the Government of any of his Dominions, or for the preferring or diſcharging any great Officers, Counſellors, Ambaſſadors, or Agents abroad, or any Servants attending his Royal Perſon, or the Prince, or any of the Royal Iſſue, after they ſhall arrive to the Age of Five Years: That the Queen ſhould take a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of both Houſes of Parliament; that ſhe wou'd not for the future deal in any wiſe with the King, concerning the Diſpoſal of any of the Imployments above-mentioned, or intermeddle in any Affairs of State. That all Officers and Counſellors ſhould take a ſolemn Oath; that they had not obtain'd their Office or Preferment by the Queen's Mediation, directly or indirectly. That all Matters of State, that were fit for the Council, ſhould be tranſacted by the Privy-Counſellors only, and ſuch as were fit for the Parliament, by the Parliament only.*

*That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to forward or ſollicite, under the Penalty of Treaſon, the Marriage of any of the Royal Iſſue, with any Prince or Perſon of the Popiſh Religion, nor ſuch Marriage be concluded with*

*any*

1642. *any Perſon whatſoever, without the Advice and Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; that none of His Majeſties Children, except the Princeſs* Mary, *then affianced, ſhould go beyond the Seas without the Conſent of the Parliament. That no Maſs ſhould be celebrated in the Courts of the King or Queen, or in the Houſe of any of Subjects of the Kingdom, and that more Laws ſhould be provided againſt Papiſts; all Prieſts that were condemn'd ſhould be executed, and the Popiſh Lords excluded the Houſe of Peers; a Reformation of the Church Government and Liturgy be made by the Parliament, and that no Penalty be incurred for the omitting any Ceremonies till that Reformation ſhould be perfect; that all Delinquents ſhould be liable to ſuch Penalties and Forfeitures, as ſhould be impoſed by a Bill in Parliament. That whoever, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons that Parliament, had been accuſed of any Offence againſt that Houſe, and whilſt the Accuſation was depending, had been called up to the Houſe of Peers, ſhould by Act of Parliament be expell'd that Houſe; and that for the future, no Member of their Houſe ſhould be made a Peer without their Conſent; and they who have been made, been made uncapable of Voting, unleſs both Houſes ſhould allow of it; that no Member of either Houſe ſhou'd be advanc'd or diſplac'd, without the Conſent of that Houſe whereof he is a Member; and whoſoever of either Houſe had been promoted to any Office or Employment ſince the Parliament began, might be put out of their places. That His Majeſty would diſcover who they were that adviſed him to accuſe their Members, and that he would publickly declare and promiſe in Parliament, never hereafter to receive Information againſt any Member of either Houſe, for any thing done in the Houſe, without diſcovering the Names of the Informers.*

Now the King on his Part finding they took little Notice of his former Meſſages, reſolved to ſend ſuch a Meſſage to both Houſes, as might at leaſt divide thoſe who wiſh'd him and the Publick well from thoſe he apprehended did otherwiſe; and therefore on the 20th of *January* propoſed to 'em by Meſſage in writing, *That for the preventing thoſe manifold Diſtractions which hung o'er the Kingdom, they would ſpeedily take into Conſideration whatever they held neceſſary, as well for the Support of the Regal Authority and Settlement of the Revenue, as for the preſent*

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes.

*preſent and future Eſtabliſhment of their Privileges, the quiet Enjoyment of their Eſtates and Liberties, the Safety of the true Religion now profeſt in the Church of* England, *and the ordinary Ceremonies in ſuch a manner as might leave room for no juſt Offence; which when they had ſo formed into one entire Body, that ſo his Majeſty and themſelves might be better able to judge of 'em, His Majeſty would then make it appear, what ſmall Grounds ſome Perſons had for the Jealouſies they ſeem'd to apprehend, and how ready he would be, not only to equal, but to exceed the moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their People; ſo that if theſe Diſtractions did not by the Bleſſing of God end in a happy Accommodation, he would then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witneſs, he had omitted nothing that was to be done on his Part.* 1642.

The Lords received this Meſſage very well, and deſired the Commons to join with 'em in returning their Thanks to His Majeſty for his Gracious Offers, and to aſſure him, *They would immediately conſider what he had propoſed.* However, both Houſes join'd the next Day in a Petition to the King, *That he would ſend in his Proofs, and proceed againſt the accuſed Members, or declare them to be innocent, and himſelf to be ill accuſed.* To which his Majeſty anſwered. *He was ready to proceed againſt 'em; but to prevent any new Miſtakes, he deſired it might be reſolved, whether he was bound in reſpect of Privileges to proceed by Impeachment in Parliament, or might prefer an Indictment at Common-Law, or was at Liberty to chuſe either; till that was reſolved, he thought it improper to diſcover what Proof he had againſt 'em, but then he would give ſuch ſpeedy Direction for Proſecution, as might quickly determine the Matter.* To this they replied, without any Heſitation, *That they were firſt to know what Evidence there was to prove the Guilt, before they could conclude upon the manner of the Proſecution*; which they grounded upon a Maxim, *That no Member of Parliament could be Arreſted without the Conſent of the Houſe, and they could not give or deny their Conſent without a Knowledge of the Crime, and Proof for which he ſtood accuſed.*

Both Houſes Petition the King about the accuſed Members.

King's Anſwer.

Parliament's Reply.

In the mean time the Commons in their Addreſs of Thanks, prepared for the King's Gracious Meſſage

1642. ſage on the Twentieth, having deſired, *That to warrant their Confidence, and remove their Jealouſies, they might apply themſelves to ſatisfie His Majeſty in the Method he propoſed, His Majeſty would immediately commit the Tower to the Government of ſuch a Perſon they ſhould recommend to him.* The Lords differed from 'em herein, as well for that the naming a Governor there was the King's peculiar Right, as that it was already in the Hands of a Perſon of as fair a Reputation in every Reſpect, as any Gentleman in *England*. But the Commons, much concern'd that the Lords had diſſented from 'em, reſolved to preſs the King upon their own Account, and get the Appointment of ſo great an Officer to themſelves. And therefore on the 26th they petitioned him in their own Name; and after a Return of their moſt humble Thanks for His Majeſties late Gracious Meſſage to 'em, they ſaid, *They had deſired the Peers to join with 'em in an humble Requeſt to His Majeſty, to commit the Tower, and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, into the Hands of ſuch as ſhould be recommended to him by both Houſes of Parliament, wherein their Lordſhips had refuſed to join with them, But they, nevertheleſs, confiding in His Majeſties Goodneſs to his People, in all Humility beſeech'd him, that the Tower of* London, *and other principal Forts, and all the Militia of the Kingdom, might be entruſted in the Hands of ſuch as the Houſe of Commons ſhould recommend to him, not doubting a Speedy and Gracious Anſwer to that their Humble Requeſt, without which the diſtracting Fears of the Kingdom muſt, in all Probability, needs overwhelm it in Miſery and Ruin.* To this the King anſwered, *He hoped his Gracious Meſſage would have produced ſome ſuch Overture, as by offering what was proper on their Parts to do, and by asking what was fit for him to grant, might have created a mutual Confidence between 'em. Concerning the Tower, having entruſted it with a Perſon of known Fortune, and unblemiſhed Reputation, he did not expect they would have urged him to remove him, without objecting any particular Charge againſt him; however, if upon due Examination he appeared to be unfit for ſo great a Truſt, he would make no Difficulty of diſcharging him; till then he thought himſelf in Juſtice obliged to preſerve*

Commons Addreſs about the Tower.

King's Anſwer.

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*ſerve his own Work, leſt his Favour, without any other Accuſation, ſhould prove prejudicial to his Servants, of which he hoped the Houſe of Commons would be ſo tender, his Honour being ſo nearly concerned in it, that they would rather labour to ſilence and reform the Fears of other Men, than by humouring 'em urge His Majeſty to that which ſo much reflected on his Honour and Juſtice. For the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, the Nomination of Perſons to 'em, being ſo inſeparable a Flower of his Crown tranſmitted down to him from his Anceſtors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he would reſerve to himſelf; but would take care no corrupt or ſiniſter Practices ſhould prevail with him in that Reſpect, and was willing to declare, he ſhould expreſs that Favour to no Perſons ſo ſoon as thoſe who ſhould be conſpicuous for their good Behaviour in, or to the Parliament.*

*For the Militia of the Kingdom, the Authority of which was lawfully veſted in him, when any particular Method for ordering the ſame ſhould be conſidered, digeſted, and propoſed to him, he would return ſuch an Anſwer, as conſiſted with his own Honour, and the Safety of his People: he being reſolved to deny nothing, but what if granted, would alter the Fundamental Laws, and nouriſh a greater and more pernicious Jealouſie between the Crown and the Subject, than any of thoſe which ſuch a Conceſſion would ſeem to aboliſh.* He ſaid, *He was unwilling to imagine his granting more than ever Prince had granted, would encourage them to ask more than Subjects ever demanded; but if they would inform him of the particular Grounds of their Fears, he would very readily apply ſuitable Remedies; for he called God to witneſs, the publick Peace and Liberty of his Subjects ſhould always be as dear to him as his own Life, or that of his Children.*

*And therefore he conjur'd 'em, by their Hopes of future Happineſs in His Majeſty, and one another, by their Love of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that they would not, out of the Apprehenſion of poſſible Dangers, throw His Majeſty and themſelves into real and preſent Inconveniences, but would ſpeedily purſue the Method propoſed in his former Meſſage; which, humanly ſpeaking, was the only way to quiet the Diſtractions,*

1642. *ſtractions of the Kingdom, and would, with God's Bleſſing, reſtore a great Meaſure of Felicity to King and People.*

This Anſwer being not only a Denial, but ſuch an Expoſtulation, as tended to expoſe their Counſels to the leſs Reverence of the People, many Petitions now inſiſted, *The Kingdom to be put in a Poſture of Defence, as the only Safeguard againſt Plots and Conſpiracies on Foot, and to ſecure 'em from their own Fears and Jealouſies.* More Petitions were preferr'd to the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of thoſe who uſually went to the Mint with Bullion, alledging, *They durſt not carry their Bullion thither, being unſatisfied with the preſent Lieutenant, and therefore deſired he might be put out*; with more to the like Purpoſe.

The Commons deſire to borrow Money of the City.

Things were but ill provided for the War in *Ireland* all this while; but the Commons about that time deſiring to borrow One Hundred Thouſand Pounds of the City for managing that War, this gave the Common Council an Opportunity of returning their Notions and Advice upon the general State of Affairs, and ſaid, *They could lend no more Money by Reaſon of thoſe Obſtructions, by which the Peace of the Kingdom was threatned, and already become almoſt deſperate. That the Bill for preſſing of Soldiers ſtill depending with the Lords unpaſs'd, made People fear there was rather a Deſign to loſe that Kingdom, and involve this in its Ruin, than to preſerve either. That the not entruſting the Forts in ſuch Hands in whom the Parliament could confide, and ſettling the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence; the not appointing ſuch a Perſon Lieutenant of the Tower as was acceptable to the Parliament, muſt neceſſarily overthrow Trading more and more, and create a greater Scarcity of Money throughout the Kingdom. That the Miſunderſtanding between the King and the Parliament, the not aſſerting the Privileges thereof, the accuſing ſome Members of Treaſon, to diſcourage others from diſcharging their Truſt, could not but diſcourage Men well-affected to the publick, and diſable 'em from affording that chearful Aſſiſtance, which otherwiſe they would be glad to afford. Theſe Evils, they ſaid, aroſe from the employing ill-affected Perſons about the King; and that the Votes of Biſhops*

The Common-Council's Anſwer.

and

*and Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers ſtill continued them. And ſo having faithfully repreſented, as they ſaid, the true Reaſons which obliged 'em to return that Anſwer, they proteſted before God and the High Court of Parliament, that if any fr[illegible]her Calamities befel their dear Brethren in* Ireland, *ought not to be charged to them, but to ſuch who obſtructed the ſpeedy Cure of the Evils before recited.* 1642.

At the ſame time were preſented other Petitions from, and in the Name of other Inhabitants of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex* and *Hartford*, all tending to the ſame Purpoſe; all which occaſioned a Conference with the Lords; upon which Mr. *Pym*, after he had deliver'd 'em to their Lordſhips, ſpake to this Effect: *They might in thoſe Petitions hear the Voice, or rather the Cry of the whole Nation, and obſerve the Groans and miſerable Complaints of all.* After a long Diſcourſe of the Invaſions the Kingdom was threatned with from abroad, and Inſurrections at home, he told 'em, *The Obſtructions that had brought that Diſtemper upon them, were principally the Obſtruction of Reformation in Matters of Religion; that tho' the Grievances of that kind had been partly removed by the Wiſdom of the Parliament, yet many were ſtill behind, and as long as their Power was continued to the Biſhops, and corrupt Part of the Clergy, there would be ſmall Hopes of Redreſs. And of that Obſtruction, he ſaid, he muſt acquit the Commons, who were clear of whatever Miſchief it ſhould produce; they might have their Share of the Miſery, but none in the Guilt or Diſhonour. He told 'em, there was a great Obſtruction in Trade, which was the Food and Nouriſhment of the Kingdom, and declared the Houſe of Commons had no ways occaſion'd that Obſtruction; They had eaſed Trade of many heavy Burdens, and deliver'd it from Patents and Monopolies; They had ſought to give the Merchants all Security in Reſpect to the Tower of* London, *that ſo they might by encouraged to bring their Bullion into the Mint, as they had done in former times.* Mr. *Pym's* Speech at a Conference with the Lords.

*He told 'em, there was an Obſtruction in the Relief of* Ireland, *but cleared the Commons from any Neglect therein; they had agreed to the Levies of Men and Money, but the Want of Commiſſions for raiſing Men, that is, the Bill about Preſſing, and ſeveral other Impediments,*

1642. *diments, had occaſioned that Obſtruction: Nay, he ſaid, there were not only Impediments among themſelves, but the Rebels were encouraged; for many of their chief Leaders now at the Head of 'em, had by His Majeſties immediate Warrants been ſuffer'd to paſs, after both Houſes had ſhut the Ports againſt all* Iriſh *Papiſts, which was owing to ſome evil Inſtruments, too near to his Royal Perſon, and he believed, done without his Knowledge or Intention.*

*He ſaid, there was an Obſtruction in putting the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence, which, how much they had labour'd to remove, and where the Fault lay, and with how much Juſtice they might proclaim their Innocency in that Particular, he appeal'd to their Lordſhips;* and added, *The Fountain of that Diſtemper were the evil Councils about the King, the great Power a factious, malignant Party had in Parliament, the fomenting that Party throughout the Kingdom, and the Jealouſies between the King and his Parliament.*

And after many ſharp Reflections upon the Court, concluded, *He had nothing to offer to their Lordſhips, or deſire from the Houſe of Commons, not doubting but their own Judgments would inſtruct 'em what was to be done, and their Conſciences, their Honours and Intereſt, wou'd induce 'em to do it. The Commons would be glad to ſave the Kingdom with their Help and Concurrence; but if their Lordſhips ſhou'd fail, it ſhou'd not hinder them from doing their Duty; and whatever became of the Kingdom, they ſhou'd be ſorry, that Poſterity, in reading over the Story of this preſent Parliament, ſhould find the Commons were forced to labour for the Preſervation of the Country alone, and that the Peers declined any part in the Honour of it, tho' they were ſo highly concerned in the Succeſs of thoſe Endeavours, in reſpect of their great Eſtates, and eminent Degrees of Nobility.*

The Conference being ended, the Speaker return'd Mr. *Pym* the ſolemn Thanks of the Houſe, for his good Service ſo worthily performed, requiring him to deliver his Speech in Writing to the Houſe, that it might be printed. An Hour after that Conference, a Petition was preſented to the Houſe of Peers, in the Name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Hartford*, in which, among other Things they com-

*Hartford-ſhire* Petition to the Lords.

complain'd *of the Delay uſed in putting the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence, and paſſing thoſe neceſſary Bills, preſented to 'em from the Houſe of Commons for the publick Good. And therefore they deſired that the evil Counſellors, and others, obſtructing the Good of the Nation, might be removed from His Majeſty, and the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords be deprived from voting in that Honourable Houſe, and that the Petitioners, who were ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of the King and Parliament, and eſpecially thoſe Noble Lords and Gentlemen of both Houſes, who labour'd for the common Good, might have Liberty to proteſt againſt all thoſe as Enemies to the Nation, who would not concur with 'em in ſettling the Kingdom in a Way of Safety, under the Command of ſuch Perſons as ſhould be appointed by Parliament.* 1642.

It happen'd about this time, that upon ſome Motion in the Lord's Houſe, with which ſome were diſpleaſed, and unwilling it ſhould come into a Debate, they cried out, *Adjourn, Adjourn*, whilſt others deſired the Houſe ſhould not Adjourn; the Duke of *Richmond* not liking this Proceeding, without directing himſelf to the Speaker, ſaid, *If they had a mind to Adjourn, he wiſh'd it might be for Six Months*, or ſomething to that Purpoſe. Upon which ſome of the oppoſite Party immediately moved, *That the Houſe might not Adjourn, but the Duke made to explain himſelf, and anſwer the Motion, which being granted, wou'd be the Ruin of the Commonwealth.* The Duke anſwered, *He made no Motion, but what he ſpoke was to ſhew his Diſlike of the other Motion, to Adjourn at a time when Buſineſs of great Weight was in Agitation, and that all Men, when he ſpoke, were upon their Feet; and therefore he conceived the Houſe had been up.* Upon this he was required to withdraw, and his Enemies inveigh'd againſt that Motion, *as moſt pernicious to the Kingdom, and deſtructive to* Ireland, *the War whereof muſt be at a Stand, if the Parliament had been Adjourn'd for Six Months, according to his Lordſhip's Propoſal.* It was anſwer'd in his Behalf, *That the Motion was not made to the Houſe; that, if it had, it could be no Crime, every Member having Liberty to make any Motion his Judgment ſhould direct him, which the Houſe had the Power to reject or receive.*

1642. But after a ſharp Debate, it was reſolv'd by a Majority, *That the Duke had committed no Offence, and ſo he was clear'd with all poſſible Regularity.* Upon which the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex* and *Holland*, enter'd their Proteſtation with the reſt of the Party, *That whereas the Duke of* Richmond *had made ſuch a Motion, and being queſtioned for the ſame, had been acquitted by the major part, they abſolved themſelves from the Miſchiefs that might follow in not puniſhing an Offence, tending ſo much to the Damage of King and Kingdom.*

Debates about the Duke of *Richmond.*

This Proteſtation was the next Day taken Notice of in the Houſe of Commons, and the Matter of the Motion diſcanted upon with all the Strength of Aggravations, concerning the Perſon and his Intereſts. It was ſaid, *An evil Counſellor had here diſcover'd himſelf, and had queſtionleſs been the Author of many of thoſe pernicious Counſels, that had involv'd us in theſe Troubles; his Education had been in* Spain, *where he was made a Grandee, and had notoriouſly avowed himſelf of that Faction; that his Siſters were* Papiſts, *which called his Affection to Religion in queſtion; that he had been ever oppoſite to all Proceedings tending to Reformation, and vigorouſly oppoſed the Earl of* Strafford's *Attainder; was a Friend to Epiſcopacy; and now to make Reformation a Thing impoſſible, for it could not be accompliſh'd without the Concurrence of both Houſes, had deſperately moved in the Houſe of Peers, where he had a prevailing Faction, that it might Adjourn for Six Months, that ſo the malignant Party, of which he might well be accounted the Head, might gather Strength, all future Hopes become deſperate, and* Ireland *be utterly loſt to the* Papiſts; *that they were therefore to make uſe of the Opportunity God had put into their Hands, to remove ſo dangerous a Perſon from the King, and Wardenſhip of the Cinque-Ports, and deſire the Lords to join with them in a Requeſt to that Purpoſe.*

On the other Hand it was objected, *That, whilſt they were ſo ſenſibly touch'd with a Violation of their own Privileges, they could no way better juſtifie the Authors of it, than by offering the like Violence to the Privilege of the Peers: That the Life of that Council conſiſted in the Liberty of Speech; and if one Houſe*

ſhou'd

1642.

*ſhou'd queſtion what the other did within thoſe Walls, the Lords might as well do what they were now doing, and ſo all Freedom of Debate wou'd be deſtroyed: That they could not enquire into the Circumſtances of that Motion, if any ſuch was made, and therefore cou'd form no reaſonable Judgment of it; but they had Reaſon to conclude there was no Offence in the Motion, ſince the major part of that Houſe had upon a ſolemn Debate agreed there was none in it; that they were the proper and only Judges in that Caſe; and for the Commons to concern themſelves in it, was by the Strength of a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, to make the Minor part of the Lords Houſe ſuperior to the Major; which they would not allow to be offer'd to themſelves.* It was alledg'd, *That the Duke was a Perſon of ſo unblemiſh'd a Fame, that in all the Diſcoveries of Court-Offences, they could lay nothing to his Charge, that his Education (as it was uſual with the greateſt Perſons) had been for ſome Years beyond the Seas, but more in* France *and* Italy, *than in* Spain, *where the King had conferr'd the Honour of a Grandee upon him out of Reſpect to his great Quality, and no Queſtion, as a Compliment to this Nation, with whom he was then in ſtrict Alliance. That his Affection to the Proteſtant Religion was indiſputable; for, tho' his Siſters, who had been brought up under their Mother, were Papiſts, yet his Brothers, of whoſe Education he had taken the ſole Care, were, like himſelf, very good Proteſtants. That his Opinions in Parliament had been ſo very open, that there was no room to believe he uſed any ill Arts in private, ſince he had the Courage to do that aloud, at which he cou'd not but think a great many would be diſpleaſed. That it wou'd caſt a great Reflection upon their Councils and Diſcoveries, if after ſo long a Talk of a malignant Party, and wicked Counſellors, they ſhou'd firſt load this Lord with that Imputation upon ſuch an Occaſion, as muſt involve all thoſe that abſolved him, which were the major Part of the Lords. In ſhort, that it would look as if they had invented thoſe Words to ſcare Men, and reſerv'd to themſelves to apply them to all thoſe with whom they were diſpleaſed.*

1642. Notwithſtanding all this, after a Debate (the longeſt that ever had been in Parliament, except that of the Remonſtrance) it was reſolv'd, *The Duke ſhould be accuſed to the Lords, as one of the malignant Party, and an evil Counſellor to His Majeſty, and deſire 'em to concur with them in a Requeſt to the King, that he wou'd diſcharge him from any Office or Employment about his Perſon*; which the Lords ſo far received, that tho' the Deſire was rejected, they expreſs'd not the leaſt Diſlike or Diſapprobation of the Matter or Manner of it.

Comm ns Reſolve about the Duke.

This done, the Commons reſolv'd once more to try how the Lords ſtood affected to the Buſineſs of the Militia; ſeveral Petitions were delivered to them, and among the reſt Two ſingular ones; one from the Porters, 15000, as they ſaid, in number; the other, in the Name of many Thouſands of poor People in and about the City of *London*. The Porters confeſſed *the exceeding pains that Houſe had been at for the Good of Church and State, tho' the Effects thereof did not appear through the Malevolence of a Malignant, Rebellious, Blood-ſucking Party, who inſulted the Privilege of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, and fomented the Iriſh Rebellion. That Trade languiſhed through the Jealouſies and Diſtractions they lay under, in regard the Cinque Ports were unfortified, which was a great Encouragement to Papiſts, and animated Foreign Powers to invade us; therefore they beſought that Honourable Houſe, ſpeedily to take ſuch Meaſures as might quell the Inſolence of the malignant Party at Home; that the Cinque Ports might be fortified, the People put in a Poſture of Defence; that Trade might be reſtored among 'em, and they be thereby relieved from their preſſing Wants. They further deſired, Offenders might be brought to ſpeedy Juſtice, and be puniſh'd according to their Deſerts; if thoſe Things ſhou'd be any longer delay'd, they ſhou'd be forced to ſuch Extremities they durſt not name, and to verifie that Saying, that Neceſſity hath no Law. They added, they had nothing to loſe but their Lives, which they were ready to ſacrifice, according to their Proteſtation, in Defence of the Houſe of Commons.*

Porters Petition to the Commons.

The

The other, for the Rareneſs of it, and the Effects it produced, is inſerted in the Terms it was preſented, thus. 1642.

## *To the Honourable the Houſe of Commons Aſſembled in Parliament.*

# The Humble Petition of many Thouſands of Poor People in and about the City of *London.*

Poor's Petition.

*HUmbly ſheweth, That your Petitioners have lain a long time under great Preſſures and Grievances, both in Liberties and Conſciences, as hath been largely and ſundry times ſhewed and declared, by ſeveral Petitions exhibited to this Honourable Aſſembly, both by the Citizens and Apprentices of the City of* London, *and divers Countries and Parts of the Kingdom, from which we hoped, long e'er this, by your Pious Care to have been delivered.*

*But now we, who are of the meaneſt Rank and Quality, being touch'd with Penury, are very ſenſible of the approaching Ruin which hangs over our Heads, and threatens to overwhelm us, by reaſon of the ſad Diſtractions occaſioned chiefly and originally, as your Petitioners humbly conceive, by the Prevalency of the Biſhops and the Popiſh Lords, and others of that malignant Faction, who make Abortive all good Motions, which tend to the Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom of* England, *and have hitherto hinder'd the ſending Relief to our Brethren in* Ireland, *tho' they lye weltring in Blood, which hath given ſuch Head to the Adverſaries, that we juſtly fear the like Calamities inevitably to befal us here, when they have vented their Rage and Malice there.*

*All which occaſions ſo great a Decay and Stop of Trade, that your Petitioners are utterly impoveriſhed, and our Miſeries are grown inſupportable; who having already ſpent all that little Means, which we had formerly by God's Bleſſing and our great Labour obtained; and many of us have not, nor cannot tell where to get Bread to ſuſtain our Families, and others of us are*

1642. *almoſt arrived at the ſame Port of Calamity; ſo that unleſs ſome ſpeedy Remedy be taken for the Removal of all ſuch Obſtructions, which hinder the happy Progreſs of your great Endeavours, your Petitioners ſhall not reſt in Quietneſs, but ſhall be forced to lay hold on the next Remedy which is at hand, to remove the Diſturbers of our Peace: Want and Neceſſity breaking the Bounds of Modeſty; and rather than your Petitioners will ſuffer themſelves and their Families to periſh through Hunger and Neceſſity, tho' hitherto patiently groan'd under, they cannot leave any Means uneſſay'd for their Relief. The Cry therefore of the Poor and Needy, your poor Petitioners, is, that ſuch Perſons who are the Obſtacles of our Peace, and Hinderers of the happy Proceedings of this Parliament, and the Enjoyment of the looked for Purity of Religion, Safety of our Lives, and Return of our Welfares, may be forthwith publickly declared, to the end they may be made manifeſt; the Removal of whom, we humbly conceive, will be a Remedy to cure our Miſeries, and put a Period to theſe Diſtractions; and that thoſe Noble Worthies of the Houſe of Peers, who concur with your happy Votes, may be earneſtly deſired to join with this Honourable Houſe, to Sit and Vote as one entire Body, which we hope will remove from us our deſtructive Fears, and prevent that which Apprehenſion will make the wiſeſt and peaceableſt Men to put into Execution.*

*For the Lord's ſake hear us, and let our Religion, Lives and Welfares, be precious in your Sight, that the Loins of the Poor may bleſs you, and pray,* &c.

The Houſe ordered Thanks to be returned theſe Petitioners by the Speaker, with an Aſſurance, they had then thoſe Things, whereof they complain'd, under Conſideration; to which ſome of that People replied, *That they never diſtruſted the Houſe of Commons, but ſaid the only Obſtruction lay among the Lords, and deſired to know the Names of thoſe Peers, who oppoſed the Concurrence between the good Lords and the Commons*; which they preſs'd with an unheard of Inſolence, and were prevailed upon to withdraw with much ſeeming Unwillingneſs, whilſt the Houſe took the Matter into further Conſideration. And tho' many of the Members, ſome of which had been inſulted by the Mob, as they were coming to the Houſe, inſiſted, *That it would be a great Eſteem to their Counſels,*

*Counſels, if they were encouraged in ſuch licentious Proceedings; they were again called in, and told, That the Houſe of Commons would perſiſt, as they had begun, in an Endeavour to relieve 'em; and made no doubt but when they had delivered their Petition to the Lords, as they intended preſently to do, the Source of thoſe Evils would be diſcovered, and ſome ſpeedy Method taken for their Redreſs, and therefore adviſed 'em patiently to expect a further Anſwer.* Accordingly that Petition, after a ſolemn reading, was delivered to the Lords at a Conference, which was no ſooner ended, than Mr. *Hollis*, one of the Five Members, was ſent to the Lords, to deſire 'em *to join with the Commons in a Requeſt to the King concerning the Militia*; and added, *If that Deſire was not comply'd withal, he wiſh'd thoſe Lords, who were ready to concur, would diſtinguiſh themſelves, that thoſe, by whom they were ſent, might know who were againſt 'em.* 1642.

Upon this the Lords reſumed the Debate, which the Earl of *Northumberland* open'd with a Profeſſion, *That whoſoever oppoſed a Concurrence with the Commons in that Particular were, in his Opinion, Enemies to the Publick.* Tho the major Part of the Houſe had denied twice before to join with it, yet when his Lordſhip was queſtioned for that Language, all his Party adhered to him, declaring, *They were all of that Opinion too.* So that a few Days after this, another Petition, ſaid to be ſubſcrib'd by above 2000 People, Inhabitants of *Surry*, and of the ordinary Strain, being preſented to the Houſe, read and approved, and the Petitioners thank'd for their kind Expreſſions therein, it was delivered by them to the Peers at the Bar of their own Houſe, who within a Day paſs'd the Bill againſt the Biſhops, and that for Preſſing, which had lain ſo long deſperate. All which Matters being accompliſhed, both Houſes adjourn'd again into the City. Several Petitions to the King from the Parliament.

Upon the Second of *February* ſome Members from both Houſes preſent the King a Petition at *Windſor*, *That he would immediately commit the Tower, and all other Forts of the Kingdom, into ſuch Hands as both Houſes of Parliament could confide in, as a ſure Means to remove all Diffidence between His Majeſty and His People, and confirm His Majeſty's Honour, Power and*

1642. *Greatneſs, with that of his Poſterity, and ſettle a laſting Peace and Happineſs in all his Dominions; to which their moſt neceſſary Petition they expected a ſpeedy and gracious Anſwer.* With this they preſented another Petition relating to the accuſed Members, beſeeching His Majeſty to give Order, *That the Parliament might be informed within Two Days what Evidence he had againſt 'em, that thereupon they might be brought to a Legal Trial; it being the unqueſtioned Right of Parliament, that no Members ſhould be proſecuted without their Conſent.*

The King hereupon reſolv'd to reſide at a greater Diſtance from *London*, and poſitively to deny paſſing any Act, except what related to *Ireland*; he reſolved alſo the Queen ſhould remove to *Portſmouth*, and that he would go to *Hull*. But this ſo ſecret a Reſolution, (both Bed-Chambers being inhabited, as they ſaid, by diligent Spies) was diſcover'd to thoſe who obtain'd the Orders before mentioned, concerning *Hull* and *Portſmouth*; for which Reaſon, and a Promiſe from ſeveral Lords, that they would vigorouſly unite to ſupport the Regal Power; together with extream Fear the Queen had of Danger, that Counſel was laid aſide: And it was concluded, *The Queen ſhould tranſport herſelf into* Holland *with the Princeſs* Mary, *married to the young Prince of* Orange, *there to expect in Patience an Alteration of the Affairs in* England; *and the King retire to* York, *and liſten to no Particulars till he knew how far the Alteration would extend.* But they publiſh'd only the firſt Reſolution relating to the Queen, both Their Majeſties being in ſuch great Wants, that the Queen was forc'd to ſell or coin her Chamber-Plate for her moſt neceſſary Expences, the Exchequer being empty, and the Officers of the Cuſtoms enjoin'd by the Commons to pay no Money without their particular Conſent and Approbation.

The Queen deſigns for *Holland.*

The King ſaw plainly now it was in vain for him to contend about the accuſed Members: And ſo he anſwer'd that Petition, *That as he once thought he had good Ground enough to accuſe 'em, ſo now he found as good Reaſon wholly to decline any Proſecution of them.* The other, concerning the Militia, gave

gave him more Trouble; for tho' he was positive never to consent to it, yet till all Things were prepared for the Queen's Journey, and his own Remove, he chose rather to delay than deny it; and therefore returned this Answer, *That he was willing to remove not only their Dangers, but their Doubts and Fears; and therefore when he knew the Extent of the Power design'd to be establish'd in those, who are to command in the Militia, and how long it must be that His Majesty must execute no Power alone without the Advice of Parliament, then he would put such Persons as both Houses of Parliament should recommend to him, into the Forts, and over the Militia, provided they named none against whom His Majesty had just and unanswerable Exception.* The Commons pleased herewith, they returned the same Day a Message of Thanks, and desired His Majesty in the mean time to make Sir *John Coniers*, a Person of great Merit, Lieutenant of the Tower; which being likewise desired by Sir *John Byron*, His Majesty thereupon complied. 1642.

Whilst all Care was taken to forward the Queen's Journey, His Majesty conceiving himself reflected on by Mr. *Pym*, in his Speech at a Conference with the Lords, before noted, about his granting Passes to Papists to go to *Ireland*, he sent this Message in a Letter to the Speaker, *That he had met with a Speech, pretended, by the Title, to have been delivered by Mr. Pym at a Conference, and printed by Order of the House of Commons, in which it was affirm'd, that notwithstanding the Stop put upon the Ports against all* Irish *Papists, several now at the Head of the Rebels had been permitted to pass, by Vertue of a Warrant from His Majesty; and considering how cautious he had been in granting Pasports, he conceived that Paper had not been so delivered and printed, or that the House had been mis-informed; and therefore His Majesty desired to know if that Speech had been so delivered and printed; if it had, that the House would review the Information upon which it had been grounded, that upon a Re-examination it might appear to be false, or that His Majesty might know how his Authority came to be so abominably abused; and so might be able fully to vindicate himself from all Suspicions of that kind.* King's Letter to the Speaker.

They

1642. They did not preſently return an Anſwer to this Meſſage, but at laſt reply'd, *That the Speech had been printed by their Order, and contain'd nothing but what was agreeable to the Senſe of the Houſe; that they had been inform'd of ſeveral* Iriſh *Papiſts, and others, who ſince the Order of Reſtraint had obtain'd Paſſes for* Ireland, *ſome of which they heard had put themſelves at the Head of the Rebels; others had been ſtopp'd, and were ſtill kept in ſafe Cuſtody.* Then they named ſome that had obtained Licences before the Order of Reſtraint, and were yet remaining in *England*, and added, *There were others, whoſe Names they could not yet learn, but made no Queſtion but upon Examination they ſhould diſcover them.*

Commons Anſwer.

King's Reply. The King reply'd, *As he had always ſhown himſelf ready to ſatisfie their juſt Demands, and retract any thing done by himſelf, that ſeem'd to encroach upon their Privileges, ſo he hoped they had the ſame tender Regard for his Honour and Reputation with his Subjects; and therefore he expected they ſhould review his Meſſage relating to Mr.* Pym's *Speech, and their Anſwer, with which he could not be ſatisfied. He ſaid he was very certain none of thoſe, who headed the Rebels, had paſſed by his Warrant or Conſent. And then he adviſed 'em to conſider whether a general Information and Advertiſement was Ground ſufficient for ſuch direct and particular Affirmation, as was made in that Speech. He thought it very requiſite, and expected that they ſhould name thoſe who had paſs'd by his Warrant, and were then commanding the Rebels; or if upon a Review they ſhould find no particular Evidence to make good that Aſſertion, (as he was well aſſured they could not) as the Aſperſion was very publick, ſo by a publick Declaration they would rectifie that Miſtake. He ſaid, he had diligently examined his own Memory, and the Notes of his Secretaries*; and naming all the Perſons to whom he had granted any Paſſes ſince the beginning of the Rebellion, he added, *He was confident none of them had ſided with the Rebels; for tho' ſome of them might be Papiſts, yet in reſpect of their Relation with Perſons of great Honour and Power in that Kingdom, and of whoſe Fidelity he was well ſatisfied, he had no Reaſon in the leaſt to ſuſpect 'em. And therefore, unleſs they could produce ſome Inſtances to make good their*

*firſt*

*firſt Affirmation, he expected a Vindication in the Way he had propoſed, which, he ſaid, was no more than in Juſtice he might demand.* 1642.

Hereupon the Commons ſet forth another Declaration of ſeveral Perſons Names, who they ſaid had been ſuffered to paſs by His Majeſties immediate Licence, and were then at the Head of the Rebels. About this time the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Governor to the Prince, knowing well upon what Terms he ſtood with the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland*, he prudently reſolved to retire from Court; where he had waſted much of his own Fortune, and only expoſed himſelf to the Malice and Envy of other Pretenders. This his Inclination he deſired His Majeſty would approve of, and commit the Prince to the Tuition of ſome Perſon of Honour, of undoubted Fidelity towards him, and above the Reach of popular Prejudice; at the ſame time mentioning the Marquiſs of *Hertford*, he was put into his Poſt. The Marqueſs (ſays *C*——) was a Man of great Honour, Intereſt and Eſtate, and generally eſteem'd throughout the whole Kingdom; and tho' the Court had continually diſoblig'd him, from the time of this King's coming the Crown, as well as in the Reign of King *James*; yet he had behaved himſelf with wonderful Steddineſs from the opening of this Parliament in Behalf of the King's Power and Dignity, tho' his neareſt Friendſhip, and all his Allies were of the contrary Party, with whom he never concurr'd againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, for whom he was known to have not the leaſt Kindneſs. Add to this, he was conſtant in his Affection to the Church, tho' his Inclination to the Perſon of any Churchman did not in the leaſt influence or determine him. It is true, he wanted ſome of the Qualifications that were neceſſary in a Perſon, to whoſe Care the Education of a great and hopeful Prince is entruſted. He was of an Age unfit for much Activity, and was ſo given up to his Eaſe, that he preferr'd his Books to all Exerciſes whatever, and had contracted ſuch a Lazineſs of Mind, that he had no Reliſh of an open and free Converſation, and declined arguing on thoſe Points which he perfectly underſtood, meerly to avoid the Trouble of contending: But then theſe inferior Du-

Marquiſs of *Hertford* made Governor to the Prince.

His Character.

ties

1642. ties might be otherwiſe provided for, and he could well maintain the Dignity of a Governor, and require that Diligence from others, which he could not execute himſelf; and his Honour was unblemiſh'd, that no one durſt repine at the Deſignation, and therefore His Majeſty conceiv'd him very worthy that high Charge, againſt which there was no other Exception, than that he did not covet it, nor was he willing to undergo a Truſt ſo contrary to his natural Conſtitution: But in his pure Zeal and Affection for the Crown, at a Conjuncture when his Submiſſion might be to the King's Service, he very chearfully undertook it, to the general Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom.

The King preſs'd to paſs the Bill againſt the Biſhops.

The Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes out of the Houſe of Peers, had no ſooner paſs'd that Houſe, than the King was earneſtly importuned to give his Royal Aſſent to it. His Majeſty return'd, *It was a very weighty Matter, and would therefore conſider a little, and return an Anſwer in convenient time.* But they being not pleaſed with this Delay, ſent the ſame Day their Reaſons to perſuade him *immediately to conſent it.* One of which was, *The Grievances the Subjects labour'd under by the Biſhops Temporal Juriſdiction, and their Intereſt in the Lord's Houſe.* A ſecond, *The happy Concurrence of both Houſes in their Abſence:* A third, *That His Majeſty, in paſſing this Bill, would give 'em a comfortable Aſſurance of his Gracious Condeſcenſion to the future Remedies of thoſe Evils, which would be offered to him when this was paſſed.* Hereupon thoſe about His Majeſty, who were very well devoted to his Service, perſwaded him, *That giving Way to 'em in this Point was the only Way to ſave the Church; for by paſſing the Bill many of the Members in both Houſes would be fully ſatisfied, and join in no further Alteration; whereas if they were croſs'd in this, they wou'd be for extirpating Root and Branch, and demoliſh the whole Fabrick of the Church. They told him his Royal Aſſent was importunately ſollicited for Two Things of great Importance, tho' not of equal Concernment to his Sovereign Power; the firſt, this Bill concerning the Biſhops; the other, the Militia; which if he ſhould grant, he would thereby ſtrip himſelf of all Regal Power; that he wou'd not be able to refuſe both, but by conſenting to*

the

*the former, in which he parted with no Matter of Moment, he would perhaps not be preſs'd in the latter.* 1642.

Theſe Arguments prevailed not ſo much with His Majeſty as the Queen's Perſwaſions, who not only thought theſe Reaſons valid, but that her own Safety very much depended upon it; and that if the Bill ſhou'd be refuſed, the Parliament would ſtop her Journey into *Holland*, and her Perſon be in Danger, either by the Tumults which might with Eaſe break out from *Weſtminſter* to *Windſor*, or by the Inſurrection of the Countries, in her Paſſage from thence to *Dover*. Theſe Conſiderations ſo far prevailed, that His Majeſty, contrary to his former Reſolution, ſent a Commiſſion for the paſſing that Bill, and the other about Preſſing.

He paſſes it with that of Preſſing.

The ſame Day thoſe Two Acts were paſs'd; an Ordinance for the ſettling the Militia was agreed on by both Houſes, and was immediately tranſmitted to the King for His Majeſties Approbation. The Ordinance itſelf runs thus.

## An Ordinance of both Houſes of Parliament, for Ordering of the Militia of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

An Ordinance for ſettling the Militia.

*WHereas there has been of late a moſt dangerous and deſperate Deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, which we have juſt Cauſe to believe to be the Effect of the bloody Counſels of the Papiſts and other ill-affected Perſons, who have already raiſed a Rebellion in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *and by Reaſon of many Diſcourſes, we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to ſtir up the like Rebellion and Inſurrection of this Kingdom of* England, *but alſo to back them with Forces from abroad; for the Safety therefore of His Majeſties Perſon, the Parliament, and Kingdom, in this Time of imminent Danger, it is ordained by the King, the Lords and Commons now in Parliament aſſembled, That*

*ſhall have Power to aſſemble and call together all and ſingular His Majeſties Subjects in the County*

1642. *of* *as well within Liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the Wars, and them to train, exerciſe, and put in Readineſs, and them, and after their Abilities and Faculties, well and ſufficiently from time to time to cauſe to be arrayed and weaponed, and to take the Muſter of them in Places moſt fit for that Purpoſe, And* *ſhall have Power within the ſaid County, to nominate and appoint ſuch Perſons of Quality, as to him ſhall ſeem meet to be his Deputy-Lieutenants, to be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament; and that any one, or more, of the ſaid Deputies ſo aſſign'd and approved of, ſhall, in the Abſence, or by the Command of the ſaid* *have Power and Authority to do and execute within the County of* *all ſuch Powers and Authorities before in this preſent Ordinance contained; and ſhall have Power to make Colonels and Captains, and other Officers, and to remove out of their Places, and to make others from time to time, as he ſhall think fit for that Purpoſe. And* *his Deputies, Colonels and Captains, and other Officers, ſhall have further Power and Authority, to lead, conduct, and employ the Perſons aforeſaid, arrayed and weaponed, as well within the County of* *as within any other Part of this Realm of* England, *or Dominion of* Wales, *for the Suppreſſing of all Rebellions, Inſurrections, and Invaſions that may happen, according as they from time to time ſhall receive Directions by His Majeſties Authority, ſignified unto 'em by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. And it is further ordain'd, That ſuch as ſhall not obey in any of the Premiſes, ſhall anſwer their Neglect and Comtempt to the Lords and Commons in a Parliamentary Way, and no otherwiſe, nor elſewhere; and that every the Powers granted as aforeſaid, ſhall continue until it be otherwiſe order'd and declared by both Houſes of Parliament, and no longer.*

*This to go alſo to the Dominion of* Wales.

We ſhall not here inſert a Liſt of the Perſons nominated and recommended by the Commons to His Majeſty to be truſted with the Militia, who muſt be allowed to be of the beſt Quality in the Kingdom, but obſerve a ſecond Act of the ſame Day, was the breaking open a Letter directed to Her Majeſty,

Majeſty, which they had intercepted. The Lord *Digby* tranſported himſelf into *Holland*, from whence he writ to his Friends in *London*, to acquaint 'em where he was, and to accommodate himſelf with ſuch Things as he wanted. Among theſe Letters there was one to Sir *Lewis Dives*, his Brother-in-law, which by the Treachery of the Bearer was brought to the Houſe of Commons, who, for that he was a Fugitive, made no Scruple of opening it; and finding one incloſed in it for the Queen, they ſerved that ſo too for which they made an Excuſe (when upon a Meſſage from the King they ſent a Copy of it, *That finding in the other Letter ſeveral Expreſſions full of Reproach and Malignity to the Parliament, they thought Her Majeſties might probably be upon the ſame Subject, and that it wou'd have been a Diſgrace to Her Majeſty, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, if they had not open'd it. And they beſought the King, to perſwade Her Majeſty not to countenance, or hold any Correſpondence with the Lord* Digby, *or the reſt of the Fugitives and Traitors, whoſe Offences were under the Examination and Judgment of Parliament.* 1642.

The Letter to the Queen had theſe Words, *If the King betake himſelf to a Safe Place, where he may avow and protect his Servants*, (from Rage I mean, and Violence; for from Juſtice I will never implore it) *I ſhall then live in Impatience and Miſery, till I wait upon You. But, if after all he hath done of late, he ſhall betake himſelf to the eaſieſt and compliantest Ways of Accommodation, I am confident that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my Abſence, than by all my Induſtry.* In that to Sir *Lewis Dives* were theſe Words, *God knows I have not a Thought to make me bluſh towards my Country, much leſs criminal; but where Traitors have ſo great a Sway, the honeſteſt Thoughts may prove moſt Treaſonable.* At which thoſe who were touch'd, were ſo highly offended, that within Two Days after they charged him with High-Treaſon, and accuſed him of raiſing War againſt the King.

I ſhall but juſt mention here a third Act of the Day, which was an Impeachment preferr'd to the Lords againſt the Attorney-General, *For maliciouſly adviſing and contriving the Articles of High-Treaſon againſt the Lord* Kimbolton, *and the Five Members*; but

1642. but obſerve, that tho' His Majeſty was firmly reſolved never to condeſcend to the Propoſition concerning the Militia, yet he thought it an unſeaſonable Time then abſolutely to deny it, the Queen being ſtill afraid ſhe ſhould be ſtopp'd in her Journey: His Anſwer therefore for the preſent was, *That his deareſt Conſort the Queen, and his dear Daughter the Princeſs* Mary, *being juſt then departing for* Holland, *he had not time to return a particular Anſwer to a Thing of ſo weighty a Moment, as that of the Militia was, and therefore he would defer it till his Return:* The King intending to bear the Queen Company as far as *Dover.*

His Majeſties Anſwer concerning the Militia.

Upon this Anſwer they ſent next Day their humbly Petition, ſetting forth, *That they had with great Grief of Heart received his Anſwer to their reaſonable and neceſſary Petition, concerning the Militia, which formerly he had been pleas'd to promiſe, he would put into ſuch Hands, as ſhou'd be approved of by his Parliament, the Extent of their Power, and Time of their Continuance being firſt known; which being now done, and the Perſons named, His Majeſty ſtill put them off to a longer and very uncertain Time, which was an Anſwer little better than a poſitive Denial. Therefore they once more beſought him to vouchſafe them ſuch an Anſwer, as might ſecure them from the Deſigns of thoſe who were induſtrious in the Ruin of this Kingdom, and ſtudy'd to kindle that Flame here, which they had in a great Meaſure effected in* Ireland, *from whence, aſſiſted by the* Papiſts *there, they deſign'd to invade* England, *as they had been informed. They ſaid, nothing cou'd prevent thoſe Calamities but an immediate Grant of their Petition, who were bound in Duty to repreſent to him what they conceived ſo highly neceſſary, for the Preſervation of His Majeſty and the Commonwealth, which the Laws of God and Man obliged 'em to ſee executed, as daily Petitions from ſeveral Counties oblig'd 'em to do, and in ſome Places the County had begun it already of themſelves.* Notwithſtanding all which, His Majeſty made 'em no further Anſwer than what he had formerly done.

Their Reply.

In the mean time the Commons daily received Petitions from the ſeveral Counties of *England*, profeſſing all Submiſſion to 'em, the Lords agreeing

to

to all they propoſed, inſomuch, as when the Houſe of Peers had bailed the Twelve Biſhops, which was the Day after the Bill againſt 'em paſs'd, the Commons in great Indignation expoſtulated with them, and order'd 'em inſtantly to be recommitted. The Tower of *London* was now at their Command, and *Hull* their own; the Mayor of that Place they had lately ſent for, and reprimanded, for ſaying, *The Billetting of Soldiers upon 'em was againſt the Petition of Right*; and for refuſing to commit that Town, with which he was entruſted, to Sir *John Hotham*'s Government; and after a long Attendance, without being able to obtain a publick Hearing, he was perſwaded to comply, and ſo he was diſcharged. The next Thing the Commons did, was the raiſing of Money for the Relief of *Ireland*, and for that End prepared an Act *for the Payment of Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds to ſuch Perſons as were appointed by themſelves, and to be applied to ſuch Uſes as the Two Houſes ſhou'd direct*; which the King confirmed accordingly, and by that Means gave 'em a Stock of Credit to raiſe Money upon any Exigency. This he cou'd not well avoid, for he had committed the Management of the *Iriſh* War to them; and they being engaged for the Arrears due to the Officers of the *Northern* Army, and the Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds to the *Scots*, His Majeſty was neceſſitated to paſs that Act with ſuch general Clauſes, as empower'd them to apply the Money to other Ends than thoſe to which it was given. 1642. Money raiſed under Pretence of relieving *Ireland*.

In the mean while the Queen being embark'd for *Holland*, His Majeſty returned for *Greenwich*, where he commanded the Marqueſs of *Hartford* to meet him with the Prince of *Wales*; with which the Houſes being acquainted, they immediately ſent a Meſſage to the King as he was returning from *Dover*, with a Deſire, *That the Prince might not be removed from* Hampton-Court, *for that at that time it wou'd promote Fears and Jealouſies in the Hearts of his Subjects, which they thought requiſite to avoid*; and at the ſame time required the Marqueſs of *Hartford* by an expreſs Order, not to ſuffer the Prince to go to *Greenwich*; but his Lordſhip chuſing rather to obey the King than the Parliament, he conducted The Queen ſhipp'd for *Holland*.

1642. His Highneſs to his Father; whereupon ſome Members were ſent from both Houſes to *Greenwich*, *To bring the Prince from thence to* London; but they found the King, whom they did not expect there, and ſo thought it not requiſite to perform that Command. This Extravagancy proceeded from an Information they received from a Member of the Houſe. And my Lord C—— ſays, There was one *Griffith*, a young Welſh Gentleman, eminent for nothing but an extraordinary Licence, who with great Boldneſs had long follow'd the Court in Hopes of Preferment there, and ſo had always oppoſed in the Houſe, as far as in diſſenting he could, all the undutiful Acts towards the King; preſuming upon which he more confidently preſs'd for a Reward, and openly importuned the Queen, as ſhe was ready to embark at *Dover*, to intercede with the King, *That he might be of the Bed-chamber to the Prince*; which Her Majeſty refuſing, he told his Companions, *That ſince he could not make himſelf conſiderable by ſerving the King, he would in diſſerving him:* And ſo poſting away to *London*, he told the Houſe openly, (the very Day the Prince was to go to *Greenwich*) *That if ſome ſpeedy Care was not taken they ſhould loſe the Prince, whom to his Knowledge there was a Deſign to carry into* France. I have nothing to ſay concerning the Truth or Falſhood of this Information of *Griffith*, who, I think, was the ſame Perſon that in thoſe times was called Prince *Griffith*, but will give you the King's Reply only to their Meſſage, *That he knew not what Anſwer to give their Fears and Jealouſies, as not being able to imagine what Grounds they had for 'em, but he deſired they would diligently examine whatever Information they had receiv'd, which gave Occaſion to thoſe Apprehenſions, and then he hoped they would for the future have no other Fears or Jealouſies, but what bore a Relation to His Majeſty's Rights and Honour.*

About the ſame time His Majeſty ſent the Parliament an Anſwer concerning the Militia, *That upon a careful Peruſal of what had been ſent him from both Houſes, for the ordering the Militia to be made an Ordinance of Parliament, by giving the Royal Aſſent, as for many Reaſons he could not agree to it, ſo he thought himſelf obliged by no Promiſe he had given*

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*given in his Anſwer to their former Petition. He ſaid, he had great Reaſon to except againſt the Preamble of that Ordinance, which confeſſed a late deſperate Deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, ſuppoſed to be fomented by the bloody Counſels of Papiſts, and other diſaffected Perſons, which (conſidering other printed Papers to that Purpoſe) might be underſtood of his coming to the Houſe on the* 4th *of* January, *which created ſo unhappy a Miſunderſtanding between him and his People. And for that, tho' he believed it, upon the Information he had receiv'd, to be a Breach of their Privileges, and had offer'd, and was willing to repair the ſame for the future, by any Act they could deſire of him; yet he muſt declare, and require to be believ'd, that all the Deſign he had upon that Houſe, or any Member of it, was only to require, as he did, the Perſons of thoſe Five Gentlemen he had before accuſed of High-Treaſon, and to declare that he intended to proceed againſt 'em in a Legal Way, upon which he thought that Houſe would have delivered them.*

*He called God to witneſs, he was ſo far from any Thought of Force or Violence, tho' that Houſe had not deliver'd 'em upon his Demand, that he expreſly charged his Servants, and others that then waited upon His Majeſty, to give no Offence to any Man, nor return it if it ſhould be offered. And therefore he hoped the Parliament would be too tender of his Honour to impute the raſh, indiſcreet Expreſſions of any young Men in his Train to him, or the deſperate Words of others, who without his Conſent or Approbation mingled with them.*

*For the Perſons named to be the Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties of* England *and* Wales, *he ſaid, he was willing to admit of that Recommendation; only he thought it inconſiſtent with Juſtice or Policy, to alter the Government, in that Particular, of* London, *and ſuch other Corporations, as by ancient Charters had the Power of the Militia granted to them. To the reſt he was willing to grant ſuch Commiſſions, as he had done this Parliament to ſome Lords Lieutenants by their Advice. But if that Power was not ſufficient, but that thoſe Perſons named muſt have more than by the Law is in the Crown itſelf, he thought it requiſite ſome Law ſhould be made to veſt it in him, with Power to transfer*

1642. *it to thoſe Perſons, which he would readily do; and to avoid all future Diſputes, he deſired that Power, whatever it ſhould be, might rather be digeſted into an Act of Parliament than an Ordinance; to the Intent that all his Subjects, being acquainted with what they were to do, and how they were to ſuffer for their Neglect, leſs room might be left for 'em to be oppreſs'd by any Arbitrary Power whatever.*

*To the Time ask'd for the Continuance of the Powers, he ſaid, he could not diveſt himſelf of that juſt Power, which God and the Laws of the Land had committed to him for the Defence of his People, and place it in the Hands of others for an indefinite Time. And ſince the Ground of their Requeſt to him was to remove their preſent Fears and Jealouſies, that they might with Security conſider his Meſſage of the* 20th *of* January, *he hoped, that as ſince that time he had condeſcended to ſo many of their Deſires, and allow'd of the Perſons now recommended to him, and the Power before expreſs'd to be veſted in 'em; they would now wholly lay aſide thoſe Fears and Jealouſies. And he declared, that as he had applied this unuſual Remedy to their Doubts, ſo if he ſaw Cauſe, he would prolong the ſame to ſuch time, as ſhould be anſwerable to the Care he now expreſs'd towards 'em.*

*He ſaid, he was ſo far from ſtarting from any thing contain'd in his former Anſwer, that he had hereby agreed to all that had been deſired of him concerning the Militia, except that of* London, *and other Corporations; and he doubted not but when they had well weigh'd the Particulars of that his Anſwer, they would find the ſame more conducing to the Peace and Safety of all his good Subjects, than the Way propoſed by their intended Ordinance.*

*And whereas he obſerved by their Petition ſome Perſons had already preſumed to intermeddle with the Militia, he ſaid, he expected his Parliament ſhould enquire into the Particulars thereof, it being a Matter of weighty Concern, and the laſt Conſequence; and he required, that if it ſhould appear any Perſon whatever had been ſo bold as to command the Militia without lawful Authority, they might be proceeded againſt according to Law.*

The

The Parliament not expecting this Anſwer at the publiſhing it they were ſtrangely tranſported, and both Houſes preſently voted, *That whoever had adviſed His Majeſty to give that Anſwer, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. That if His Majeſty ſhould perſiſt on that Denial, it would endanger the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, unleſs the Wiſdom and Authority of the Parliament did apply ſome Remedies to prevent it. That ſuch Parts of the Kingdom, as had already put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, had done nothing but what was juſtifiable, and approved by both Houſes.* Theſe, and ſuch other Reſolutions, being immediately publiſh'd, they diſpatch'd a Committee of both Houſes with another Petition to the King at *Theobalds*, telling him, *His unexpected Denial had much increaſed the Apprehenſions they lay under, of the publick Miſeries and Calamities like to befal His Majeſty and the Kingdom: And that they were highly grieved at the Power, wicked and miſchievous Counſellors ſtill had over him, in that time of approaching Ruin. That they were forced in all Humility to proteſt, that if His Majeſty ſhould perſiſt in his Refuſal, the Diſtempers of the Kingdom were ſuch, as they would endure no longer Delay, but that they muſt be obliged, for the Safety of His Majeſty and His Kingdoms, to diſpoſe of the Militia in ſuch a manner as had been preſented to him, and that they reſolv'd to do it accordingly.*

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Votes of both Houſes upon it.

Another Petition.

*They likewiſe humbly begg'd His Majeſty to believe, that the deſperate Deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, mentioned in the Introduction, was not inſerted with an Intent to throw the leaſt Aſperſion upon His Majeſty, but to reflect upon that malignant Party, from whoſe bloody Practices they could never be ſecure, unleſs His Majeſty would remove from him thoſe wicked treacherous Counſellors, who interpoſed between His Majeſty's Goodneſs and Wiſdom, and the Peace and Happineſs of himſelf and his People: And that he would be pleaſed to reſide near* London, *and his Parliament, which would further the Diſpatch of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, contribute to his own Safety, and the Protection and Comfort of his Subjects. That he would likewiſe be pleaſed to continue the Prince in thoſe Parts, whereby the Deſigns the Enemies of the Peace and Religion of*

1642. *the Kingdom might have upon his Perſon would be defeated, and the Fears and Jealouſies of his Subjects be removed. And they begg'd Leave to inform him, that by the Laws of the Land, the Power of the Militia could not be granted to any Corporation by Charter or otherwiſe, without the Concurrence of the Parliament; and that they who had put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence againſt the common Danger, had therein concurr'd with the Declaration and Direction of both Houſes, and were juſtifiable by Law. And this their moſt humble Counſel and Advice they beſeech him to accept of, as a Token of their Duty and Allegiance, which reſign'd 'em entirely up to all ſuch Thoughts, Intentions and Deſires, as were neceſſary and conducive to his Greatneſs and Honour, and the Safety Proſperity of the Kingdom, and which was agreeable to that Truſt and Power the Law had repoſed in 'em.*

The King's preſent Anſwer.

This Petition was no ſooner read, than the King told 'em who preſented it, *That he was ſo much ſurprized at their Meſſage, that he knew not what Anſwer to make it. He ſaid, they inſiſted upon their Fears and Jealouſies, but he deſired them to ask their own Conſciences if he had not his Share of 'em too; and if ſo, he aſſured 'em that Meſſage had in no wiſe leſſened them. For the Militia, he ſaid, he had ſo well conſider'd it before he ſent his Anſwer, and that Anſwer was ſo agreeable to what in Juſtice or Reaſon they could expect, or he in Honour grant, that he could not vary from it in any Point. For his Reſidence near them, he bid 'em ask themſelves, if he had no Reaſon for his Abſence? And aſſured them, he ſhould take ſuch Care of his Son, as he ſhould be able to anſwer to himſelf as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King. To conclude, he declared all his Thoughts tended to Peace and Juſtice, which by all fair Means he would endeavour to cheriſh, reſigning himſelf to the Goodneſs and Providence of God, for the Preſervation of himſelf and his Rights.*

Reſolve of the Commons upon it.

The Houſe immediately upon the Report of this Anſwer, reſolv'd upon a Debate. *That the Kingdom ſhould forthwith be put into a Poſture of Defence; and a Declaration ſent to the King, containing the juſt Grounds of their Fears and Jealouſies, and to make it appear there was no Reaſon to entertain any againſt them:* Ordering

dering at the ſame time, *That all the Lords Lieutenants in* England, *whoſe Commiſſions were granted from the King under the Great Seal, ſhould immediately bring 'em in to be cancell'd as illegal.* 1642.

Then both Houſes ſent a Meſſage to the High-Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, importing, *That they had been advertiſed of extraordinary Preparations made by neighbouring Princes both by Sea and Land, which gave both Houſes reaſon to apprehend the Publick Peace, Honour and Safety of His Majeſty and his Dominions could not be ſecure, unleſs a timely Care was taken for putting the Kingdom in a Condition of Defence, as well by Sea as by Land; and therefore order'd him to give forthwith effectual Directions for equipping all His Majeſties Ships, that they might at a ſhort Warning be fit for Sea. And that his Lordſhip would ſignifie to all Maſters and Owners of other Ships as might be of Uſe for the Publick Defence, that they would do a grateful Piece of Service to the King and Parliament, if they would likewiſe put their Ships in ſuch a Readineſs, that they might be fit to put to Sea upon any Emergent Occaſion.* To which the Earl return'd a very ſubmiſſive, obedient Anſwer. They order the Earl of *Northumberland* to provide a Fleet.

In the mean time the King, inſtead of returning to his Parliament, removed yet farther from *Theobalds* to *New-Market.*

They therefore quickened their Declaration, which they ſent His Majeſty, telling him, *That tho' they had juſt Cauſe of Sorrow for his Anſwer to their Petition at* Theobalds, *yet it was not without ſome Allay of Confidence and Hope, conſidering it was founded upon a Miſapprehenſion of their Actions and Intentions; which being groundleſs, would eaſily be removed, when he ſhou'd be fully inform'd, that their Fears and Jealouſies, which His Majeſty thought to be vain and unreaſonable, were the natural Reſult of thoſe Dangers and Diſtractions, the wicked Councils about His Majeſty had brought upon the Kingdom. And that thoſe other Fears and Jealouſies, which had made him withdraw his Favour and Favour and Royal Preſence from his Parliament, were founded upon no Action or Miſcarriage of theirs; but were owing purely to the Artifice of thoſe, who for the Support and Encouragement of their own wicked Deſigns, ſought to diveſt His Majeſty of* Their Declaration to His Majeſty.

1642. *the Strength and Affection of his People, and them of his Grace and Protection, and thereby expose 'em to inevitable Destruction. That to satisfie His Majesty's Judgment and Conscience in both those Points, they desired to delare themselves clearly in some Particulars.*

*I.* That the Design of altering Religion had been industriously carried on for many Years together by those of great Power about him; and that the Queen's Agent at *Rome*, and the Pope's Nuncio here, were not only Instances of that Design, but Parties in it.

*II.* That the War in *Scotland* was designed to promote it, being chiefly fomented by *Papists*, and others Popishly affected, as it appeared by their large Contributions to it.

*III.* That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed here in *England*; and that they had certain Intelligence from *Ireland*; that the *English Papists* shou'd have risen about the same time; and that it was commonly said among the Rebels (which was supported by other Evidences, as the Information of a Minister who came from *Ireland*, *Tristram Whetcomb*'s Letter from *Ireland* to his Brother in *England*, and many others) that they would recover to His Majesty His Royal Prerogative, extorted from him by the Puritan Faction in the Parliament, and support Episcopacy, and the Legality thereof, which, they said, were the Two Points were to have incensed the late Army in the *North* against 'em.

*IV.* The Cause they had to doubt the late Design, term'd the Queen's pious Intention, was to alter Religion in this Kingdom, for the good Success whereof, the Pope's Nuncio, *Rozetti*, enjoined the *English Papists* to fast and pray every Week; which an Original Letter, directed by the Nuncio to a Priest in *Lancashire*, made appear to them.

*V.* The Insolence of the *Irish* Rebels, in reporting what they did was by the King's Authority; that they style themselves the Queen's Army, and stamp their Booty taken from the *English* with Her Majesty's Mark; that their Design was to come into *England*, as soon as they had done their Business in *Ireland*; which, with several other Things of the same Nature, they said, was proved to 'em by one *Oconelly*,

*nelly*, and others, eſpecially in the Letter, before mentioned from *Triſtram Whetcomb*, wherein there was this Paſſage, That they utter'd many other Speeches concerning Religion, and our Court of *England*, which he dared not commit to Paper. 1642.

*VI.* The many Attempts to poiſon his own and the *Scottiſh* Army, and raiſe a Faction in the City of *London*, and other Parts of the Kingdom. That the Actors in thoſe Affairs depended upon, and were encouraged by the Court; witneſs the Treaſon, whereof Mr. *Jermyn* and others ſtood accuſed, who had a Warrant under His Majeſty's own Hand to go beyond Sea, after he had given the Parliament a Promiſe to the contrary. And that dangerous Petition His Majeſty delivered with his own Hand to Captain *Leg*, ſigned with *C. R.*

*VII.* The falſe and dangerous Accuſation againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Commons, by his own Command tender'd to the Parliament, by his own Perſwaſion juſtified in the City, and endeavour'd to be executed upon their Perſons by his Demand of them in the Houſe of Commons, after ſo furious a Manner, not to be equalled by any former Breaches of their Privileges, either by himſelf, or any of his Predeceſſors: And they added, however well diſpoſed he was himſelf, thoſe who attended him diſcovered their barbarous Intentions to have maſſacred the Members of the Houſe, if by God's Providence the Abſence of the Perſons accuſed had not prevented the *Word* being given. The liſting Officers and Soldiers to guard *Whitehal*, and the like.

*VIII.* After the Houſe of Commons had declared by their Vote, that the Lord *Digby* had appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, to the great Terror of His Majeſty's good Subjects, His Majeſty ſhould nevertheleſs ſend him away with his own Warrant to Sir *John Pennington*, to tranſport him beyond Sea; from whence he publiſh'd his own traiterous Conceptions, that His Majeſty ſhould retire to ſome fortified Place, as if he was not ſafe among his People; which dangerous Counſels they had too much Reaſon to fear prevailed too much with His Majeſty, ſince he was pleaſed thus

to

1642. to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, and take the Prince with him; which look'd as if His Majeſty intended to be in a Readineſs to act it.

*IX.* That the many Advertiſements they had received from *Rome*, *Paris*, *Venice*, and other Parts, made 'em apprehend His Majeſty deſigned the Alteration of Religion. and the Deſtruction of his Parliament. That the Pope's Nuncio had ſollicited the Two Kings of *France* and *Spain* for 4000 Men each, to help ſupport his Royalty againſt the Parliament; and they ſaid, as that was the moſt miſchievous Deſign of all the reſt, ſo they hoped His Majeſty had an Abhorrence of it, becauſe if he once gave up his People and Kingdom to be ſpoiled by Foreigners, it would be evident he then intended to change both his own and the publick Profeſſion of Religion in the Nation, the better to endear himſelf to *Popiſh* Princes, and be aſſured of their Aſſiſtance and Defence.

*Theſe, they ſaid, were ſome of the Grounds of their Fears and Jealouſies, which had made 'em in all Humility and Submiſſion earneſtly implore His Royal Authority and Protection, for their Safety and Defence; which His Majeſty, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, having denied, they apply'd themſelves to the Exerciſe of that Power, for the Security of his own Perſon, and his Kingdoms, which by the Fundamental Laws of the Land was veſted in 'em; yet ſtill reſolving to contain themſelves within the Bounds of Fidelity and Allegiance to his Sacred Perſon and Crown.*

*To the Fears and Jealouſies which His Majeſty expreſs'd, when he ſaid, he wiſh'd his Reſidence near his Parliament might be with ſo much Safety and Honour to his Perſon, that he had no Reaſon to abſent himſelf from* Whitehal: *That, they ſaid, was the greateſt Breach of Privilege, the ſevereſt Miſery to himſelf, and Reflection upon them, that could be imagined; it deſtroyed the firmeſt Foundation of the Safety and Honour the Crown afforded; it ſeem'd to charge 'em with what was altogether inconſiſtent with the Nature of that great Council; and ſtruck at the very Being both of the King and Parliament, depriving His Majeſty in his own Thoughts of their Loyalty, and them of his Protection,*

*ction, which are the eſſential Supports of Government and Subjection.* 1642.

*They ſaid, they had, according to His Majeſty's Deſire, ſtrictly examined into their own Conſciences, and found nothing cou'd in the leaſt provoke His Majeſty to this Abſence. They entreated His Majeſty to conſider what Condition he was in, how plain the Way to Honour, Happineſs, Greatneſs and Security lay before him, if he wou'd co-operate with his Parliament in the Defence of the Religion and Common Welfare of the Kingdom. But they ſaid, they could not build their Security upon Words, for they could not but remember what Gracious Meſſages they received from him laſt Summer, even whilſt he was privy to the Buſineſs of the Army then in Agitation, and Two Days before the Accuſation of the Members, and his coming to the Houſe, he had aſſured 'em he wou'd be as tender of their Privileges, as of his own Prerogative, and have as much Regard to the Safety of their Perſons, as that of his own Children.*

*They added, if he wou'd give 'em an Aſſurance his whole Thoughts were upon Peace, they expected he ſhou'd gratifie them with thoſe Things which the preſent State of the Kingdom urged 'em to deſire. And in the firſt place he would baniſh from him his wicked Counſellors, and continue to reſide near* London *and his Parliament, which wou'd be a happy Omen of a mutual Confidence between him and his People, and be attended with the Bleſſings of Honour and Greatneſs to His Majeſty, and Safety and Proſperity to themſelves.*

The Committee that preſented the Declaration to His Majeſty at *New-Market*, preſented likewiſe additional Reaſons for His Majeſty's Return and Reſidence near the Parliament, as a Matter of the higheſt Conſequence to himſelf and his Kingdom. *They could not think they had done their Duties in the bare Expreſſion of their Deſires, unleſs they ſupported it with ſome further Reaſons. 1. His Majeſty's Abſence would make Men believe 'twas with an Intent to diſcourage Undertakers, and hinder raiſing the Proviſions for the Defence of* Ireland. *2. The Rebels there, and all the diſaffected Party here at home, would be very much encouraged by ſo effectual an Evidence of the Miſunderſtanding between His Majeſty and his People.*

Parliaments additional Reaſons to the King.

3. That

1642. 3. *That it would very much weaken the Subjects Love to His Majesty, which being withdrawn, a Prince lyes exposed to all imaginable Dangers and Calamities.* 4. *It would encourage our Enemies abroad, to execute their Designs and Intentions towards us.* 5. *That it much hinder'd the Proceedings of Parliament. These Considerations, they said, threatned his Person and Dominions, with such great Dangers, that they thought themselves obliged to represent to him this their Loyal Advice, that so they might stand excused before God and Man, let what will happen.*

Mr. *Rushworth* says, When His Majesty heard that Part of the Declaration, which mentioned Mr. *Jermin*'s Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading; and said, *That's false.* Which being afterwards touched upon again, His Majesty then said, *'Tis a Lie*; and when he was informed it related not to the Date, but the Execution of the Warrant, His Majesty said, *It might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high Thing to tax a King with Breach of Promise.* As for this Declaration, his Majesty said, *I could not have believed that the Parliament would have sent me such a one, if I had not seen it brought by such Persons of Honour. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it; for by that I doubt not but to satisfie my People; tho' I am confident the greater Part is so already. Ye speak of ill Counsels, but I am confident the Parliament hath had worse Information, than I have had Counsels.* His Majesty asking, *What he had denied the Parliament*, the Earl of *Holland* instanced, *That of the Militia.* His Majesty replied, *That was no Bill*; the Earl of *Holland* then said, *It was a necessary Request at this time*; and His Majesty also then said, *He had not denied it.* But both the Declaration and Reasons being read through, the King after a short Pause told 'em.

King's Speech to the Committee of Parliament.

*I am confident you don't expect from me a speedy Answer to this strange, unexpected Declaration; and I am sorry, in this Distraction of the Kingdom, you should approve this Way of Address, sooner than that I proposed by my Message to both Houses the 20th of* January *last. I'll take time to answer the Grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, to the Satisfaction, I doubt not, of the whole World.*

*World. God, I hope, in his good time, will reveal the Secrets and Bottoms of all Plots and Treaſons, and then I ſhall ſtand right in the Eyes of all my People. In the mean time I muſt tell you, I rather expected to be acquitted of the Imputation laid upon me in Mr.* Pym's *Speech, than that any more general Rumors and Diſcourſes ſhould find Credit with you. I did not think my Fears and Doubts would have been thought groundleſs and trivial, whilſt ſo many Seditious Sermons and Pamphlets are encouraged, and ſo many Tumults are remember'd unpuniſh'd and uninquired into. I ſtill avow my Fears, and call God to witneſs, they are greater for the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, my People and Laws, than my own Rights and Safety; tho' I muſt tell you, I believe none of theſe are free from Danger. What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, or denied to paſs one Bill for the Eaſe and Safety of my Subjects? I don't ask what you have done for me. Are my People tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? I have offer'd as free and abſolute a Pardon as your ſelves can deviſe. There is a Judgment from Heaven upon this Nation, if theſe Diſtractions continue. God ſo deal with me and mine, as all my Thoughts and Intentions are upright for the Maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, and the Preſervation of the Laws of the Land: Which Laws I hope God will bleſs, and aſſiſt for my Preſervation.* 1642.

This being ſpoken on a ſudden, and with ſome Paſſion, and the King demanding a longer time to anſwer the Declaration, the Committee deſired, *Since that was all the Anſwer they were like to carry back, that they might have it in Writing*, which was given them the next Morning. And then the Earl of *Holland* beſought him again to reſide nearer his Parliament; to which the King anſwer'd in ſhort, *I would you had given me Encouragement, but I am certain this Declaration is not the Way to it.* Then the Earl of *Pembroke* asking, if the Militia might be granted for a Time, as was deſired by the Parliament? He anſwer'd, *By God, not for an Hour. 'Tis what was never ask'd of a King before, and with what I will not truſt my Wife and Children. He told them, he could not have believ'd the Parliament would have ſent him ſuch a Declaration, if he had not ſeen it brought* King's ſwears.

*by*

1642. *by ſuch Perſons: He ſaid, he was ſorry for the Parliament, but glad he had it, for by that he doubted not to ſatisfie his People. He ſaid, they talk'd of ill Councils, but he was ſure they had worſe Information than he had Council. He told 'em, Four Hundred would never do the Buſineſs of* Ireland, *it muſt be put into the Hands of One; and if he were truſted with it, he would pawn his Head to end that Work.*

The Committee hereupon return'd, and reported the Anſwer they had received, and the Temper and Diſpoſition they found His Majeſty in. Upon this they order'd their Declaration to be printed, and diſperſed abroad, to the end the World might ſee upon what Terms they ſtood. About the ſame time they order'd the Lord High-Admiral to ſend 'em the Names of thoſe Captains who were to be employed that Summer, to the end they might be ſerved by ſuch, in whom they could confide; which his Lordſhip punctually obſerved.

On the other Hand the King, according to his former Reſolution, of which few were acquainted, thought it fit to remove to *York*, which was a Place proper to receive thoſe who he had a Mind ſhould attend him; however he ſent a Meſſage firſt from *Huntington* to both Houſes. *That being then removing to his City of* York, *where he intended to reſide for ſome Time, he thought fit by that Meſſage very earneſtly to deſire them to forward with all Diligence the Buſineſs of* Ireland, *in which His Majeſty would concur ſo chearfully, that his Abſence ſhould be no Prejudice to that Service, having a paſſionate Deſire for the Reduction of that Kingdom, and done whatever Acts had been moved to him by his Parliament thereunto. Therefore if the Calamities of his poor Proteſtant Subjects there encreaſed upon 'em, he ſaid, he ſhould waſh his Hands from the leaſt Imputation of Remiſneſs in ſo neceſſary and pious a Work. And that he might leave no Way unattempted, which might beget a good Underſtanding between him and Parliament, he ſaid, he thought it requiſite to declare, that as he had been ſo tender of the Privileges of Parliament, that he had been ready to retract any Act of his, which he had been informed encroached upon their Privileges; ſo he expected them to be equally tender of his known Prerogatives, amongſt which this was a Fundamental*

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes in his Wey to *York*.

*damental one, that his Subjects could not be obliged to obey any Act or Injunction, which was not authorized by his Consent: And therefore he thought fit to publish, that he expected, and thereby required Obedience from all his loving Subjects to the Laws established; and that they presumed not upon any Pretence of Order or Ordinance, to which His Majesty was no Party, to do any thing relating to the Militia which was not warrantable by those Laws; he being resolved to observe the Laws himself, and exact Obedience to 'em from all his Subjects. He once more reminded 'em of his Message of the 20th of* January *last, that they would with all Speed prepare such Acts as they should judge necessary, for the present and future Establishment of their Privileges, the free and peaceful Enjoyment of their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their Persons, the Preservation of the true Religion, as it was then profess'd in the Church of* England, *the maintaining his Regal, Lawful Authority, and settling his Revenue, he being most desirous of taking all just and proper Ways, which might create a good Understanding between him and his Parliament, in which he conceived his chief Power and Riches did consist.* 1642.

This Message put the Houses into a great Heat and Rage than usual. They had voted, and resolved the Day before, *That it was in no wise against the Oath of Allegiance, that all Commissions under the Great Seal to Lieutenants were void; and that whosoever should execute any Power over the Militia, by Vertue of any Commission of Lieutenancy, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, should be reputed an Enemy to the Peace of the Kingdom.* Then they agreed upon this Proposition, *That the Kingdom of late had been, and still was under such imminent Danger from Enemies abroad, and a Popish discontented Party at home, that there was an unavoidable Necessity of putting it in a Posture of Defence, for the Security of His Majesty and his People. That the Lords and Commons, bound in Duty to provide a suitable Prevention, had in several Petitions address'd His Majesty in such a Way, as was agreed upon by the Wisdom of both Houses to be most proper for the present State of the Kingdom; to which His Majesty had several times refused his Royal Assent.* Upon this Proposition they resolv'd, *That at a time of such extream*

Votes of the Parliament upon the King's Message.

1642. *extream Danger, and upon His Majeſty's Refuſal, the People ought, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, to obey the Ordinance of both Houſes concerning the Militia, and that ſuch Perſons as ſhould be appointed Deputy Lieutenants, and be approved of by both Houſes ſhould receive their Commands, and enter upon the Execution of their Offices.* Theſe Reſolutions were order'd the ſame Night to be Printed and Publiſh'd; and next Day they Voted, *That thoſe who had adviſed His Majeſty to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, and promoted that Meſſage, were Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and ſtood juſtly ſuſpected of favouring the Rebellion in* Ireland. And inſiſting upon former Votes, they declared withal, *That when both Houſes of Parliament, which is the Supream Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have that not only diſputed, but contradicted, and a Command publiſh'd not to obey it, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.* The King's removing to *York* made 'em to be in Pain for *Hull*, and therefore they immediately reſolv'd, *That no Forces whatſoever ſhall be admitted into that Town, without the immediate Conſent of both Houſes.* This Order they ſent thither by an Expreſs, and having received Letters, ſaid to be ſent from *Amſterdam*, importing, *That there was an Army ready in* Denmark *to be tranſported into* England, *and to be landed at* Hull; *the Confirmation of which, they alledged they had received from a Perſon of Reputation from* New-Market; *adding, there were likewiſe Forces in* France *ready to be ſhipp'd off for* Hull.

This countenanc'd their Orders to their Governor there, and render'd the King's Reſidence in the Northern Parts ſuſpected. Nay, theſe Alarms of Foreign Forces were ſtill aggravated with other Intelligence of the *Papiſts* in *England*, *That they deſign'd an Inſurrection*; and therefore they proceeded in preparing a Bill to ſecure thoſe of the beſt Quality, and greateſt Intereſt among 'em, enjoining the Oath of Supremacy with the utmoſt Rigour, the King iſſuing now out a Proclamation, commanding a due Execution of all the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, without any Favour or Connivance, they ſent for the Sheriffs of *London*, and examined them

in

in the Houſe, *Why Seven Prieſts, who were in* Newgate, *and had been long under a Condemnation, were not executed?* And when the Sheriffs replied, *They had received a Reprieve for 'em under the King's Hand*; they appointed thoſe they were ſending with a new Declaration to His Majeſty, to move, *That the Seven Condemn'd Prieſts might be executed according to the Judgments they had received.* 1642.

They begun now diligently to collect whatever Sums of Money had been granted by former Acts, and framed a new Bill for raiſing 400000 *l.* to pay the great Debts of the Kingdom, and carry on the War of *Ireland*. Which Money was to be receiv'd and diſburs'd according to the Direction of the Two Houſes. And indeed many of the Members themſelves had ſubſcrib'd ſuch large Sums, that this ſeemed to be very reaſonable. Now among other Projects for raiſing Money about this Time, they had this Way of encouraging Men to be Adventurers in that Traffick: They concluded, *That in ſo general a Rebellion much Land would be forfeited to the Crown, and that thoſe who would diſburſe Money towards the Suppreſſion of the Rebels, ſhould be ſatisfied out of ſuch Forfeitures.* Theſe Propoſitions, being agreed upon by both Houſes, and preſented to the King, he anſwer'd, *That as he had always been ready to aſſiſt the Recovery of that Kingdom at the Hazard of his own Perſon, if he ſhould be adviſed thereunto by his Parliament, ſo he was ready to part with any Profit or Advantage of his own, that might contribute to that Service; and therefore reſigning himſelf up to the Wiſdom of his Parliament, he did conſent to every Propoſition now made him, without conſidering, whether that Courſe would not render the Rebels deſperate, and ſo retard the Reduction of that Kingdom.* And added, *That he ſhould be ready to give his Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bills as ſhould be brought him for the Confirmation of thoſe Propoſitions.*

Propoſitions for Adventurers in *Ireland.*

His Majeſty conſents.

This Anſwer, together with their Propoſitions, they order'd forthwith to be Printed: Their Committees in all Places ſollicited Subſcriptions, the active Subſcribing firſt for the Encouragement of others. And when theſe Propoſitions were digeſted into a Bill, and with ſuch Clauſes as put it out of the

Paſſes a Bill to that Purpoſe.

1642. King's Power to make any Peace with the Rebels, they ſent it to His Majeſty, who was likewiſe obliged to paſs it. Theſe Matters thus agreed on, for the Eaſe of both Houſes, they appointed the whole Buſineſs of *Ireland* to be managed by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, and named Four Lords and Eight Commoners for that Province, whom they recommended to the King, and who were to receive their Inſtructions from none but themſelves.

The Affairs of *Ireland* being in this State when the King went to *York*, we find him here reſolved to treat with the Houſes in another manner than before, and let 'em know, *That as he wou'd deny nothing became them to ask, ſo he wou'd condeſcend to nothing was unreaſonable for him to grant, nor be hector'd out of any thing he was not inclinable to yeild to.* So, after he had been there a few Days, he ſent them a Declaration, which he order'd to be printed, and recommended it in the Frontiſpiece to the Conſideration of all his loving Subjects) in Anſwer to that he had received from them at *New-Market*; and told them, *That tho' the Declaration preſented him at* New-Market *was of ſo ſtrange a Nature, and ſome Expreſſions in it ſo different from the uſual Language to Princes, that he might well take a longer Time to conſider it; yet the Integrity of his Conſcience to God, and Love to his Subjects, had ſupplied him with a ſpeedy Anſwer, and his inviolable Affection to his People prevailed with him to ſtifle that Paſſion, which might well enough become him upon ſuch Provocation. He ſaid, he had review'd his Anſwer of the Firſt of that Month at* Theobalds, *which was urged to have given ſuch juſt Cauſe of Sorrow to his Subjects; but he ſaid, Whoever examined that Meſſage,* (in which they told him in Effect, that if he would not concur with them in an Act he conceived prejudicial to himſelf and the whole Kingdom, they wou'd make a Law without him, and impoſe it upon his People) *would find no Exceptions to that ſudden Anſwer. He ſaid, he was little encouraged to Replies of that Nature, when he was told of how little Weight his Words were like to be with them, tho' accompanied with all the Actions of Love and Juſtice,* (as often as there was Opportunity) *yet he could not but diſown his having*

His Majeſty's Declaration from *York*.

1642.

*having, to his Knowledge, any ſuch evil Council or Counſellors about him as they mentioned; and if any ſuch ſhould be diſcovered, he would reſign 'em up to the Judgment of his Parliament. In the mean time he wiſh'd they wou'd not ſo roughly cenſure that common Stile of evil Counſellors. He ſaid, as he wiſh'd out of the Innocency of his Soul, the Judgments of Heaven might be manifeſted upon thoſe, who had any Deſign of a'tering Religion in this Kingdom, ſo he rather expected an Acknowledgment of his Zeal for the Propagation of it, and the Oppreſſion of Popery, than thoſe Expreſſions he met with in that Declaration.*

*As for the* Scots *Troubles, he told 'em, he had thought thoſe unhappy Differences had been buried in perpetual Silence by the Act of Oblivion; which being ſolemnly paſſed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, ſtopped his Mouth from any other Reply, than to expreſs his great Diſlike of reviving the Memory thereof. And if the deteſtable Rebellion in* Ireland *ſeem'd to receive any Encouragement from hence, he conjured his Parliament, and all his loving Subjects whatſoever, to uſe all poſſible Means to diſcover ſuch, that he might join in the moſt exemplary Vengeance upon 'em that can be imagined. But he told 'em, he thought himſelf highly and unjuſtly injured in his Reputation, if any Declaration, Action or Expreſſion of the* Iriſh *Rebels, any Letter from* Rozetty *to the* Papiſts *for Faſting and Praying, or from* Triſtram Whetcomb, *of ſtrange Speeches utter'd in* Ireland, *ſhould create any Miſapprehenſions in his Subjects, of his Juſtice, Piety and Affections; it being evident the Rebels chief Advantage lay, in having their falſe Diſcourſes ſo far believed, as to diſtract this Kingdom with Fears and Jealouſies, the only Way to their Security. He ſaid, he had already expreſs'd his deep Senſe of the Sufferings of his poor Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom, having offer'd, as he ſtill was ready, to venture his Royal Perſon for their Redemption, well knowing, that, as in his Intereſts he was more concern'd in them, ſo he was highly anſwerable to Almighty God for any Neglect of his Duty, or their Preſervation.*

*He cou'd not, without great Indignation, ſuffer himſelf to be reproached with the leaſt Intention of impoſing a Force upon the Parliament, as his being privy to the bringing up the Army muſt imply. He called God*

1642. *to witneſs, he never was guilty of ſuch a Thought, nor knew of any ſuch Reſolution concerning his late Army. He remember'd well the Petition ſhow'd him by Captain* Leg, *and the Occaſion of his Conference with him. His Majeſty inquired of Captain* Leg, *who was lately come from the* North, *concerning the State of the Army; who, after ſome Diſcourſe, told His Majeſty, that the Officers of the Army had a Mind to petition the Parliament, as others of his Subjects had done, and ſhow'd him a Copy of a Petition, which His Majeſty, upon reading, found to be very humble, and told him, he ſaw no Harm in it; upon which Captain* Leg *replied, That he thought Sir* Jacob Aſhley *would be the only Perſon unwilling to ſign it, out of Fear it might diſpleaſe him. His Majeſty then read the Petition over again, and perceiving no poſſible Ground for any juſt Cauſe of Offence, bid him give it to Sir* Jacob Aſhley, *for whoſe Satisfaction he writ* C. R. *upon it, in Token of his Approbation. He wiſhed the Petition might be ſeen and publiſhed, and then, he believed, it would not appear ſuch a dangerous one, nor a juſt Ground for the leaſt Jealouſie or Suſpicion.*

*He ſaid, it was well known Mr.* Jermyn *was gone from* Whitehal, *before the Parliament had deſired him to reſtrain his Servants; nor did he return, or paſs over by any Warrant granted by him after that Time. For the Breach of Privilege, in the Accuſation of the Lord* Kimbolton, *and the Five Members, he told 'em he thought his ſeveral Meſſages had given 'em ſuch ample Satisfaction in that Point, having made an Acknowledgment and Retraction greater than ever King had given, that he ſhould have heard no more of it. He wonder'd they ſhould be ſo offended at his liſting Officers at* Whitehal, *where the Tumults were ſo great, their Demeanour ſo ſcandalous and ſeditious, that he had good Grounds to apprehend his own Perſon, and thoſe of his Wife and Children, were in Danger.*

*For the Lord* Digby, *he aſſured 'em upon his Royal Word, he had his Warrant to paſs the Seas, before ever he heard of the Vote of the Houſe of Commons, or had any Cauſe to imagine they would have excepted againſt his Abſence. What their Advertiſements from* Rome, Venice, Paris, *or other Parts, were, what the Pope's Nuncio ſol-*

*licites*

*licites the Kings of* France *and* Spain *to, by whom they had been informed of it, and how narrowly they had sifted into the Credit of that Information, he knew not, but he was sure no sober honest Man in his Dominions was so desperate, as to think he wou'd listen to any Designs that wou'd not only lay his Kingdom in Sudden Ruin and Destruction, but bury himself and Posterity in Eternal Scorn and Infamy. And therefore he said, he cou'd have wish'd, in Matters of so high and tender a Nature, wherewith the Minds of his good Subjects must needs be startled, all Expressions had been so plain and easie, that, since they thought fit to publish it, nothing might stick with them, that reflected upon His Majesty.* 1642.

*And having thus plainly and freely answer'd the particular Grounds of their Fears, he hoped they would find 'em to be not of that Moment, as to beget and continue a Misunderstanding any longer between 'em, or force 'em to make Use of any other Power than what the Law had given 'em, which he always intended shou'd be the Rule of his Subjects Obedience. As he had no Design of accusing them for his own Fears and Jealousies, so he was sure nothing he had spoken at* Theobalds *wou'd bear that Interpretation. He said, he had wish'd his Residence near them might be so much to his Safety and Honour, that he had no Cause to absent himself from* Whitehal, *but he cou'd not conceive how that cou'd be a Breach of Privilege of Parliament; he had explained his Meaning as to that Particular in his Answer to their Declaration at* New-Market, *concerning the Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, and the great Tumults at* Whithal *and* Westminster; *and he appealed to them and all the World, whether he might not justly suppose himself in Danger of either: And he ask'd, if he were now at* Whitehal, *what Security he had he should not again be exposed to the like.*

*He asked them, if he had given them no other Security than Words, of his importunate Desires to join with his Parliament, and all his loving Subjects, in the Defence of the Religion, and publick Good of the Kingdom. He told 'em, the Remonstrance of the very House of Commons (publish'd in* November *last) valued his Acts of Grace and Justice at so high a Rate, that it declared the Kingdom to be then a Gainer, tho' it had charged it*

1642. *ſelf with the Levy of* 600000 l. *beſides a Debt of* 200000 l. *to his Subjects of* Scotland. *He asked them, if the Bills for Triennial Parliament, for relinquiſhing his Title of impoſing on Merchandize, and Power of preſſing of Soldiers, for the aboliſhing the Star-Chamber, and High-Commiſſion-Courts, and Regulation of the Council-Table, were no more than Words? If the Bills for the Foreſts, the Stanneries, the Clerk of the Market, and taking away the Votes of Biſhops out of the Lords Houſe, were but Words? Laſtly, what greater Earneſt of his Truſt and Reliance on his Parliament could be given, than the Bill for the Continuance of this preſent Parliament? The Length of which, he hoped, would never alter the Nature of Parliaments, or Conſtitution of the Kingdom, or encourage his Subjects to abuſe his Confidence, as to think any thing fit for this Parliament to do, which would not be fit, if it were in his Power to diſſolve it to morrow. And after all, that there might be a true and perfect Reconciliation eſtabliſh'd between him and his People, as he had offer'd, ſo he was ſtill ready to grant a free and general Pardon, in as ample a Manner as they themſelves ſhould propoſe. Now if theſe were not effectual Expreſſions of the Affections of his Soul for the publick Good, he ſaid, he confeſſed he wanted Skill to manifeſt 'em.*

To conclude, *Tho' he thought he had ſufficiently anſwer'd that Point concerning his Return to* London, *yet he declared, he thought it was of ſo great a Moment to the Affairs of the Kingdom, that if all he could ſay or do could raiſe a mutual Confidence, ſo that the Laws of the Land, and the Government of the City of* London, *might recover ſome for his Security, he would overtake their Deſires, and be with them ſooner than they could wiſh. In the mean time he would take Care, neither the Affairs of* Ireland, *nor any Advantage for this Kingdom, ſhould ſuffer through his Abſence. He being ſo far from repenting thoſe Acts of Juſtice and Grace he had already done for his People, that he was ready to add ſuch new ones, as were moſt conducive to the Peace, Honour and Proſperity of the Nation.*

On the other Hand, the Day before the Members at *Weſtminſter* received this His Majeſty's Anſwer, they ſent him a Petition in the Name of both Houſes, upon Account of that Extempory Anſwer he

he gave their Committee, (as is mention'd before) upon the Delivery of their Declaration at *New-Market*. In which they told him, *They could not conceive that Declaration deserv'd the Censure His Majesty was pleased to deliver thereupon to their Committee, since they thought it more proper for the removing the Distractions of the Kingdom, than if they had concurr'd with his Message of the* 20th *of* January; *in which he desired to know what they intended to do for His Majesty, and what they expected shou'd be done for themselves: In both which, His Majesty's Refusal to comply with their several Petitions relating to the Militia had very much hinder'd them. As for those Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, which gave Occasion to His Majesty's Fears and Doubts, they said, as soon as they should understand what Pamphlets and Sermons were understood by His Majesty, they would give him all due Satisfaction therein. And as for the Tumult and Danger His Majesty apprehended, from any extraordinary Concourse of People out of the City to* Westminster, *it was owing to His Majesty's refusing such a Guard to his Parliament as they might confide in; and his giving Cause of Jealousie to his Parliament, and Offence to his People, by entertaining such a Guard about his Person as he did at* Whitehal. *They told him, they were sorry they had such a copious Answer to that Question, whether His Majesty had violated their Laws. They besought him to remember, that the Government of the Kingdom under him, till the beginning of this Parliament, consisted in continued Violations of the Laws, the Wounds whereof were hardly healed, when the very worst of all these Violations was far exceeded in the Accusation of the Lord* Kimbolton *and the Five Members, and the Proceedings thereupon, for which he had not yet given them full Satisfaction. To His Majesty's next Question, If he had rejected any Bills design'd for the Ease and Security of his Subjects? They wish'd Necessity did not oblige 'em to answer, that even about the time those Bills were pass'd, some Designs were in Agitation, which, if they had succeeded, would not only frustrated the Fruit of those Bills, but left 'em in a worse Confusion than that wherein the Parliament found them. If His Majesty had ask'd them the third Question, what they had done for him, their Answer would*

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1642. *would have been much more easier; that they had reliev'd the Kingdom from the Burden of Two Armies, had borne the Charge of the* Irish *War, at a Time when other excessive Charges and Pressures had exhausted his Subjects, and very much diminished the Stock of the Kingdom; which great Mischiefs, and the Expences that ensued thereupon, proceeded from the evil Counsellors so prevalent with His Majesty, which had and would cost the Kingdom more than Two Millions, which His Majesty in Justice ought to have borne. As for the free and general Pardon His Majesty was pleased to offer, they said it could be no Ease to their Fears and Jealousies, since they were not owing to any Guilt of their own Actions, but the wicked Attempts of others.*

*To that their humble Answer to that Speech, they desired to add an Information they had from* Rotterdam, *that an unknown Person belonging to the Lord* Digby, *did lately sollicite one* James Henly, *a Mariner, to go to* Elsenore, *and take Charge of a Ship in the King of* Denmark's *Fleet there prepared, which he should conduct to* Hull; *in which Fleet, they said, an Army was likewise to be transported. And tho' they were not inclinable to credit Informations of that Nature, yet it might justly add somewhat to that Weight of their Fears and Jealousies, considering the Circumstances that accompanied it; the Lord* Digby's *preceeding Expressions in his Letters to Her Majesty and Sir* Lewis Dives, *and His Majesty's retiring into the* North, *which they fear'd would make a deep Impression in the Generality of his People; and therefore they besought His Majesty to return with all convenient Speed to these Parts, and close with his Parliament, who would give him not only all just Grounds for his Confidence in their Faithfulness, but a Testimony of their sincere Desires to advance His Majesty's Service, Honour and Contentment, and establish it upon the sure Foundations of the Peace and Prosperity of all his Kingdoms.*

This Petition His Majesty soon answer'd to this Purpose; *If you could patiently have expected our Answer to your late Declaration, we believe you would have saved your selves the Trouble of saying much of this Message. And we could wish our Privileges on all*

King's Answer.

*Parts*

*Parts were ſo ſtated, that this Way of Correſpondency might be preſerv'd with that Freedom, which hath been uſed of old; for we muſt tell you, if you may ask any Thing of us by Meſſage or Petition, and in what Language you think fit, and we muſt neither deny the Thing you ask, nor give a Reaſon why we cannot grant it, without being taxed of breaking your Privileges, or being counſell'd by thoſe who are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Favourers of the* Iriſh *Rebellion, you will reduce all our Anſwers hereafter into a very ſhort Compaſs. In plain* Engliſh, *it is to take away the Freedom of our Vote, which were we but a Subject were high Injuſtice, but being your King, we leave all the World to judge what it is. Is this the Way to compoſe all Miſunderſtandings? We thought we ſhowed you one by our Meſſage of the* 20th *of* January; *if you have a better we ſhall willingly hearken to it. But why our Refuſal to conſent to your Order, which you term a Denial of the Militia, ſhould be any Interruption to it, we can't underſtand. You ask it by Way of Ordinance, and with ſuch a Preface, as we can neither with Juſtice to our Honour or Innocency conſent to. You exclude us from any Power in the Execution of it together with you, and for a time utterly unlimited. We are extreamly unſatisfied what an Ordinance is, but well ſatisfied without our Conſent it is nothing, nor binding: And it is evident by the long Time ſpent in this Argument, the Neceſſity and Danger was ſo imminent, but a Bill might have been prepared; which if it be yet done, with that Regard to us, and Care of our People; we ſhall recede from nothing we formerly expreſs'd in our Anſwer to your Order; otherwiſe we muſt declare we never ſhall allow our Subjects to be bound by your printed Votes of the* 15th *or* 16th *of this Month; or that under Pretence of declaring what Law is, you ſhould without us make a new Law, which is plainly the Caſe of the Militia: And what is this, but to introduce an Arbitrary Way of Government?*

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*Concerning* Pym's *Speech, you have found, by what the Lord* Compton *and Mr.* Baynton *brought from us, in Anſwer to that Meſſage they brought to us, that as yet we reſt nothing ſatisfied in that Particular. As for the Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, we are ſorry and aſhamed it ſhould be asked of us to name any; and*

*think*

1642. *think it moſt ſtrange to be told, our Denial of a Guard, or any thing elſe, (which in our Underſtanding, of which God hath ſurely given us ſome Uſe, is not fit to be granted) ſhould be any Excuſe for ſo dangerous a Concourſe of People. And we muſt wonder what and whence come the Inſtructions and Informations that thoſe People have, who can ſo eaſily think themſelves obliged by the Proteſtation to aſſemble in ſuch manner for the Defence of Privileges, which cannot be ſo clearly known to any of them, and ſo negligently paſs over the Conſideration and Defence of our Rights, ſo beneficial and neceſſary to themſelves, and ſcarce unknown to any of them; which by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and even by the ſame Proteſtation, they are at leaſt equally obliged to defend.*

*By that Queſtion of violating your Laws, by which we endeavour'd to expreſs our Care and Reſolution to obſerve them, we did not expect you would have been invited to look back ſo many Years, for which you had had ſo ample Reparation; neither looked we to have been reproached with the Actions of our Miniſters then againſt the Laws, whilſt we expreſs ſo great Zeal for the preſent Defence of them; it being our Reſolution, upon Obſervation of the Miſchiefs, which then grew by Arbitrary Power, (tho' made plauſible to us by the Suggeſtions of Neceſſity and imminent Danger, and take you heed you fall not into the ſame Error upon the ſame Suggeſtions) hereafter to keep the Rule our ſelf, and to our Power require the ſame from all others. But above all, we muſt be moſt ſenſible of what you caſt upon us for Requital of thoſe good Bills you cannot deny: We have denied any ſuch Deſign; and as God Almighty muſt judge in that Point between us, who knows our upright Intentions at the paſſing thoſe Laws, ſo we defie the Devil to prove that there was any Deſign then, (with our Knowledge or Privity) in or about the time of paſſing thoſe Bills, that had it taken effect, could have deprived our Subjects of the Fruit of them. And therefore we demand full Reparation in this Point, that we may be cleared in the Sight of the World, and chiefly in the Eyes of our loving Subjects from ſo notorious and falſe an Inſinuation.*

*We*

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*We are far from denying what you have done, for we acknowlede the Charge our People have ſuſtained in keeping the Two Armies, and in relieving* Ireland; *of which we are ſo ſenſible, that we patiently ſuffer thoſe extream perſonal Wants our Predeceſſors have been ſeldom put to, rather than we would preſs upon 'em, which we hope in time will be conſidered on your Parts. In our Offer of a general Pardon, our Intent was to compoſe and ſecure the general Condition of our Subjects, conceiving that in theſe Times of great Diſtraction, the good Laws of the Land had not been enough obſerved; but it is a ſtrange World, when Princes proffer'd Favours are counted Reproaches; yet if you like not this our Offer we have done.*

*Concerning any Diſcourſe of Foreign Forces, we muſt tell you, we have neither ſo ill an Opinion of our own Merit, or the Affections of our good Subjects, as to think our ſelves in Need of any Foreign Forces to preſerve us from Oppreſſion. And we take it very ill, that general Diſcourſes between an unknown Perſon and a Mariner, or Inferences upon Letters, ſhould be able to prevail in Matters ſo improbable in themſelves, and ſcandalous to us; for which we cannot but likewiſe ask Reparation, not only for the Vindication of our own Honour, but alſo thereby to ſettle the Minds of our Subjects, whoſe Fears and Jealouſies would ſoon vaniſh, were they not fed and maintain'd by ſuch falſe and malicious Rumours.*

*For our Return to our Parliament you have been fully anſwer'd; and you ought to look on us not as gone, but driven (we ſay not By you, yet) From you. And if it be not ſo eaſie for you to make our Reſidence in* London *ſo ſafe as we would deſire, we are, and will be contented, that our Parliament be Adjourned to ſuch a Place, where we may be fitly and ſafely with you. For tho' we are not pleaſed to be at this Diſtance, yet you are not to expect our Preſence, till you ſhall both ſecure us concerning our juſt Apprehenſions of tumultuary Inſolences, and likewiſe give us Satisfaction for thoſe inſupportable and inſolent Scandals that are raiſed up, on us.*

*To conclude, as we have or ſhall not refuſe any agreeable Way to Juſtice and Honour, which ſhall be offer'd to us, for the begetting a right Underſtanding between*

*us;*

1642. *us; ſo we are reſolved, that no Straits or Neceſſities to which we may be driven, ſhall ever compel us to do that, which the Reaſon and Underſtanding God hath given us, and our Honour and Intereſt, with which he hath truſted us for the Security of our Poſterity and Kingdoms, ſhall render unpleaſant and grievous to us. And we aſſure you, how meanly ſoever you are pleaſed to value the Diſcharge of our publick Duty, we are ſo conſcious to our ſelf of our having done our Part ſince this Parliament, that in whatſoever Condition we now ſtand, we are confident of the continued Protection from Almighty God, and the conſtant Gratitude, Obedience and Affection from our People. And we ſhall truſt God with all.*

My Lord *Cl*—— ſays the Parliament was much perplex'd with theſe quick Anſwers the King gave 'em, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf was ſtartled, and confeſs'd privately, *That he deſired the Parliament would proceed more moderately, and that the King, who had granted ſo much, ſhould have ſome Satisfaction in Return*; but thoſe of the Court, who cou'd not endure the Youngeſt Courtier ſhould be the Oldeſt Convert, perſwaded him, *His Condition was too deſperate to recede:* And to confirm him, ſower'd him with repeating what the King and Queen had ſaid of him heretofore, and what Thoughts His Majeſty then had of him. Whatever the Earl thought of theſe Things, the King's Reſolutions he had made with the Queen at her Departure, to put him and the Earl of *Holland* from their Offices in the Court, could not excuſe him; wherefore an Order to the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* was diſpatched to demand the Staff and the Key from the one and the other. He trembled at the Office, and had not the Heart to undertake it. He went immediately to the Lord *Falkland*, and deſired his Aſſiſtance in excuſing himſelf to the King. He made many Profeſſions of his Duty, and hoped, *His Majeſty would not put him upon an Affair ſo very unbecoming his Office: That if he executed the Order it would be voted a Breach of Privilege, and he be committed to Priſon, in which Affront the King would have the greateſt Share, tho' for his own part he ſhould be ruined. Whereas the Thing might be executed without any Inconvenience by a more proper Officer.* And the Lord *Falkland* cou'd not deny conveying his Letter

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to the King, who now ſaw there was no compaſſing the Buſineſs that Way, and therefore he inſtantly writ a Letter with his own Hand to the Lord *Falkland*, in which he enjoined him, *To demand the Enſigns of their Offices from thoſe Two Earls.* His Lordſhip was a little concern'd at this Command; however, being punctual in his Duty, he wou'd make no Excuſe; and ſo as he met both coming to the Houſe, he acquainted 'em with his Meſſage: They with great Civility delivered both the Staff and the Key into his Hands in Sir *Thomas Cotton*'s Garden, and then went up to the Houſe of Peers. Both Houſes preſently took Notice of it; and being highly incenſed againſt the evil Counſellors about His Majeſty, they agreed in a Vote. *That whoſoever preſumed to accept of either of thoſe Offices, ſhou'd be reputed an Enemy to his Country.* And then they fell more eagerly upon the Buſineſs of the Militia, and alſo in the beginning of the Spring, when that Years Fleet was equipp'd, ſent a formal Meſſage to the Lords, *That the Earl of* Northumberland, *Lord Admiral, might be moved to appoint the Earl of* Warwick, *his Admiral of the Fleet for that Year's Service, and that the Earl of* Warwick *might be deſired to take that Office upon him.* The Lords thought the King's Approbation ought firſt to be given; but the Commons were of Opinion that were ſuperfluous, ſince the Earl had the abſolute Diſpoſal of all the Officers in the Fleet, and therefore ſent in their own Names to both; and the Earl of *Warwick*, without expecting the King's Conſent, declared, *He was ready to undertake that Employment.* But this being ſo publickly tranſacted, the King cou'd not but have Intimation of it, and thought fit to declare his Pleaſure in it, that ſo the Lord Admiral might not plead Ignorance, if any thing ſhou'd be done to his Prejudice; and therefore he commanded Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* to write to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *That His Majeſty expected Sir* John Pennington *ſhould be continued in the Command of the Fleet.* This Letter being communicated to both Houſes, the Commons join'd with the Lords in a Meſſage to His Majeſty, which they directed the Keeper to incloſe in a Letter to the Secretary, which he accordingly did, and the ſame was 1642.

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1642. to this Effect. *That both Houſes found it neceſſary to provide a Fleet for the Defence of the Kingdom; and foraſmuch as the Lord Admiral's Indiſpoſition hinder'd him from commanding it in Perſon, they had recommended the Earl of* Warwick *in his Room; and underſtanding His Majeſty had ſince ſignified his Pleaſure, in Favour of Sir* John Pennington *for that Command, they thought themſelves bound to acquaint His Majeſty how miſchievous ſuch an Interpoſition would be to the Commonwealth, and did therefore humbly entreat His Majeſty, that the Noble Perſon they had recommended might be no longer detained from that Service out of Reſpect to any other Perſon whatſoever.*

Parliament's Meſſage to the King about the Fleet.

His Majeſty, immediately upon the Receigt of this Meſſage, diſpatch'd an Anſwer to the Lord Keeper; in which he told him, *He wonder'd both at the Form and Matter of the incloſed Paper, it being neither by Way of Petition, Declaration or Letter; and he believed it was the firſt time the Houſe of Commons had aſſumed the Nomination or Recommendation of the chief Sea-Commander; but it added to his Wonder, that having already appointed Sir* John Pennington *to that Service, and no Fault being objected to him, another ſhould be offer'd to him; therefore he was reſolved not to alter him, whoſe Sufficiency was ſo well known, as he knew his Admiral upon Occaſion cou'd teſtifie. And tho' there had been none appointed, or Sir* John Pennington *by ſome Misfortune ſhou'd be render'd uncapable for the Service, yet he ſaid he was ſo well acquainted with the Men of that Profeſſion, that he ſhould not be at all pleaſed with Recommendations of that kind.*

King's Anſwer.

This Anſwer perhaps was no more than they expected. However, the Commons alledging they had many Things of Moment againſt Sir *John Pennington*, they moved the Lords that he might be ſent for, and examined upon ſeveral Particulars; and in the mean time, whilſt he attended for his Examination, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was urged to prepare himſelf for the Service, made no Scruple of undertaking it: For which the King was ſo much diſpleaſed at him, that he was not willing any Officer he had a Value for ſhould accept of an Employment under him; which ſhortly after he found great Reaſon to repent. For by this Means the Vice-

Vice-Admiralty, which was intended for Captain *Cartwright*, Comptroller of the Navy, upon his Refusal was conferr'd upon *Batten*, who ever since behaved himself in it with great Animosity to the King's Interest; and the Commons about this time being not unmindful of what the Attorney-General had done in respect to their Privileges in the Accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, after several Alterations between both Houses, tho' the King in a Message to the Keeper, had absolv'd him from the Guilt with which he was charged, the Lords resolved, by way of Judgment upon him, *That he should be disabled from ever being a Parliament-Man, incapable of any Place of Judicature, or other Preferment, than of Attorney-General, and be committed to the Fleet*; which Sentence was executed against him accordingly. They remember'd a great Magazine was still lying at *Hull*, which was a Treasure they thought too near the King, residing then at *York*; and therefore they resolved to remove it from thence, upon a Pretension that it was to supply *Ireland*, and moved the Lords to concur with them in an Order to that Purpose; and at length it was agreed between them, that a Petition should be sent to the King to this Purpose, *That they found the Stores in the Tower much diminished, and that the Necessity for the* Irish *Supply, (for which they had been issued from thence) daily increased, and that the Reason which had placed the Magazine at* Hull *was removed; they therefore humbly prayed His Majesty's Leave, that it might now be removed to the Tower of* London, *according as both Houses should direct. And whereas Six Priests had been by His Majesty reprieved, they prayed he would be pleased to take off the said Reprieve.* To which Petition His Majesty immediately return'd Answer.

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Attorney-General Censured.

The Houses petition the King to remove the Magazine from *Hull*.

*We rather expected an Account from you, why a Garrison hath been placed in* Hull *without our Consent, than to be moved for the Removal of our own proper Goods, upon such general Grounds as give no Satisfaction to our Judgment. And we would gladly be inform'd why our own Inclination, on the general Rumour of the Designs of the* Papists *in the Northern Parts, was not thought sufficient Ground for us to put a Person of Honour,*

His Answer.

1642. *Honour, Fortune, and unblemish'd Reputation, into a Town and Fort of our own, where our own Magazine lay; and yet the same Rumour be a sufficient Warrant to you, to commit the same Town and Fort, without our Consent, into the Hands of Sir* John Hotham, *with a Power unagreeable to the Law of the Land, or the Liberty of the Subject. And yet of this we have not hitherto complain'd, and being confident that the Place, whatever Discourse there is, of publick or private Instructions to the contrary, shall be speedily given up if we require it, we shall be contented to dispose of our Munition there, as upon particular Advice shall find convenient; tho' we can't think fit that the whole Magazine should be removed together. Yet we must tell you, if your Fears be so great of Foreign Invasions and Domestick Insurrections, it's strange you make no Provision of Arms and Munition for the Defence of this Kingdom, rather than seek to carry any more from hence. We speak not this, as if we thought it unnecessary to send Arms to* Ireland, *but only for the Way of the Provision. For you know what great Quantities we have assign'd out of our several Stores, which we hope you will in due time see repleniſh'd: This we hope will fully satisfie you in this Point, and that you do not, as you have in the Business of the Militia, send this Message out of Compliment and Ceremony, resolving to be your own Carvers at last. For we must tell you, if any Attempt shall be made or given in this manner, without our Consent and Approbation, we shall esteem it as an Act of Violence against us, and declare it to all the World, as the greatest Violation of our Right, and Breach of our Privilege.*

*Concerning the Six Priests condemn'd, it is true, they were reprieved by our Warrant, we being informed, that they were disabled by some Restraint to take the Benefit of our former Proclamation; but if you think their Execution so very necessary, we refer it wholly to you; declaring hereby, that upon such your Resolution signified to the Ministers of Justice, our Warrant for the Reprieve is determined, and the Law to have its Course. And now let us ask you, Will there never be a time to offer to, as well as to demand of us? Take your own Time for what concerns our Particular, but be sure you have an early Care of the Publick; that is, of the*

only

*only Rule that preſerves the Publick, the Law of the Land; preſerve the Reverence and Dignity due to that.* 1642.

His Majeſty's referring the Matter relating to the Prieſts entirely to them a little perplex'd 'em; for tho' they were willing they ſhould have ſuffer'd by His Majeſty's Warrant for taking off the Reprieve, yet they cared not to take that harſh Part upon themſelves; and ſo the Prieſts lived ſafer under that Reference for their Execution, than if they had obtained at that time a Pardon under the Great Seal. As for that Part of the Anſwer concerning the Magazine, they in a few Days, notwithſtanding the King's Inhibition, gave Orders for the tranſporting it to *London*. About which Time they received another Meſſage from the King; the Subſtance of which was:

His Majeſty offers in a Meſſage, *April* 8. 1642. to go in Perſon into *Ireland*.

*That being infinitely griev'd at the Miſeries of his good Subjects of* Ireland, *and highly ſenſible of the falſe and ſcandalous Reports ſpread among the People, which not only wounded His Majeſty's Honour, and retarded the Reduction of that unhappy Kingdom, but multiplied the Diſtraction at home, he had firmly reſolv'd to go thither in Perſon with all convenient Speed. And as he doubted not but his Parliament would contribute all poſſible Aſſiſtance to ſo good a Work, ſo he declared, that he would not decline any Hazard of his Perſon, in performing that Duty he owed to the Defence of God's true Religion, and his diſtreſſed Subjects. He further advertis'd them, that towards this Work he intended to raiſe a Guard for his own Perſon, (when he ſhould come into* Ireland) *of* 2000 *Foot, and* 200 *Horſe, the Charge of raiſing and paying whereof he deſired the Parliament to add to their former Undertakings for that War; and if their Pay ſhould be found too burdenſom to his Subjects, he was willing, by the Advice of his Parliament, to ſell or pawn any of his Parks, Lands or Houſes, towards the Supplies of that Service.*

This Meſſage was encountred with the following Anſwer, *That they had duly conſidered His Majeſty's Meſſage, and the Deſign he was pleas'd to propound to them, not as a Matter wherein he deſired the Advice of his Parliament, but as a thing already reſolv'd on,* Commons Anſwer to the Meſſage.

1642. *and forthwith to be put in Execution: Whereupon they ſaid, they held it their Duty to declare, that if he perſiſted in his Purpoſe he would very much endanger his Royal Perſon and Kingdoms, and all other Proteſtant States in Chriſtendom. Upon this they ſaid they had reſolv'd, by a Concurrent Agreement of both Houſes, that they could not conſent to any Levies to be raiſed by His Majeſty for that his intended Expedition; and if ſuch Levies ſhould be made without the Conſent of both Houſes, they ſhould be forced to interpret the ſame to be raiſed to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace; and held themſelves bound by the Law of the Land to apply the Authority of the Parliament to ſuppreſs the ſame. And they did moſt humbly declare, that if the evil Council about His Majeſty ſhould perſwade him to go, contrary to their Advice, they did not think themſelves bound to ſubmit to any Commiſſioners His Majeſty ſhould leave behind, but did reſolve to preſerve and govern the Kingdom, by the Counſel and Advice of Parliament, for His Majeſty and his Poſterity, according to their Allegiance, and the Law of the Land. Wherefore they did moſt humbly adviſe His Majeſty to deſiſt from that his intended Expedition, and leave the Management of that War to his Parliament, according to his Promiſe; and they hoped upon good Grounds, that if their Proceedings were not interrupted by that Interpoſition of His Majeſty's Journey, they ſhould be able in a ſhort time fully to vindicate his Right in that Kingdom. For their more effectual Succeſs therein, they again beſought him to return to his Parliament, and that he would be pleaſed to reject all Counſels and Apprehenſions, prejudicial to that Faithfulneſs and Allegiance they always bore His Majeſty, and which they were ready to make good with their Lives.*

To this Petition His Majeſty immediately anſwer'd, *That being diſappointed of the Approbation and Thanks he thought he had by that Declaration deſerved from 'em, he now much doubted if he was able to ſay or do any thing that would not fall within the like Interpretation: But he ſaid, as he had in that Meſſage call'd God to witneſs his Sincerity in his Undertaking that Journey, ſo he appealed to the World, if the Reaſons urged againſt it had that Weight, or the Counſel to diſſuade him from it, the Duty that became them.*

King's Reply.

For his

*his resolving upon such a Thing without their Advice, he bid 'em remember how often he had made 'em the same Offer, if they should advise him to it, to which they never return'd him an Answer; but their late Declaration told him Words would not satisfie 'em; which gave him Reason to conceive they rather avoided giving him Counsel out of Regard to his Person, than that they disapproved the Inclination. For the Danger to his Person, he said, it became a Prince, and it was his Duty to hazard his Life for the Good of his People. He told 'em, they used him unkindly, in refusing the Addition of so few Men to their Levies, for the Guard of his Person; and that when he recommended the Management of the War to them, he intended not to exclude himself so far, as when he found any Expedient, which he thought necessary for that great Work, he might not put it in Practice. He said, he should be very glad to find the Business of* Ireland *such an easie Matter as they imagin'd it; but tho' he was ready to venture his Person for the Safety of his People, he was not so weary of his Life, as to hazard it impertinently, and therefore he would sit still a while to see the Effects of their Assurance; but if he found the miserable Condition of his poor Subjects there was not speedily relieved, he would, by the Help of God, visit them with such Assistance as his particular Credit and Interest could supply, if they refused to join with him.* 1642.

*He told them, he expected they should have sent him Word they had taken such Courses for the suppressing Tumults and unlawful Assemblies for the future, and punishing all Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, that his Fears of that kind might have been removed, before they press'd his Return to* London. *To conclude, he told 'em, he wish'd they would examine their Messages to him, with the same Strictness they did those they received from him, and then they would find there were many Expressions contain'd in 'em, that were warranted only by their own Authority: To which indeed he forbore to give an Answer, lest in a just Indignation he should express himself in a greater Passion than he was yet willing to put on.*

It's agreed on all Hands that the King's chief Design in going Northwards was to possess himself of *Hull*, whose Magazine was a nobler Proportion of

1642. Stores than remain'd in the Tower, or anywhere elſe throughout the Kingdom, and therefore taking the Advantage of a Petition from the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire*, which perhaps at the ſame time was a Court Contrivance, he reſolv'd to go thither himſelf; and the Night before ſent his Son the Duke of *York* thither, attended by the Prince Elector, and ſome other Perſons of Honour, who took it for no other than a Journey given to the Duke's Curioſity; and they were receiv'd by Sir *John Hotham* with a Duty that became him. The next Morning early the King himſelf, attended by Two or Three Hundred of his own Servants and Gentlemen of the Country, rode thither; and when he was come within a Mile of the Town, a Gentleman was ſent before, to let Sir *John Hotham* know His Majeſty would dine with him. My Lord *C*—— ſays, He was a Man of a timorous Nature and perplex'd Underſtanding, otherwiſe well affected to the Government, and accepted of this Employment from the Parliament out of a Preſumption, that the preſerving that Magazine from being poſſeſs'd by the King, would prevent any poſſible Rupture into Arms. So that His Majeſty coming an Hour after his Meſſenger, found the Gates ſhut, and all Things in a Readineſs as for the Reception of an Enemy; Sir *John* himſelf from the Walls telling His Majeſty, That being truſted by the Parliament, he durſt not open the Gates; the King replied, He believed he had no Order to keep him out of the Town, and that he would enter with only Twenty Horſe of his Train, and that the reſt ſhould ſtay without; which the other refuſing, His Majeſty told him, *This unparallel'd Act of his would produce ſome notable Effect; that after ſuch an Indignity he muſt immediately proclaim him Traitor, and as ſuch proceed againſt him; that this Diſobedience might probably involve the Kingdom in Blood, which he adviſed him to think ſadly of, and by doing the Duty of a Subject prevent it. The Gentleman talk'd confuſedly of the Truſt he had from the Parliament; then fell on Knees, and wiſh'd God would bring Confuſion upon him and his, if he were not a loyal and faithful Subject to His Majeſty;*

King ſhut out of *Hull.*

*Majeſty*; but at laſt plainly refuſed to admit His Majeſty into the Town. 1642.

Upon which His Majeſty immediately cauſed him to be proclaimed a Traitor, and retiring that Night to *Beverly*, he return'd next Day to *York*, full of Trouble and Indignation at a thing from which he might foreſee a very great deal of Miſchief was likely to enſue; and tho' the Gentlemen of the County offer'd to raiſe the Country, and take the Town by force, His Majeſty for many Reaſons choſe to ſend an Expreſs to both Houſe, with a Meſſage declaring what had paſs'd; *How much he was concern'd at this undutiful Affront from Sir* John Hotham, *who juſtified his Treaſon by Pretence of an Order and Truſt from them; and therefore that he was impatient till he had receiv'd that Juſtice from them which he demanded, and required likewiſe that the Town of* Hull, *and the Magazine, might be immediately deliver'd up to him.* King's Meſſage to the Parliament about *Hull*.

But the Commons inſtead of anſwering the Meſſage, immediately publiſh'd ſeveral Votes and Reſolutions. *That Sir* John Hotham *had done nothing but in Obedience to the Command of both Houſes of Parliament, and that the declaring him a Traitor, being a Member of Parliament, was a Breach of Privilege.* Then they iſſued out their Orders to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace of *Lincoln* and *Yorkſhire*, to ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed in thoſe Counties, either to force the Town of *Hull*, or block it up, or in any other Way to break the Peace of the Kingdom. And having Printed theſe Votes, Orders and Declarations, before they anſwer'd His Majeſty's Meſſage, the King publiſh'd an Anſwer, juſtifying his Title to the Town of *Hull*, and his manner of going thither, and anſwering their Allegations in thoſe Printed Votes and Declarations. Notwithſtanding all which, the better to encourage Sir *John Hotham*, and for a good Pretence of his Son's Reſidence at *Hull*, in whom they more relied than in the Father, they ordered, *That if Sir* John Hotham *ſhould loſe his Life, or otherwiſe dye in that Service, his Son ſhould ſucceed him in the Government.* This done, they deputed the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrigg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and

1642. Sir *Harry Cholmley*, as a Committee, who preſented their Anſwer to His Majeſty, containing, *That in Regard of the wicked Counſels of ſome in near Truſt and Authority about His Majeſty, and left by the Advantage of the Town and Magazine of* Hull, *they ſhould be able to go through with the Miſchief they had intended, they had commanded Sir* John Hotham *to ſecure and keep the ſaid Town for the Service of His Majeſty and his Kingdom. Wherein they had done nothing derogatory to his Soveraignty in that Town, nor his Legal Propriety in the Magazine; and had adjudged, that Sir* John Hotham *cou'd not have diſcharged his Truſt, if he had admitted His Majeſty with ſuch Company and Counſellors as were then about him; and had therefore cleared him from that odious Crime of Treaſon, aſſuring themſelves, that His Majeſty, upon mature Deliberation, would not interpret his Obedience to ſuch Authority to be an Affront to His Majeſty, or expect any Satisfaction thereupon; but that he wou'd concur with his Parliament in ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdom, and ſuppreſſing that wicked malignant Party. For preventing which they knew no better Remedy than ſettling the Militia according to the Bill they had ſent His Majeſty, without the declining the Validity of their Ordinance, which they ſtill held to be effectual by the Laws of the Kingdom. And that His Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare he had laid aſide all Thoughts of going to* Ireland, *and was reſolv'd ſpeedily to return, and reſide near his Parliament.*

Parliament's Anſwer to the King's Meſſage about *Hull.*

To this Anſwer His Majeſty made a Reply to this Purpoſe: *That, conſidering how long they had been anſwering his Two Meſſages concerning* Hull, *he expected to have received better Satisfaction therein. He asked them, whether it was not too much to put a Garriſon into it without his Conſent, but that now the Reaſons thereof ſhou'd be enlarged with Scandal to himſelf and his faithful Servants, only that they might more ſpeciouſly avow Sir* John Hotham's *Inſolence and Treaſon? He told 'em, he had not as yet given the leaſt Interruption to publick Juſtice; but they, rather than reſign one of their Members to a Legal Trial for the higheſt Crime, by an Order of Parliament countenance Treaſon, and declare him free from that Guilt, which all former Ages never accounted other. Therefore he ex-*

King's Reply.

*expected, as a Thing upon which the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom depended, they wou'd give him ſpeedy Juſtice againſt Sir* John Hotham. *And he gave all his good Subjects Leave to think what Hope of Juſtice was left for them, when they refuſed or delayed to give their own Soveraign Satisfaction. And, as he had already ſaid, till that ſhould be done, he wou'd intend no other Buſineſs but that of* Ireland. 1642.

*As for the Militia, he expected they wou'd not put that in Execution, till they proved by what Law they cou'd do it without his Conſent; if they did, he made no Doubt but he ſhou'd find more Obedience according to Law, than they wou'd do againſt it. Concerning his Return, he never knew the ſlandring a King's Government, refuſing him Juſtice in a Caſe of Treaſon, and ſeeking to rob him of his undoubted Legal Authority, were Arguments to induce a King to come near, or hearken to his Parliament.*

The King was the more ſpeedy in this Anſwer, that the Country might not be influenced by the Preſence and Activity of the Committee, whom he required to make all convenient Haſte with it to the Houſe; they told him, *They wou'd ſend it by an Expreſs, but that themſelves were required to reſide ſtill at* York. His Majeſty *wiſh'd 'em to be very careful in their Conduct; that the Country was then well affected; and if he found any Alteration, he knew whom to impute it to, and ſhou'd be forced to uſe them in another manner, than with Reference to their Perſons he ſhou'd be willing to do.* They anſwer'd, *That they wou'd behave themſelves according to their Inſtructions, and the Truſt repoſed in 'em by the Parliament.* And ſo they remained above a Month in *York*, to be ſure, not with the King's good liking all this while. The Militia all this while was the Argument of greateſt Weight with the People of *England*, wherefore they reſolved to drive that Matter home, and therefore on the 2d of *May* publiſh'd the Reſolution of the Lords and Commons upon that Matter; containing in Subſtance, *That holding it neceſſary, for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, to ſettle the Militia thereof, they had prepared an Ordinance of Parliament to that Purpoſe, to which His Majeſty had refuſed his Conſent, inviting 'em by ſeveral Meſſages to ſettle the ſame by Act*

The Declaration of the Two Houſes about the Militia.

1642. *of Parliament. Whereupon they, being deſirous to ſatisfie His Majeſty all they cou'd, even with the leaſt Title of Form and Circumſtance, had entertain'd a Bill he was pleaſed to offer them, which with ſome Alterations they did paſs; but all theſe Deſires to comply with his Majeſty produced no better Effects than an abſolute Denial, even of that, which by his former Meſſages they conceive had been promiſed.*

*They therefore, being intruſted with the Safety of the Kingdom, and Peace of the People, finding themſelves denied thoſe their juſt and neceſſary Demands, did reſolve to put their ſaid Ordinance in preſent Execution, and required of all Perſons concern'd an exact Conformity to the ſame, as they tender'd the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, now in this time of imminent and approaching Danger, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Being of this Commonwealth.*

This Declaration being the firſt they had in plain Terms publiſh'd againſt the King, without ever acquainting him with it, or preſenting it to him, his Majeſty was at a Loſs what Notice to take of it; but conceiving ſomething neceſſary to be ſaid to it, he publiſh'd a Declaration by way of Anſwer; in which he ſaid, *He was very ſenſible how much it was beneath his Royal Dignity, to concern himſelf in anſwering thoſe many ſcandalous Pamphlets, that were ſo licentiouſly ſcatter'd throughout the Kingdom; yet doubting what Influence they might have upon his People, he was willing to ſtoop to any Office that might undeceive them. He ſaid, he had met with a Printed Paper, entituled, A Declaration of both Houſes, in Anſwer to his laſt Meſſage, concerning the Militia, publiſh'd by Command; which he was unwilling to believe cou'd be the Senſe of both Houſes (conſidering the Matter of it, the Expreſſions in it, and the manner of publiſhing it) nor did his Majeſty know by what Lawful Command ſuch uncomely irreverent Mention of him cou'd be publiſh'd to the World. Their Buſineſs, for which they were met by his Authority, was to counſel him, not to write againſt him; nor had his conſenting to their long Continuance together enabled 'em to do any thing, but what they were firſt ſummon'd by his Writ to do.*

His Majeſty's Declaration in Anſwer to it.

He

1642.

*He ſaid, he had mentioned ſeveral Things in his Anſwer, to which their Declaration afforded none, and therefore he cou'd not ſuppoſe it was intended, as an Anſwer to that his Meſſage; that it inform'd all His Majeſty's Subjects, that upon His Majeſty's Refuſal they were at laſt neceſſitated to make an Ordinance by Authority of both Houſes, to ſettle the Militia, warranted thereunto by the Fundamental Laws of the Land. But His Majeſty ſaid, If that Declaration was indeed deſigned as an Anſwer for him, they would have told the World what thoſe Fundamental Laws were, and where to be found, and wou'd at leaſt have inſtanced in one Ordinance, from the firſt Beginning of Parliaments to this very Time, which intended to impoſe any thing upon the Subject, without the King's Conſent. And if the Votes of both Houſes cou'd make a new Law, they cou'd by the ſame Authority repeal the old; and then what would become of the long eſtabliſh'd Rights of the King and Subjects, and particularly of* Magna Charta? *It was ſaid, he had been pleaſed to offer 'em a Bill ready drawn, and that they, to expreſs their ready Compliance with His Majeſty, did paſs that Bill; which notwithſtanding produced no better Effect than an abſolute Denial, even of what his former Meſſages had promiſed. But His Majeſty ſaid, if that Declaration had been examined in both Houſes, they never wou'd have affirmed the Bill he refuſed to paſs, was the ſame he had ſent to them.*

*The Power, as they ſaid, was to be no other than to ſuppreſs Rebellion, Inſurrection, and Foreign Invaſion; but His Majeſty thought great Heed was to be taken, into what Hands he committed ſuch a Power, ſince the great Liberty uſed in Voting and Declaring Men to be Enemies to the Commonwealth, (a Phraſe be ſcarce underſtood) and in cenſuring Men for their Service and Attendance upon His Majeſty's Perſon and Lawful Commands; if there was Learning found out to make Sir* John Hotham's *taking up Arms againſt him, and detaining His Majeſty's Town and Fort from him lawful, he knew not whether the ſame Learning might not prove it Rebellion in His Majeſty to defend himſelf, and endeavour to recover his own; and therefore, he ſaid, till the known Laws of the Land were allow'd to be Judge between them, he muſt take heed with whom he truſted*

*ſuch*

1642. *ſuch Power. Whether that Declaration had refuted his Reaſons for not paſſing the Bill, or no, it required all Perſons in Authority thereby to put the Ordinance in preſent Execution, and all others to obey it according to the Fundamental Law of the Land. But His Majeſty did declare, that a Submiſſion to that pretended Ordinance was againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, the Rights of Parliaments, and a High Crime in any that ſhould execute the ſame: And His Majeſty did therefore forbid all his loving Subjects, upon their Allegiance, to act any thing by Virtue, or under Colour of that pretended Ordinance, as they ſhould anſwer the contrary at their Perils.*

The Parliament had a little before declared to the Publick; *That they deſign'd a due and neceſſary Reformation in the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and to aboliſh nothing in the one or the other, but what ſhould be Evil, at leaſt needleſs and burdenſome; to which pious End they wou'd have a ſpeedy Conſultation with Learned and Godly Divines, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh Learned and Preaching Miniſters, with a ſufficient Maintenance throughout the Kingdom.* And accordingly they ordered their Members to bring in the Names of ſuch Divines for their ſeveral Counties, as they thought proper to conſtitute an Aſſembly for the framing a new Model for the Government of the Church. The King all this Time made the beſt Proviſion he cou'd on his Part againſt a War like to enſue; and the Queen was as intent on her Part abroad; ſo that both Sides, whilſt they amuſed each other with Diſcourſes of Peace, prepared for that War they ſaw of Neceſſity ready to burſt out. On the other Hand the Parliament Reſolv'd, *That on the* 10*th of* May *they would have all the Train'd-Bands muſter'd*; and Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon* appear'd that Day accordingly in *Finsbury* Fields at the Head of the City Train'd-Bands, conſiſting of about 8000 Soldiers, under ſuch Officers as they had cauſe to confide in. At which Triumphant Muſter both Houſes appear'd in groſs, and were entertain'd by the City at near a Thouſand Pounds Expence, and then they ſent their Directions to the adjacent Counties, *Speedily to execute the ſame Ordinance.*

The

The King by this time declared at a publick Meeting of the County of *York*, *That in regard of the publick Diſtempers, and Neighbourhood of* Hull, *he was reſolved to have a Guard about his Perſon, which ſhould conſiſt of ſuch as ſhould give no Occaſion of Jealouſie to the moſt ſuſpicious*; *and wiſhed the Gentlemen of Quality then preſent to conſider of the Way*: Who ſhortly after (in ſpite of the Oppoſition they met with from the Committee, and the oppoſite Party of the County) chearfully agreed, *That a ſufficient Guard was requiſite for the Safety of His Majeſty's Perſon.* Hereupon ſuch Gentlemen as were willing liſted themſelves by His Majeſty's Appointment into a Troop of Horſe, of whom the Prince of *Wales* was made Captain, which with one Regiment of the Train'd-Bands, about 600 in Number, was his Body Guard; he having firſt declared, *No Perſon ſhould be allowed either in the Troop or Regiment, who did not before his Admiſſion take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*; thereby to avoid the Scandal of entertaining Papiſts for his Security. This News was no ſooner heard at *London*, than that theſe Votes were publiſhed and diſperſed by both Houſes. 1. *That the King, ſeduced by evil Counſellors, intended to make War againſt the Parliament.* 2. *That whenſoever he doth ſo, it will be a Breach of the Truſt repoſed in him*; *contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of the Government.* 3. *That whoſoever ſhall ſerve him, or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars are Traitors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and have been ſo adjudged by Two Acts of Parliament*, 2 Rich. II. *and* 1 Hen. IV. Theſe they ſent to the King at *York*, accompanied with a ſhort Petition, in which they told him, *That his Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, did humbly repreſent to His Majeſty, that notwithſtanding his frequent Profeſſions of his Deſire and Intention to preſerve the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberties of his People, and the Peace of the Nation*; *nevertheleſs they were informed, that under a Pretence of raiſing a Guard for the Security of his Perſon, (of which Guard, conſidering the vigilant Care and Fidelity of his Parliament, there could be no uſe) His Majeſty by his Command had aſſembled at* York *Troops of Horſe and Foot*; *which*

1642.

King raiſes a Guard.

Parliament's Votes upon it.

They Petition the King to diſſolve his Guards.

1642. *which in the beginning was an Affrightment and Diſturbance to his Liege People, as appear'd by their Petition deliver'd to them, and the Continuance and Increaſe muſt needs be a juſt Cauſe of great Jealouſie to his Parliament, and Danger to his whole Kingdom. Therefore they did humbly beſeech His Majeſty to rely, as his Predeceſſors had done, upon the Laws and Affections of his People for his Security, and content himſelf with his ordinary Guard, otherwiſe they ſhould hold themſelves bound with their utmoſt Care to ſecure the Parliament, and preſerve the publick Peace.*

Their Committee there, as before named, having delivered and read this Petition to His Majeſty, he anſwer'd, *That thoſe cauſeleſs Jealouſies of His Majeſty, raiſed and fomented by a malignant Party in the Kingdom, ſhould not only ſeduce the weaker Part of the Nation, but find ſo much Countenance from both Houſes, as that his raiſing of a Guard for no other Deſign than the Safety of his Perſon, ſhould be declared to be a Raiſing of a War againſt them, he could not but extreamly wonder at; and no leſs, that the Inhabitants of the Country ſhould be ſaid to apprehend it as an Affrightment and Diſturbance to his People. He ſaid, he was ſure if they were themſelves Eye-witneſſes, they would ſo ſee the contrary, as to give little Credit hereafter to their Informers; and if their Information was no better in other Parts of the Kingdom, certainly the Minds of his People (which to ſome Ends and Purpoſes they did repreſent) were but ill repreſented unto 'em. He aſk'd 'em, when ſo many Months together they had raiſed to themſelves a Guard by their own ſingle Authority, (and that ſometimes of no ordinary Numbers, and in no ordinary Way) and yet all their Pikes and Proteſtations had not prevail'd with His Majeſty to command 'em to diſband their Forces, and content themſelves with their uſual Guard, that is, no Guard at all, or made him apprehend they intended to levy War againſt him, or had any further Deſign; how they could poſſibly ſuſpect and condemn him, who in the ſame Matter, and upon much better Ground, was ſo far from taxing or diſtruſting them? Notwithſtanding the Care and Fidelity of his Parliament, his Fort was armed againſt him, his proper Goods firſt detained from him, and then offer'd and attempted*

King's Anſwer.

*tempted by Force to be carried away contrary to his Command, in which his Property as a private Perſon, and his Authority as a King was wreſted from him: And yet for him to ſecure himſelf in a lawful Way, that Sir* John Hotham *might not by the ſame or more Forces continue the War he had levied againſt His Majeſty, and as well impriſon his Perſon as detain his Goods, as well ſhut him out of* York *as out of* Hull, *was now ſaid to be raiſing War againſt his Parliament, and of Danger to the Kingdom. He appealed to all the World, whether that Petition, with ſuch a threatning Concluſion, attended with more threatning Votes, gave him not reaſon to ſtrengthen rather than weaken his Guards. He concluded all, That they would join with him in exacting Satisfaction from Sir* John Hotham, *and command his Fort and Goods to be return'd to him: That they would lay aſide all Pretences of making Laws without His Majeſty, and by Conſequence make no more than a Cypher of His Majeſty: That they would declare effectually againſt Tumults, and call in, and puniſh the Authors and Publiſhers of ſuch Pamphlets, as ſeditiouſly endeavour to render him incapable of protecting his People; which if they did, they would then, and hardly till then, convince the World they had diſcharged their Duty to God, the Truſt repoſed in 'em by the People, and the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; and imploy'd their Care and Power to ſecure the Parliament, (for, he ſaid, he ſhould ſtill be a Part of the Parliament, till this well temper'd Monarchy was degenerated into a Democracy) and preſerve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom: which, together with the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and his own juſt Prerogative, had been the chief End he had ever propoſed to himſelf.* 1642.

Sir *John Hotham* about this time having acquainted the Commons that one *Beckwith*, a Gentleman of *Yorkſhire*, had been tampering with ſome Officers of the Gariſon to deliver *Hull* up to the King; this was declared to be an enormous Crime, and little leſs than High-Treaſon, and therefore as a Delinquent he was ſent for to attend them. It's certain, that not long before, when the King had by his Warrant required Serjeant-Major *Skippon* to attend him at *York*,

1642. *York*, they Reſolved, and Printed that Reſolution, That ſuch a Command was againſt the Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and Privilege of Parliament, and therefore that the Serjeant-Major-General of the Forces of *London* (which was the Title they had given him) ſhould continue to attend the Service of both Houſes according to their former Commands; and the ſame Day, in which they had priviledged their Officer *Skippon* from his Allegiance and Duty, being informed that the King had ſent a Writ ta Adjourn the Term from *Weſtminſter* to *York*, they declared, *That ſuch an Adjournment, in the ſitting of Parliament, was Illegal*; *and Order'd, That the Lord-Keeper ſhould not iſſue out any Writ, or ſeal any Proclamation to that Purpoſe*; which he obſerv'd accordingly, notwithſtanding the King's Command for the Adjournment; wherefore when their Officer came to *York* to apprehend *Beckwith* and others, he found the Parliament as much neglected there, as the King was at *Weſtminſter*; and was ſo ill received by thoſe he took to be his Priſoners, that if the King had not extraordinarily interpoſed, he would ſcarce have return'd to report how inſignificant ſuch Warrants were like to be at *York*, and how dangerous ſuch Employments would prove to the Adventurers. This occaſioned Two voluminous Declarations to the People; the one full of reiterated Complaints, and Repetitions, of what had been done amiſs, during His Majeſty's whole Reign; the other, to ſay the Truth, too much undervalued his Royal Power.

About this time (ſays my Lord *C*——) there happened an Accident, at which the Parliament was much troubled. The King had been highly unſatisfied with the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, who from the time the Members were accuſed had loſt all his Vigour, and ſilently ſuffer'd all Things to be carried as they would have them, complying very much, and careſſing the Party, who often reſorted to him; and of late, upon a Queſtion in the Houſe of Peers concerning the Militia, he had voted both againſt the King and the Law, to the great Diſpleaſure and Scandal of all who ſtood firm to His Majeſty. He had a great Reputation in the Profeſſion of the Law, in the hardeſt and moſt knotty Parts of which he had been

Lord-Keeper *Littleton's* Character.

been very laborious; he was exceedingly well vers'd in Records, in ſtudying whereof he had aſſociated himſelf with Mr. *Selden*, to whoſe Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance he ſtood much engaged. After he had been Sollicitor-General, he was upon the Death of the Lord *Coventry*, whom *Finch* ſucceeded, made Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, that Place, which, in his higheſt Ambition, he was uſed to ſay in his own private Wiſhes, he moſt deſired: It was indeed the Sphere in which he moſt gracefully moved, being Maſter of all that Learning and Experience proper to the Place, an excellent Judge, of eminent Gravity, and not in the leaſt ſuſpected of Corruption. Upon the Lord *Finch*'s quitting in the Beginning of this Parliament, he was in many Reſpects judged the moſt proper to ſucceed him; but from that Time he ſeemed to be out of his Element, and tho' he was well experienced in the Practice and Proceedings of that Court, he ſeemed perplex'd and irreſolute in the Chancery it ſelf, and appeared ſo mean and diſpirited in the Parliament, that few or none reſpected him, but they who moſt oppoſed the King, which wonderful Alteration in him his Friends imputed to a great Sickneſs; but certainly there were other Cauſes for it, and he was ſeized with ſome melancholy Apprehenſions he cou'd not overcome, and he wanted a Friend, to whom he durſt entirely communicate them. 1642.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was much truſted by the King in the Houſe of Commons, and had ever born the Keeper a great Reſpect, was much concern'd at his Behaviour, as any Man, and with great Freedom told him, *How much he was fallen in the Eſteem of all good Men, and that the King cou'd not but be highly diſpleaſed with him*; and then diſcourſed upon the Matter of that Vote. Tho' he was ignorant how much the King did at that time truſt Mr. *Hyde*, he was not ignorant that His Majeſty had a good Opinion of him; ſo that as ſoon as he had enter'd upon his Diſcourſe, to which he was very attentive, he went to the Door, (they being by themſelves in his Study at *Exeter-Houſe*) and finding ſome Perſons in the next Room, he order'd 'em to withdraw, and locking both the Door of that Room and his Study, he be-

gun,

1642. gun, *with giving Mr.* Hyde *many Thanks for his Friendſhip, which he cou'd not more manifeſtly eſteem than by uſing that Freedom again with him, which he deſign'd to do. Then he bewailed his own Condition; and that he had been advanc'd from the Common-Pleas, where he was acquainted with the Buſineſs and the Perſons he had to deal withal, to an higher Office, which required him to deal with another ſort of Men, and in Affairs to which he was a Stranger, nor had he one Friend among 'em, with whom he cou'd confer upon any Difficulty that occur'd to him.* He ſpoke then of the unhappy State of the King's Affairs, how much he was betray'd by thoſe about him; and with the higheſt Indignation againſt the Proceedings of the Parliament; and ſaid, *They wou'd never do this, if they were not reſolved to do more; he foreſaw it could not be long before a War wou'd break out in the Nation; and of what Importance in that Seaſon the great Seal ſhould be with His Majeſty; that no Man ſhould be more willing to periſh with and for His Majeſty; the Proſpect of which Neceſſity had made him comply ſo much with that Party; that there had lately been a Conſultation, whether in Regard the King ſhould ſend for him, or the Great Seal to be taken from him, it were not adviſable to keep the Seal in ſome ſecure Place, which the Keeper ſhould always receive upon Occaſion, they having no Intent to diſoblige him; the Knowledge of which had induced him to Vote, as he did in the late Debate, and by that Compliance, which he knew wou'd give the King very ill Impreſſions of him, he ſhould be able to preſerve the Seal in his own Hands, till His Majeſty ſhould demand it, and then he wou'd be ready to wait on the King with it.*

*Littleton's* Conference with Mr. *Hyde.*

Within a few Days after, the King ſent an Order to the Lord *Falkland*, to demand the Seal from him, in which His Majeſty was very poſitive, tho' he was not reſolv'd to whom he ſhou'd commit it. His Majeſty wiſh'd 'em, (for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. *Hyde* were always included in ſuch References) to conſider, whether they thought the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, or Mr. *Selden*, were the moſt proper. The firſt appeared to be as timerous a Man as the preſent Keeper, and was thought unfit for that Charge, in a Time of ſo much Confuſion; tho'

tho' otherwiſe he was of great Abilities, and a ſound Integrity. They did not diſtruſt Mr. *Selden*'s Affections to the King, but they knew him ſo well, that they concluded he would poſitively refuſe the Place, if it were offered. 1642.

Hereupon Mr. *Hyde* told 'em of his Conference with the Keeper, and what Profeſſions he had made, and was very poſitive he would punctually perform it, and therefore propos'd, That when they ſent their Opinions of the other Perſons, they wou'd adviſe His Majeſty, rather to write kindly to the Lord-Keeper to bring the Seal to His Majeſty, than ſend for the Seal it ſelf, and lay him aſide. To this, after ſome Doubts, whether the Keeper would comply with His Majeſty's Commands, the other Two conſented, and their Letters were diſpatch'd away that very Night. The King was moved with their Reaſons, and glad to find *Hyde* ſo confident of the Keeper, but ſtill continued doubtful, and reſolved to ſend both for him and the Seal, upon a *Saturday* in the Afternoon, becauſe then there cou'd be no Notice taken of it till *Monday*. Mr. *Hyde* continued to viſit the Keeper frequently, and finding him firm to his Purpoſe, and of Opinion, in Regard of the high Temper the Houſe was in, that it cou'd not be delayed, he told him, *Next Week he might expect a Meſſenger; that he wou'd once more wait upon him, and tell him the Day, and would then ſet out himſelf before him for* York; with which he was much pleaſed.

On the *Saturday* following, about Three in the Afternoon, Mr. *Elliot*, a Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, came to the Keeper, and deliver'd into his own Hands a Letter from His Majeſty, wherein he requir'd him, with many Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Eſteem, *To make haſte to him; and if his Indiſpoſition* (for he was often afflicted with Gravel and Sharpneſs of Urine) *would not ſuffer him to make that Speed the Occaſion required, he ſhou'd deliver the Seal to the Perſon who gave him the Letter, and proceed in his own Journey, as his Health wou'd permit him.* The Keeper was ſurprized with the Meſſenger, whom he did not like, but much more when he knew he was privy to the Contents

1642. of the Letter; and when he demanded the Seal of him with much Bluntneſs, he told him, *He would deliver it into no Hands but the King's*; but recollecting how hazardous it wou'd be to carry it himſelf ſo long a Journey, that if he ſhou'd be purſued he ſhou'd be overtaken, and the King be diſappointed of the Seal, which he had Reaſon ſo much to rely upon, and that his Misfortune wou'd be entirely charged to his own Fault and Infidelity, and the only Way of Prevention was, to deliver the Seal to the Perſon the King had entruſted to receive it: And ſo without diſcovering any thing of his own Purpoſe to him, he deliver'd him the Seal, and he, with wonderful Expedition, preſented it into His Majeſty's own Hands, who was highly pleaſed, both with it and the Meſſenger.

The Keeper pretended that Evening to be indiſpoſed, that no Body might be admitted to ſpeak with him; and then ſending for Serjeant *Lee*, who waited upon the Seal: He told him freely, *He was reſolv'd the next Morning to go to the King, who had ſent for him; that he knew not for his own Part how he ſhou'd perform the Journey; therefore he put himſelf entirely into his Hands; that he ſhou'd order his own Groom to attend them, and that he wou'd diſcloſe it to no other Perſon.* The Serjeant chearfully undertook the Buſineſs; and ſo ſending the Horſes before, the Keeper very early in the Morning got into his Coach, and they were no ſooner out of Town, than he, the Serjeant, and One Groom, mounted, and rode ſo far that Day, it being about the beginning of *June*, that before the end of the 3d he kiſſed the King's Hand at *York*. *Sunday* paſs'd without any Notice being taken of his Abſence; but when it was known on *Monday* Morning, how, and when he had left his Houſe, both Houſes were in a very great Confuſion; they who thought they had the greateſt Intereſt in him, were very much concerned. Nay, the Earl of *Northumberland* moved the ſame Day, *That a Committee might be appointed to conſider, how there might be an Accommodation between the King and his People*; which was done accordingly, tho' it unhappily came to nothing: And inſtead thereof, both Houſes agreed, *May* 26. upon a new Remon-

ſtrance

ſtrance to the People; which, together with the former, were anſwer'd by His Majeſty: However, the Members of both Houſes in great Numbers now abſented themſelves, ſo that there were uſually preſent not above a fifth Part of their juſt Number in the Houſe of Commons, and not above Twelve or Thirteen in the Houſe of Lords, in Debates of the higheſt Conſequence. But theſe proceeded with extraordinary Sharpneſs againſt thoſe Members who were gone to the King, proclaiming ſome by Name, *To be Enemies to the Kingdom*; and adjudging Nine Peers together, *To be uncapable of ſitting again in Parliament, whilſt this ſhould continue*: And the Houſe of Commons impoſed upon every one of their own Members, who were gone to the King, or being abſent, were thought well affected to his Service, 100 *l.* apiece. And yet, *None of 'em* (tho' they had paid the Fine) *ſhou'd ſit again, till, being examined in a Committee, they had given the Houſe Satisfaction in the Cauſe of their Abſence.* 1642.

Then they proceeded on the great Buſineſs of the Militia, cauſing thoſe, who refuſed to obey 'em, or publiſh'd the King's Proclamation againſt their Proceedings, to be ſent for as Delinquents.

And that they might be as well able to pay an Army, the 10th of *June* they publiſhed Propoſitions, *For the bringing in of Horſe, Men and Arms, for the maintaining of the publick Peace; the Reaſons whereof they declared to be a Deſign in the King to make war againſt his Parliament; that he had already levy'd Forces both of Horſe and Foot; that with an high and forcible Hand he protected Delinquents, ſuffering thoſe Meſſengers the Houſes had ſent for 'em to be abuſed, beaten, and impriſoned, and ſo the Orders of Parliament, the higheſt Court of Juſtice in the Realm, were not obeyed. Therefore they declared, whoſoever wou'd bring in any Proportion of Money or Plate, or ſubſcribe to furniſh and maintain any Number of Horſe, Horſemen, and Arms, for the Defence of the King and Parliament, it ſhou'd be held a good and acceptable Service to the Commonwealth; and ſuch Perſons ſhou'd be repaid their Money with Intereſt at* 8 l. per Cent, *for which the publick Faith ſtood engaged*; and they appointed the *Guild-Hall* for the Place, where this Plate or Money, &c. Propoſitions and Orders of both Houſes for bringing in Money and Plate.

1642. ſhould be brought in: And laſtly, to encourage others, the Members of both Houſes appointed a ſolemn Day to ſubſcribe themſelves; which they performed very liberally.

Moſt of thoſe who thought it unlawful to be preſent at ſuch Conſultations withdrew before the Day came, or abſented themſelves then. But many were bold enough to be preſent, and reſolutely refuſed what they thought they cou'd not with Honeſty conſent to. Sir *Henry Killigrew* among the reſt being called upon, told 'em, *If there were Occaſion he would provide a good Horſe, and a good Sword, and made no doubt but he ſhould find a good Cauſe.* But within a few Days both he, and whoever elſe were known to refuſe, found their Safety conſiſted in their Abſence. The next Day after theſe Propoſitions they order'd further, *All Horſes fit for Service, or great Saddles, that ſhould be carried towards the* North *Parts, without the Direction of the Two Houſes, ſhould be ſeized and ſecured.*

My Lord *C*—— ſays, It was then extreamly wonder'd at, and will without Doubt be hereafter cenſured, that the King, notwithſtanding all theſe Invaſions, hitherto forbore putting himſelf into a Poſture of Defence: He had a great Appearance of the Nobility, and not only of thoſe who had walked all along, according to the Rules preſcribed by Law to them; but of others, who had concurr'd at firſt, out of Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs, (to ſay no worſe) in all their violent Votes and Actions; yet ſtill they were rather an Ornament to his Court, than any great Advantage to his Counſels; every Man thinking it Merit enough in him, if he abſented himſelf from the Company and Place where all the Miſchief was laid; and that if he kept himſelf negatively innocent, 'twas all he owed his King and his Country. A long unactive Peace had taught the Nation to abhor the Thoughts of a Civil War, and to think, that vigorouſly to prepare againſt it was to provoke it; and there were very few of thoſe great Lords that attended His Majeſty, who did not declare, *That whatever Shews the Parliament made, in Hopes to ſhake His Majeſty's Conſtancy, yet they would never break out into a War; and if they ſhould, the Peo-*

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*ple would unanimouſly declare for the King, whoſe Safety conſiſted in his not providing for it. Whereas if he levied Forces, the Parliament would inſinuate, it was to overthrow Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the People.* They who had another Judgment, and could have ſpoke more Reaſon, thought it not ſafe to unfold themſelves, but in the King's own Ear; there being, in the great Council of the Peers, ſome who were not the beſt Counſel-Keepers, and others who were conceived to be Spies upon the reſt; but that which made the Attempt of raiſing Forces utterly unreaſonable was, that the King had no poſſible Convenience of Arms or Munition but from *Holland*, from whence he daily expected a Supply, and in the mean time, let his Provocations be what they would, he muſt ſit down, and bear it patiently. 1642.

In the mean while, and to do what for the preſent he could for a Ground of further Proceedings upon Occaſion, the King deſired the Peers in Council to deliver in Writing what Affronts and Violences had been offer'd 'em at *London*, which made their Preſence in the great Council of the Kingdom both unſafe and diſhonourable; which they the more readily did, for that the *London* Pamphlets had already made them Deſerters of the Parliament, and Traitors to the Liberty of their Country. They ſet down therefore, in an Inſtrument drawn up and agreed upon between them, *The Violence offer'd to particular Perſons, the Menaces of the Rabble at the Door, when they had a Mind any extravagant Thing ſhould paſs; the Breach of the ſtanding Rules and Orders of Parliament whilſt Matters were in Debate, and reſuming Matters in a thin Houſe, and reverſing, waving, or contradicting Reſolutions made in a full one; and laſtly, Mr.* Hollis's *demanding at the Bar, the Names of thoſe Lords who refuſed to conſent to the Militia, whilſt the Tumults without threatned all thoſe who diſſented from it!* This they ſigned, and deliver'd to the King: And yet many of 'em beſought His Majeſty the next Day by no Means to publiſh that Paper, ſome of them declaring, that if he ſhould they would diſown it. However the King having made the following Declaration in Council.

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The King's Declaration at *York*, *Jun.* 13.

*WE do declare, that we will require no Obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws, as we expect, that you ſhould not yield unto any Commands not legally grounded, or impoſed by any other. We will defend you all, and all ſuch, as ſhall refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other Way, from all Danger whatſoever. We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh'd by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of* England, *and the juſt Privileges of all the Three Eſtates of Parliament; and ſhall require no further Obedience from you, than as we accordingly ſhall perform the ſame. And we will not (as is falſly pretended) engage you in any War againſt the Parliament; except it be for our neceſſary Defence againſt ſuch, as do inſolently invade or attempt againſt us and our Adherents.*

The Peers upon this made the following Promiſe and Engagement, and ſubſcrib'd it with their Hands, as follows:

The Lords Addreſs and Engagement to His Majeſty.

*WE do engage our ſelves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our ſelves to defend Your Majeſty's Perſon, Crown and Dignity, with your juſt and legal Prerogatives, againſt all Perſons and Power whatſoever. We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of* England, *and the juſt Priviledges of Your Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament. Laſtly. We engage our ſelves not to obey any Rule, Order or Ordinance whatſoever concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royal Aſſent.*

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper.
Duke of *Richmond.*
Marqueſs of *Hartford.*
Earl of *Lindſey.*
E. of *Cumberland.*
E. of *Huntington.*
E. of *Bath.*
E. of *Southampton.*
E. of *Dorſet.*
E. of *Salisbury.*
E. of *Northampton.*
E. of *Devonſhire.*

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E. of *Briſtol.*
E. of *Weſtmorland.*
E. of *Barkſhire.*
E. of *Monmouth.*
E. *Rivers.*
E. of *Newcaſtle.*
E. of *Dover.*
E. of *Carnarvan.*
E. of *Newport.*
Lord *Mowbray* and *Matravers.*
L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby.*
L. *Rich.*
L. *Charles Howard* of *Charleton.*
L. *Newark.*
L. *Pagett.*
L. *Chandoys.*
L. *Falconbridge.*
L. *Paulett.*
L. *Lovelace.*
L. *Coventry.*
L. *Savile.*
L. *Mohun.*
L. *Dunſmore.*
L. *Seymour.*
L. *Gray* of *Ruthen.*
L. *Faulkland.*
The Comptroller.
Secretary *Nicolas.*
Sir *John Culpeper.*
Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, &c.

This was printed, and carefully diſperſed over the Kingdom, with the Conſent and Names of the Subſcribers; and Two Days after, His Majeſty conceiving the Rumors ſpread abroad might induce many to believe he intended to raiſe a War againſt his Parliament, *He profeſs'd in Council, and ſaid, He declared to all the World, that he ever had an Abhorrence to ſuch Deſigns, and deſired all preſent in Council to declare if they had not frequently heard his Profeſſions to the contrary. Whether they were not fully convinc'd that His Majeſty had no ſuch Intentions, but that all his Endeavours aim'd at a ſure Settlement of the Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.*

His Majeſty's Declaration, *Jun* 15. diſavowing any Deſigns of a War.

Whereupon it was unanimouſly agreed by all the Peers and Counſellors preſent, to ſign a Paper in theſe Words: *We whoſe Names are underwritten, in Obedience to His Majeſty's Deſire, and out of the Duty which we owe His Majeſty's Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the Place, and Witneſſes of His Majeſty's frequent and earneſt Declarations, and Profeſſions of his abhorring all Deſigns of making War upon his Parliament, and not ſeeing any Colour of Preparations or Counſels, that might reaſonably beget the Belief of any ſuch Deſigns, do profeſs before God, and teſtifie to all the World,*

1642. *That we are fully perſwaded His Majeſty hath no ſuch Intention; but that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant Settlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.*

Sir *P. W.* ſays, the Earl of *Salisbury* a few Days after theſe Things were done at *York*, ſtole away for *London*; but to proceed, this Teſtimony was Printed and Publiſh'd by His Majeſty's Order, who about this time called ſome Judges and Lawyers of Eminency together, and upon their Advice iſſued out a Declaration concerning the Militia, aſſerting, *the Right of the Crown in granting Commiſſions of Array, for the better Government thereof*; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd thoſe Commiſſions into all Counties, *expreſly forbidding any Obedience to be paid to the Ordinance for the Militia by both Houſes, under the Penalty of High-Treaſon.* This only exaſperated the Paper-Combats in Declarations, each Party inſiſting the Law was on their Side; to which the People yielded Obedience, as they ſaw it for their Conviency: And many believed if the King had applied himſelf to the old known Way of Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, it had been more beneficial for his Service; for the People having never heard of a Commiſſion of Array, eaſily entertain'd a Jealouſie of his Proceedings.

Commiſſion of Peerage.

Nothing but Paper Skirmiſhes were yet on Foot, which yet drew both Sides on nearer to Action; the King ſent a Letter to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in which he aſſured them of his good Wiſhes to the Peace of the Kingdom; and therefore required them, as they tender'd the Charter of their City, and their own particular Happineſs, not to furniſh any Money, Horſes or Plate, according to the Houſes Propoſitions, whereby, under Pretence of raiſing a Guard for the Parliament, Forces would be levied and employed againſt His Majeſty. The Houſes upon this Publiſhed a Declaration to the City, *That tho' His Majeſty proteſted his Deſires were for the Publick Peace, yet they ought not to depend upon it; ſince in Words and Actions it appeared he intended to uſe Force againſt thoſe who obeyed the Ordi-*

The Parliament's Declaration to the City, upon a Letter from the King to it.

*Ordinance of the Militia, and had likewiſe a Deſign upon* Hull; *and they declared, that whatſoever was done in either of thoſe Particulars, they ſhould look upon as done againſt the Parliament. They told 'em, That all that was dear to Men of Conſcience or Honour, was like to be buried in the general Calamity and Confuſion of the Kingdom; through the malignant Deſigns of ſome about His Majeſty: And therefore they forbid all Officers to publiſh that Paper, as they would Anſwer their Contempt to the Parliament, the Protection of which they might be aſſured of, for whatever they did by their Advice or Perſwaſion.* 1642.

To this His Majeſty replied, *That ſince they had uſurped the Supream Power to themſelves, he wonder'd they had not aſſumed the Supream Style too, and directed their very new Declaration, To their Truſty and Well-beloved their Subjects of the City of* London: *For 'twas too groſs to perſwade 'em to take up Arms againſt his Perſon, under Colour of being loving Subjects to his Office, and to deſtroy his Perſon, that they might preſerve the King. He thank'd them for explaining to the World, that his Deſign of warring againſt his Parliament was pretended by them to mean no more, but his Reſolution not to ſubmit to the high Injuſtice and Indignity of the Ordinance for the Militia, and the Buſineſs about* Hull. *He ſaid, he never concealed his Reſolutions in either of thoſe Particulars, (he wiſh'd they would be as plain with him) but always had and did now declare that the pretended Ordinance was inconſiſtent with the very Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and therefore he, and all his Subjects, were bound to oppoſe it. That the keeping him out of* Hull *was an Act of High-Treaſon, and the taking his Magazine from him an Act of Violence; in both which Caſes His Majeſty ſaid he would have Juſtice, by the Help of God and the Law, or periſh in the Attempt: And if his good Subjects could poſſibly believe he did in that make War againſt his Parliament, he did not doubt, however it ſhould pleaſe God to diſpoſe of him in the Contention, but the Juſtice of his Cauſe would at laſt prevail againſt thoſe malignant Spirits, who had ſo miſled and corrupted the Underſtandings of his People.* The King's Reply.

In the mean time let the King's Declaration and Replys found never ſo big, his Affairs were but

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1642. in an ill State, all the Army he could make were a few ſingle Troops of Guards, conſiſting of Gentlemen Volunteers, who wou'd be ſure to quit that Troop when there ſhou'd be an Army, for which he had not at that Time any Proviſion neceſſary, nor was he ſecure of any Port, to which ſuch Proviſion might ſafely be aſſign'd; nor had he Money ſufficient for the Support of his own Table for One Month. He impatiently attended the Arrival of all thoſe Neceſſaries by the Care and Application of the Queen, who was directed to ſend 'em to *Newcaſtle*, which the Earl of that Name had juſt then by his Diligence ſecured to him. But the Queen found many Difficulties to ſtruggle with; for tho' the Prince of *Orange* was earneſtly diſpoſed to the King's Service, and did all he cou'd to induce the States to intereſt themſelves in His Majeſty's Quarrel, yet his Authority was much impaired with the Vigour of his Body and Mind; and the States were ſo far from aſſiſting the King, that they did him all the Miſchief they cou'd. And the Parliament had ſo many Spies upon Her Majeſty, that it was no eaſie Matter for her to provide Arms and Ammunition, without their Notice of it, and of the Ways that were thought upon to tranſport them to the King. She had, upon her Arrival in *Holland*, detained a ſmall Ship of 20 or 30 Guns, under ſeveral Pretences, of which Captain *Straughen* the Commander, who was of approved Loyalty, made uſe, when he afterwards had Orders from the Earl of *Warwick* to return, and join the Fleet riding in the *Downs*, till at laſt it was diſcern'd he had other Buſineſs and Commands, and was therefore watch'd by the reſt of the Ships as an Enemy. This Veſſel the Queen loaded with about 200 Barrels of Powder, 2 or 3000 Arms, and 7 or 8 Field-Pieces. The Captain was no ſooner put to Sea, but the Commander of the Fleet in the *Downs* had Notice of it, and ſent out 3 or 4 Ships that chaſed him, till they ſaw him enter the River *Humber*; then looking on the Ship as their own, they followed at leiſure, thinking to drive it before 'em into their own Port of *Hull*, 'till with Shame and Anger they ſaw the Ship make into a narrow Creek out of *Humber*, leading ſome Miles

*King receives Arms, &c. from Holland.*

Miles into the Country above *Hull*, a Place the Captain deſigned to arrive at from the beginning: They quickly found their great Ships cou'd not enter that Paſſage, and ſo gave over the Chaſe, whilſt the Captain deſignedly run the Ship on Shoar towards *Burlington*, by which means the Arms, Ammunition and Artillery were quickly brought to *York*. 1642.

The King immediately hereupon granted Commiſſions to ſuch Perſons of Quality and Intereſt, as were able to raiſe Regiments of Horſe and Foot. The Earl of *Lindſey* was declared General of the the Army; Sir *Jacob Aſhley* Major-General of the Foot; the Generalſhip of the Horſe being reſerved for Prince *Rupert*, who ſhortly after arrived. This done, the King reſolved to take the Admiralty into his own Hands, to revoke the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion, by ſending Sir *John Pennington*, who was then at *York*, to take Charge of the Fleet: And Letters were prepared, and ſigned by the King, to all the Captains, requiring them to follow Sir *John Pennington*'s Order. And all this was tranſacted with as much Secrecy, that none but thoſe few who were truſted knew any thing of the Matter. But Sir *John Pennington*, upon the King's Intimation of it to him, finding the Matter full of Difficulty, alledged, *That he ſtood upon ill Terms with the Parliament, that therefore his Motion towards the* Downs *won'd immediately be obſerved, and propoſed Sir* Robert Manſel *as a fitter Man.* His Majeſty imparting this Counſel to thoſe he had made privy to his Deſigns, enter'd upon new Conſiderations; and concluded, *That Sir* Robert Manſel's *Age, and the Accidents thereupon, would make the Expedition very hazardous*, (he living then at *Greenwich*) and therefore the whole Diſpatch was thus prepared. Firſt a Revocation of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion under the Great Seal; of which there was a Duplicate, the one for his Lordſhip, the other for the Earl of *Warwick*. Then a particular Letter to every Captain in the Fleet, *Informing 'em of the Revocation of the Admiral's Patent, and conſequently of the Determination of the Earl of* Warwick's *Commiſſion, (whom likewiſe he forbid meddling any further*

1642. *ther in that Charge) and commanding them no longer to follow either of their Orders, but repair with the Fleet to* Burlington-Bay *in* Yorkſhire, *where they ſhould receive His Majeſty's further Pleaſure.*

All Things being accordingly prepared, one of His Majeſty's Pages was intruſted with what immediately concerned the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Edward Villiers*, with the whole Diſpatch relating to the Fleet; the former being intruſted, not to make ſuch haſte, but that the other might reach the *Downs* at leaſt as ſoon as he ſhou'd be at *London*; and Mr. *Villiers* was order'd to viſit the Earl of *Warwick* in the laſt Place, that his Activity might not divert the Seamen from their Obedience to His Majeſty. But by that time one of the Meſſengers was diſpatch'd to *London*, and on his Journey thither, Sir *John Pennington*, upon ſecond Thoughts, offer'd himſelf to go and take the Charge of the Fleet, which changed the Form of the Letters to the ſeveral Captains, requiring them only to follow ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from Sir *John Pennington*; who thought it improper to go with Mr. *Villiers*, but by him ſent a Letter to Sir *Henry Palmer*, as likewiſe did His Majeſty, being an Officer of the Navy, living by the *Downs*, *Requiring him immediately to go aboard the Admiral; that he himſelf wou'd ſet out when Mr.* Villiers *did, but take a further and more private Way.* Mr. *Villiers*, leſt the Page ſhould arrive too ſoon at *London*, ſlept not till he came to Sir *Henry Palmer*; who being an infirm Man, and ſurprized at the Command (though of unqueſtion'd Loyalty) cou'd not make that Expedition aboard, as was neceſſary for the Service. However, Mr. *Villiers* deliver'd his ſeveral Letters to the Captains, and 'tis very probable had *Pennington* been preſent, ſome of the Fleet had been brought over to the King's Side. But the Captains expecting Orders from Sir *John*, and he again waiting for ſuch an Account from Sir *Henry Palmer*, as might encourage him to come to the Ships, the whole Buſineſs was diſappointed by this Delay; for the other Gentleman having deliver'd the King's Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and he, with all Shows of Duty and Submiſſi-

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on, obeying His Majesty, tho' earnestly press'd by the Houses to continue in his Office, they agreed to pass an Ordinance, to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet, with as full Authority as he had before received from the Earl of *Northumberland*. Which Ordinance they dispatch'd away by a Member of their own, who arrived the next Morning, after Mr. *Villiers* had delivered His Majesty's Letters. Sir *John Pennington* in the mean time neither appearing himself, nor sending any further Advice. 1642.

The Earl of *Warwick*, thus arm'd, summon'd all the Captains to a Council on board his Ship; which Summons all obeyed, except Captain *Slingsby* and Captain *Wake*, who were therefore seized by their own Men, and carried to the Earl, who sent 'em up Prisoners to the Parliament. On the other Hand the King sent the Earl of *Newcastle* to take the Government of that Town upon him, that he might have one Harbour to resort to in his Kingdom, which was a timely Care; for if it had been omitted but very few Days, it had been seized by the Parliament, who had then given Directions to that Purpose. After that summoning the Train'd-Bands of the County of *York* to attend him at *Beverly*, within Four Miles of *Hull*, he issued out a Proclamation, containing in brief, *Sir* John Hotham's *Rebellion*; *the Houses denying him Justice upon his Demand*; *their seizing his Fleet*; *Sir* John Hotham's *hostile Acts upon the Inhabitants of* Hull, *and the neighbouring County*; *for which Reason he was resolv'd to reduce the same by Force*; *forbidding all Commerce with the said Town, whilst it persisted in Rebellion.* This Proclamation he sent likewise to both Houses, signifying further, *That before he made Use of Force, he thought fit once more to require the Delivery of it up to him, and then he wou'd willingly admit of such Addresses, and return such Propositions, as might be proper to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, and heal the present Distractions. If this his gracious Invitation shou'd be rejected, God and all good Men must judge between them:* And appointed a Day, by which he wou'd expect their Answer. The King's Proclamation from *Beverly*.

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1642. They at *London* were no leſs buſie; but before they received the King's Meſſage, they entred into a Debate about raiſing an Army. Upon which Occaſion Mr. *Whitlock* made this prudent Speech.

Mr. Speaker,

*THE Queſtion which was laſt propounded about raiſing of Forces, naming a General, and Officers of an Army, hath been very rare before this Time, in this Aſſembly, and it ſeems to me to ſet us at the Pit's Brink, ready to plunge our ſelves into an Ocean of Troubles and Miſeries, and if it could be, into more than a Civil War brings with it.* Cæſar *tells us, (and he knew as much of Civil War as any Man before him) that it cannot be begun,* Sine malis artibus; *Surely, Sir, our Enemies of the Popiſh Church have left no evil Ways uneſſayed to bring us unto our preſent Poſture, and will yet leave none unattempted to make our Breaches wider, well knowing that nothing will more advance their Empire than our Diviſions. Our Miſery, whom they count Hereticks, is their Joy, and our Diſtractions will be their Glory, and all evil Arts and Ways to bring Calamities upon us, they will eſteem meritorious. But, Sir, I look upon another beginning of our Civil War, God bleſſed us with a long and flouriſhing Peace, and we turned his Grace unto Wantonneſs, and Peace would not ſatisfie us without Luxury, nor our Plenty without Debauchery; inſtead of Sobriety and Thankfulneſs for our Mercies, we provoked the Giver of them by our Sins and Wickedneſs, to puniſh us (as we may fear) by a Civil War, to make us Executioners of Divine Vengeance upon our ſelves. It is ſtrange to note, how we have inſenſibly ſlid into this beginning of a Civil War, by one unexpected Accident after another, as Waves of the Sea, which brought us thus far; and we ſcarce know how, but from Paper Combates, by Declarations, Remonſtrances, Proteſtations, Votes, Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies: We are come now to the Queſtion of raiſing of Forces, and naming a General, and Officers of an Army. But what, Sir, may be the Progreſs hereof, the Poet tells you:* Juſque datum ſceleri canimus populumq; potentem, In ſua victrici converſum viſcera dextra; *We muſt ſurrender up our Laws, Liberties, Properties into the Hands of Inſolent*

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*ſolent Mercenaries, whoſe Rage and Violence will command us, and all we have, and Reaſon, Honour and Juſtice will leave our Land: The Ignoble will rule the Noble, and Baſeneſs will be preferred before Vertue, Profaneneſs before Piety. Of a potent People we ſhall make our ſelves weak, and be the Inſtruments of our own Ruin;* Perditio tuo ex te *will be ſaid to us; We ſhall burn our own Houſes, lay waſte our own Fields, pillage our own Goods, open our own Veins, and eat up our own Bowels. You will hear other Sounds, beſides thoſe of Drums and Trumpets; the clattering of Armour, the roaring of Guns, the Groans of wounded and dying Men, the Shrieks of defloured Women, the Crys of Widows and Orphans, and all on your Account, which makes it the more to be lamented. Pardon, Sir, the Warmth of my Expreſſion on this Argument; it is to prevent a Flame, which I ſee kindled in the midſt of us, that may conſume us to Aſhes. The Sum of the Progreſs of Civil War is the Rage of Fire and Sword, and (which is worſe) of brutiſh Men. What the Iſſue of it will be no Man can tell, probably few of us now here may live to ſee the end of it. It hath been ſaid,* He that draweth his Sword againſt his Prince muſt throw away the Scabbard. *Theſe Differences are ſcarce to be reconciled; theſe Commotions are like the deep Seas, being once ſtirred, are not ſoon appeaſed. I wiſh the Obſervation of the Duke* de Rohan, *in his Intereſt of* Chriſtendom, *may prove a Caution, not a Propheſie. He ſaith of* England, That it is a great Creature, which cannot be deſtroyed but by its own Hand, and there is not a more likely Hand than that of Civil War to do it. *The Iſſue of all War is like a Caſt at Dice, none can tell you upon what Square the* alea belli *will light. The beſt Iſſue that can be expected of a Civil War is,* Ubi victor fiet & victus perit; *which of theſe will be our Portion is uncertain, and the Choice would be avoided. Yet, Sir, when I ſaid this, I am not for a tame Reſignation of our Religion, Lives and Liberties, into the Hands of our Adverſaries, who ſeek to devour us. Nor do I think it inconſiſtent with your great Wiſdom, to prepare for a neceſſary and juſt Defence of them. It was truly obſerved by a noble Gentleman, That if our Enemies find us provided to reſiſt their Attempts upon us, it will be*

*the*

1642. *the likelieſt VVay to bring them into an Accord with us. And upon this Ground I am for the Queſtion; but I humbly move you to conſider whether it be not yet too ſoon to come to it. VVe have tried by Propoſals of Peace to His Majeſty, and have been rejected. Let us try yet again, and appoint a Committee, who may review our former Propoſitions. And where they find the Matter of them (as our Affairs now ſtand) fit to be altered, that they preſent their Alterations to the Houſe, and their Opinions; that as far as may ſtand for the Security of us and our Cauſe, we may yield our Endeavours, and prevent the Miſeries that look back upon us, and to ſettle a good Accommodation. So that there may be no Strife between us and thoſe of the other Party, for we are Brethren.*

Parliament Votes for an Army.

But an Army the major Part muſt have, and therefore on the 12th of *July* they Voted that one ſhould be raiſed for the Safety of the King's Perſon, Defence of the Parliament, and thoſe that adhered to them; that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be their General, and that they would live and die by him; but upon the ſame Day they agreed on a Petition, to move the King to a good Agreement with his Parliament, for the Prevention of a Civil War.

The Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, were diſpatch'd away to *Beverly* with this Petition to the King, who reported publickly, *They had brought ſo abſolute a Submiſſion from the Parliament, that there was no Doubt of a firm and happy Peace.* The Earl of *Holland*, upon preſenting the Petition, made a ſhort Speech to the King, telling him, *His bleſſed Father's Motto was*, Beati Pacifici, *and he hoped His Majeſty wou'd continue it, ſince the Two Houſes aimed at nothing but His Majeſty's Honour and Proſperity*; and then read the Meſſage aloud, which was to this Effect:

Parliament's Petition to the King.

*That His Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, with much Sorrow perceive, His Majeſty being incenſed by many falſe Calumnies and Slanders, doth continue to raiſe Forces againſt them and other his peaceable and loyal Subjects, by main Strength to determine the Queſtion depending between him and his great Council, concerning*

*cerning the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom; that tho' they hold themſelves bound, out of Duty to His Majeſty and the Nation, to uſe all means of Defence and Protection thereof, yet they proſtrate themſelves at his Feet, beſeeching him to forbear all Actions of War, and come nearer to his Parliment, whoſe ſole Aims and Reſolutions tend to the Defence and Advacement of Religion, his Royal Honour and Safety, and the Preſervation of their Laws and Liberties. That his Majeſty wou'd leave Delinquents to the due Courſe of Juſtice; and that nothing done or ſpoken in Parliament, or by any Perſon in Purſuance thereof, ſhou'd be queſtioned any where but in Parliament. That they for their Parts were ready to relinquiſh all the Preparations they had been forced to make for their Defence: That they were willing to leave the Town of* Hull *in the Condition it was in before Sir* John Hotham *drew any Forces into it, delivering the Magazine into the Tower of* London. *That they were ready to ſettle the Militia by a Bill, in ſuch a Way as ſhould be honourable and ſafe for His Majeſty, moſt agreeable to the Duty of Parliament, and effectual for the Good of the Kingdom; ſo that the Strength thereof be not employed againſt it ſelf, nor that which ought to be for their Security, be applied to their Deſtruction; and that the Parliament, and all thoſe who profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, both here and in* Ireland, *may not be expoſed naked to the cruel Attempts of thoſe, who are the profeſs'd and confederated Enemies thereof. To which if His Majeſty wou'd henceforward concur, they doubted not but they ſhou'd quickly make it appear to the World, that his Royal Honour and Greatneſs was much dearer to them, than their Lives and Fortunes.*

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The King told 'em, as ſoon as the Earl of *Holland* had done reading the Petition, *That the Reproaches caſt upon him by it were not anſwerable to Profeſſion his Lordſhip had made; and that he was ſorry they thought the ready Way to procure and preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom was, to ſully his Honour with ſo much Scandal. That he wou'd return a ſpeedy Anſwer to their Petition, by which the World ſhould diſcern, who deſired Peace moſt*; which accordingly he did the next Day, telling 'em, *He thought the ſending the Earl of* Warwick, *with as many Ships as he thought fit, to aſſiſt Sir* John Hotham, *and carry away the*

1642. *Magazine; the chuſing a General by both Houſes of of Parliament, for the Defence of thoſe who had obeyed their Illegal Orders; their Declaration, that upon that ſcore they would live and die with the Earl of* Eſſex, *their General; and impriſoning the Lord Mayor for obeying his Majeſty's lawful Commands, were but ill Prologues to their Petition; the End of which His Majeſty had too much Cauſe to believe, was not to give any real Satisfaction to His Majeſty, but to miſlead and ſeduce his People. He ſaid, in Anſwer to their Petition, That he challenged Envy and Malice to object one particular Propoſition for the Preſervation of God's true Religion, which His Majeſty had refuſed to conſent to; what himſelf had often made for the Meſſages and Declarations. What Regard hath been to his Honour and Safety, when he hath been driven from ſome of his Houſes, and kept from other of his Towns by Force, and what Endeavours have been uſed to arm all his Subjects againſt him was ſo evident, that His Majeſty was confident he could not ſuffer by their general Imputations; it was ſufficient the World knew what he had granted, and what he had denied. For the Forces His Majeſty had raiſed, and the Preparations he was making for War, all Men knew what was done was but in order to his own Defence. All the World knew His Majeſty was driven from* Whitehal *for the Safety of his Life. That both Houſes of Parliament raiſed a Guard to themſelves by their own Authority; uſurped an unlawful Power, by their pretended Ordinance, over the whole Militia of the Kingdom, without and againſt His Majeſty's Conſent; took Poſſeſſion of the Town, Fort and Magazine of* Hull, *into which Sir* John Hotham *by Force of Arms denied His Majeſty's Entrance in Perſon. And all this while His Majeſty had no other Attendance than his own Menial Servants. Upon which the Duty and Affection of this Country prompted his Subjects here to provide a ſmall Guard for his own Perſon; which was no ſooner done, but a Vote paſſed, of His Majeſty's Intention to raiſe a War againſt his Parliament, which God knows his Heart abhorreth. His Ships were taken from him, and committed to the Cuſtody of the Earl of* Warwick, *who preſumes under that Power to uſurp to himſelf the Sovereignty of the Sea, to chaſe, fright, and impriſon ſuch of his good Subjects, as deſired to obey his lawful Commands.*

Let

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*Let all the World now judge who begun this War. Whence the Fears and Jealouſies of the Petitioners have proceeded, hath never been diſcovered; the Dangers they have brought upon his Subjects are too evident; what thoſe are they have prevented no Man knows. And therefore His Majeſty cann't but look upon that Charge as the boldeſt and moſt ſcandalous as hath been yet laid to him; that his neceſſary Proviſion made for his own Safety and Defence, is to over-rule the Judgment and Advice of his Parliament, and by Force to determine the Queſtions there depending concerning the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom. If no other Force had been raiſed but by His Majeſty, this Miſunderſtanding had never been. For the Forces about* Hull, *His Majeſty will remove them when he hath obtained the End for which they were brought thither; and as for his coming nearer to his Parliament, he hath expreſs'd himſelf ſo fully in that Point already, ſo particularly avowed a real Fear of his Safety, upon ſuch Inſtances as cannot be anſwered, that he hath Reaſon to take himſelf ſomewhat neglected, that ſince upon ſo manifeſt Reaſons it is not ſafe for His Majeſty to come near them, both Houſes will not come nearer His Majeſty.*

*For the leaving Delinquents to the due Courſe of Juſtice, he is moſt aſſured there hath been no Shelter to any ſuch, if the Law be the Meaſure of Delinquency; and for the Manner of Proceeding againſt Delinquents, His Majeſty will proceed againſt thoſe who have no Privilege of Parliament, or in ſuch Caſes where no Privilege is to be allowed, as he ſhall be adviſed by his learned Council, according to the known Rules of the Law; it being unreaſonable he ſhould be compelled to proceed againſt thoſe who have violated the known and undoubted Law, only before them who have directed ſuch Violation.*

*Having ſaid thus much, His Majeſty, out of a princely Love, Tenderneſs, and Compaſſion of his People, is graciouſly pleaſed once more to propoſe, and require, That his Town of* Hull *be immediately deliver'd up to him; which being done, (tho' His Majeſty hath been provoked by the unheard of Inſolencies of Sir* John Hotham, *in burning and drowning the Country, ſeizing his Wine and other Proviſions of his Houſe, telling his*

1642. *Servant whom he ſent to require them, that it came to him by Providence, and he would keep it, threatning him, or any other ſhould again repair to* Hull *about it, and the like) His Majeſty, to ſhow his earneſt Deſire of Peace, for which he will diſpence with his own Honour, and how far he is from Deſire of Revenge, will grant a free and general Pardon to all Perſons within that Town. That His Majeſty's Magazine taken from him at* Hull, *be put into ſuch Hands as he ſhall appoint.*

*That the Navy be forthwith delivered into the Hands of thoſe he hath appointed for the Government thereof. That all Armies, Levies, and Proviſions for a War, made by Conſent of both Houſes, (by whoſe Example His Majeſty hath been forced to make ſome Preparation) be immediately laid down, and the pretended Ordinance for the Militia diſavowed. All which His Majeſty may as lawfully demand as to live, and can with no more Juſtice be denied him, than his Life may be taken from him.*

*Theſe being done, and the Parliament Adjourn'd to a ſafe and ſecure Place, His Majeſty promiſes in the Preſence of God, that he will inſtantly lay down all the Force he hath raiſed, and diſcharge all his future and intended Levies: And deſires all Differences may be freely debated in a Parliamentary Way; whereby the Law may recover its due Reverence, the Subject his juſt Liberty, and the Parliaments themſelves their full Vigour and Eſtimation, and ſo the whole Kingdom a bleſſed Peace, Quiet and Proſperity. If theſe Propoſitions ſhall be rejected, His Majeſty doubts not of the Protection of Almighty God, and the ready Aſſiſtance and Concurrence of his good Subjects; and if the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Defence of the Liberties and the Laws of the Kingdom, the Dignity and Freedom of Parliament, and the Recovery and Relief of bleeding and miſerable* Ireland, *be equally precious to the Petitioners as they are to His Majeſty, there will be a chearful and ſpeedy Conſent to what he hath now propoſed; and of this, His Majeſty, there will be a chearful and ſpeedy Conſent to what he hath now propoſed; and of this, His Majeſty expects a full and poſitive Anſwer by* Wedneſday, *the 27th of this Inſtant* July; *till when he ſhall not make any Attempt of*

Force

Force *upon* Hull: *And in the mean time expects no Supply of Men to be put into it, or any of His Majesty's Goods be taken from thence.* 1642.

When the Petition from the Two Houses was read, all the Courtiers express'd a strange Indignation against it, yet the Thought of a War was so much abhorred, and Men were so fond of every Expedient for Peace, that by the next Morning these Messengers for the Parliament made many believe, *That the King's Answer was too sharp, and would provoke the Houses, who were naturally passionate, to go on in the violent Ways they were in; whereas they were confident, if he would remit something of that Severity in his Language, His Majesty should have all the Satisfaction he proposed:* And this the Earl of *Holland* privately offer'd to undertake. Upon which some earnestly importuned the King, *to return by the Messengers only the Matter of his own Propositions in a soft and gentle Language, without the Preamble, or any mention of the Provocations the Parliament had given him, and that he would take from 'em the Answer he deliver'd them the Night before.* But His Majesty replied, *He had a long time used 'em with all imaginable Lenity and Compliance of Words, which was so far from working upon 'em, that their Arrogance increased; and make 'em write in so high a Dialect, as if they were Sovereigns, and he were subject to their Jurisdiction, and he did not know but it might lessen the Reverence of the People towards him. That this which they call'd a Petition, contain'd a peremptory Justification of all they had done, and as peremptory a threatning of whatever they could do; and therefore, if he should now recede from his Answer, which had been narrowly consider'd by all the Peers in Council, he should give Encouragement to new Attempts, and cool the Zeal his Friends had for his Service; who would not think it safe to raise themselves to an Indignation on his Behalf, when he appeared so lightly touch'd with his own Sufferings: That he could not reasonably depend upon the Earl of* Holland, *who had so abominably deceiv'd him in other Matters, which were entirely in his own Power to have performed. He said, he never had consented to any one thing, since the beginning of the Parliament, which had been prejudicial*

1642. *dicial to him, at the doing whereof he had not been ſolemnly promis'd, by thoſe of greater Intereſt than the Earl of* Holland, *that he ſhou'd receive no Damage from it, and yet he always found himſelf miſtaken; and therefore he reſolv'd to rely upon God Almighty*; and poſitively refuſed to make the leaſt Alteration in his Anſwer. And ſo the Meſſengers departed, leaving the Court and Country worſe affected than they found it, branding thoſe they found were not to be ruled by their Profeſſions and Promiſes, as the Authors of a Civil War.

From that time the Earl of *Holland* loſt his natural Temper of Gentleneſs of Diſpoſition, and grew exaſperated againſt the King and his Miniſters. Having been much diſſatisfied at *London*, where he found the Earl of *Eſſex* (for whom he had no real Love, but did indeed contemn him) to draw all Men's Eyes towards him, he ſeriouſly intended to diſcover if there were any Sparks yet remaining in the King's Breaſt, which might be kindled into Affection or Acceptance of his Duty; but when he found all former Inclinations were dead in the King, and more than ordinary Prejudices had got Poſſeſſion of their Places, he heartily united in the ſuppreſſing that Power, from the Adminiſtration whereof he was totally excluded. In the mean time the King reſolv'd to take a ſhort Progreſs into the Neighbour Counties, till he could have an Anſwer to his Propoſitions, and accordingly went to *Doncaſter* the ſame Day the Meſſengers departed; the next to *Nottingham*, and ſo to *Leiceſter*, and from thence, according to his Appointment, return'd towards *Hull*, in Expectation of an Anſwer from the Parliament; which came Two Days latter than was appointed: In which they told him, *They could not for the preſent yield to His Majeſty's Demands: The Reaſon why they took into their Cuſtody the Town of* Hull, *the Magazine and Navy, paſſed the Ordinance of the Militia, and made Preparations of Arms, was for the Defence of Religion, the Safety of His Majeſty's Perſon, the Kingdom and Parliament; all which they ſaw in very great Danger; from which, when they ſhould be ſecured, they would draw their Forces out of* Hull, *deliver the Magazine and Navy, and ſettle the Militia*

The Parliament's Anſwer, July 26.

*Bill,*

*Bill, in a way moſt honourable and ſafe for His Majeſty, agreeable to the Duty of Parliament, and beneficial to the Kingdom. For the Adjourning the Parliament, they ſaw no Reaſon why His Majeſty ſhould require it, ſince, conſidering the full Aſſurance they had of the Loyalty and Fidelity of the City of* London, *and the honeſt Care the Parliament would always have of His Majeſty, the uſual Place would be as ſafe for his Royal Perſon as any. As for the laying down of Arms, when the Cauſes which made 'em provide for the Defence of His Majeſty's Perſon, the Kingdom and Parliament, ſhould be removed, they ſhould very willingly and chearfully decline any further Preparations, and lay down their Forces already raiſed.* 1642.

This Replication was order'd to be read in all the Churches throughout *England* and *Wales*; and both Parties quitting all further Thoughts of Treaties, prepared to ſtrengthen their Cauſe, by the Addition of all the Forces they could draw together. In *London* they minded nothing but the forming an Army, and ſuch other Acts of Power, as were conducive thereunto. And whoever oppoſed or diſcountenanced what they went about, were ſure to puniſhed; Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of *London*, was by the Lords, upon a Complaint from the Houſe of Commons, committed to the Tower, for cauſing the King's Proclamation againſt the Ordinance, by Vertue of His Majeſty's Writ to him directed, to be publickly proclaimed; and ſhortly after, that they might place the Government of the City in the Hands of one they could better truſt, he was adjudged by the Peers, in Preſence of the Commons, *To be put out of his Office of Lord-Mayor, to be utterly incapable of any Office in the City or Kingdom, and of all Honour or Dignity, and to be impriſoned during the Pleaſure of the Two Houſes.* Upon which Sentence Alderman *Pennington* was made Mayor. The Parliament by this time having form'd an Army, they declared *it was raiſed only for the Defence of the Parliament, the King's Perſon, the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; that the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſellors, had raiſed a great Army of* Papiſts *to deſtroy the Parliament, and bring in Popery and Tyranny*; of which they pretended

1642. ta give full and ample Evidence, *and therefore they conjured all Men to aſſiſt their General the Earl of* Eſſex. And for a more ſecret Tranſaction of all ſuch Counſels as were neceſſary, they formed a Comittee to attend the great Buſineſs of the Kingdom, relating to the Army. And that Men might be the better encouraged to enter into the Service, the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, whom the King had formerly accuſed of High-Treaſon, had ſeveral Regiments conferred upon 'em; and by their Example ſeveral others of both Houſes deſired and obtained Command of Horſe or Foot.

Whilſt they went on with this Vigour, the King on his ſide had ſtrange Difficulties to ſtruggle withal; he was ſo far from having Money to levy or pay Soldiers, that he had not wherewithal to ſupport the Tables kept by his Officers of State in Court; ſo that for very Want the Prince and Duke eat with His Majeſty, which was the only Table that was kept up. So that he was in no Condition yet to act by Arms, but ſeemed as if he aim'd at no Hoſtility, but what tended to the Reduction of *Hull*; which he hoped wou'd ſerve to draw the Train'd-Bands together, till he could draw other Forces thither, which might be of Service to that or any other Enterprize. But there was another Reaſon, which made His Majeſty to go, and ſtay ſo long at *Beverly*. The Lord *Digby* had, with ſome Commands from the Queen in *Holland*, arrived very privately, and ſtayed ſome Time in a Diſguiſe at *York*, conferring ſo privately with the King by Night, that no Notice was taken of him; and finding by the King's Affairs it was not yet convenient for him to appear, he reſolved to return back to the Queen, and forward the Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition, ſo neceſſary for His Majeſty's Defence; and ſo in the ſame Bark which brought him over, ſailed again for *Holland* with *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, *Pollard* and *Berkly*, who upon the Noiſe the Parliament made againſt 'em, removed from Court, till the King was ready for their Service. They were not long at Sea before they met the *Providence* with the Ammunition mentioned before; upon which they

agreed,

agreed, *VVilmot*, *Pollard* and *Berkly* ſhou'd return to the King, and *Digby* and Colonel *Aſhburnham* purſue their Voyage for *Holland*. But thoſe Parleys continued ſo long, that the Parliament's Ships came up to 'em; and tho' the Ship got off, as we have before obſerved, yet the Fly-Boat was taken, and carried in great Triumph into *Hull*, where Colonel *Aſhburnham* was ſo well known to Sir *John Hotham* that he cou'd not conceal himſelf; but the Lord *Digby*, who had ſo really diſguiſed himſelf, that his neareſt Friends cou'd hardly have known him, pretended to be a *Frenchman*, whoſe Language he ſpoke extreamly well; and having made away with ſuch Papers as were not fit to be peruſed, ſo well counterfeited Sickneſs when he got aſhoar, that he eaſily procured himſelf to be diſpoſed in ſome obſcure Corner for Repoſe, whilſt Col. *Aſhburnham*, the only Priſoner, as they thought worth minding, was carried to the Governor, who received him with as much Civility as he cou'd expect. 1642.

The Lord *Digby* being alone, quickly reflected on the Deſperateneſs of his Condition, *That it was impoſſible to conceal himſelf long; that he was, how unjuſtly ſoever, the moſt obnoxious Man in the Nation to the Parliament, into whoſe Hands if he ſhou'd fall, his Life would be in apparent Danger*: And how to extricate himſelf out of the Labyrinth, was very difficult, ſince Sir *John Hotham* reckoned him in the Number of his moſt inveterate Enemies. However, as he had a great Preſence of Mind upon Danger, he reſolved not to deſpair, but found Means in broken *Engliſh*, which might have fitted the Mouth of any *Frenchman*, to make his Guard underſtand, *That he deſired to ſpeak in private with the Governor, to whom he cou'd diſcover ſome Secrets, that wou'd be of great Uſe to the Service of the Parliament*. The Fellow quickly informed the Governor, who being a Maſter in the *French* Tongue, quickly ſent for the *Frenchman*, who, in the Preſence of much Company, without any Diſorder, gave ſuch an Account of himſelf, as he perſwaded 'em to believe he had ſeen much of the *French* Service, and had been recommended to the King for ſome Command. Then drawing the Governor, who wou'd not venture himſelf alone with

The Lord *Digby*'s Tranſactions with *Hotham* in *Hull*.

1642. with him into another Room, to a great Window, at a convenient Diſtance from the Company, he asked him in *Engliſh* if he knew him? The other, ſurprized, anſwer'd, *No. Then*, ſaid he, *I'll try whether I know Sir* John Hotham, *and if he be in Truth that Man of Honour I have always look'd upon him to be*; and thereupon diſcovered himſelf, and ſaid, *He hoped he was too much a Gentleman to deliver him up to the Rage and Fury of his implacable Enemies.* The Governor, fearing he might be diſcovered by the Byſtanders, adviſed him to ſay no more for the preſent, aſſuring him he ſhould find him the Man he thought him; that with the firſt Conveniency he would find an Opportunity of conferring more with him: And ſo called the Guard inſtantly to carry him away, and look carefully to him; then turning to the Company, he told 'em, *The* Frenchman *was a ſhrewd Fellow, and had told him that which the Parliament would be glad to know, tho' as yet he had not ſo clear an Information, as he preſumed in Two or Three Days he ſhou'd have:* And ſo went to his Chamber.

C—— ſays, Sir *John Hotham* by Education was a rough unpoliſh'd Man, very covetous, proud and ambitious, an utter Stranger to all good Nature and Generoſity; of Parts not quick but compoſed, more likely to deceive than be deceived; yet after all, *Digby* known and hated by him for his extraordinary Faculty of Diſſimulation, had won ſo much upon him, that he reſolved to practice that Virtue of Generoſity, with the Imputation of which the other had complimented him, and not to let him fall into his Enemies Hands. He ſent for him the next Day at a ſeaſonable Hour, and told him, *Since he had ſo generouſly thrown himſelf into his Hands, he wou'd not betray his Truſt, and wiſh'd him to conſider what Way he ſhou'd ſet him at Liberty; he ſaid, he would commit the Secret to no Perſon living, leaſt of all to his Son, of whom he ſpoke with all poſſible Bitterneſs, as a Man violently addicted to the very worſt Deſigns the Parliament had, and ſent thither as a Spy upon him. Then he diſcourſed of the Miſchiefs that were like to befal the Kingdom, and lamented his own Fate, that being of very different Principles from thoſe who puſh'd Things to this Extremity, and of unfeign'd Affection to the King, he ſhou'd now be conſidered as the*

C——'s Character of *Hotham.*

chief

*chief Cauſe of the War that was breaking out: Avowing, that an Information ſent him of the King's Deſign, preſently to hang him, was the real Cauſe of refuſing His Majeſty Entrance into the Town.* 1642.

There was not a Tittle in this Diſcourſe, but the Lord *Digby* knew how to cultivate; and therefore join'd with him in his Senſe of the Miſeries the Nation was likely to fall under; pathetically lamenting, *That it ſhou'd be in the Power of a few ill Men, to involve him, and others of his clear Intentions, in their dark Deſigns, which would unavoidably determine in the Deſtruction of all the Undertakers; adding, the King wou'd ſpeedily reduce all his Enemies: That all the Princes in Chriſtendom were intereſted in the Quarrel: And that the Prince of* Orange *was reſolved to come over at the Head of his Army, and cou'd take* Hull *in three Days:* And after he had ſufficiently amuſed and terrified him with this Diſcourſe, he enlarged *upon the Honour that Man would have, who prevented the terrible Confuſion that was in View; and told him, he was that Man, who in delivering up* Hull *to His Majeſty, might prevent the War, and eſtabliſh a Peace throughout the Kingdom: That what Intereſt he had with the King or Queen, he wou'd employ it all in his Service, and he ſhou'd find him more zealous for his Greatneſs, and a Reward for his Merit, than he was now ſollicitous for his own Safety.*

This was the Reſult of more than one Diſcourſe. Upon which *Hotham* ſaid, *It wou'd not become him after ſuch a Refuſal to deliver the Town into the King's Hands, nor if he wou'd, was it poſſible to effect it, the Garriſon conſiſting of Officers, in whom he cou'd not confide; but if the King wou'd bring but one Regiment before the Town, plant his Cannon, and make but one Shot, he ſhou'd think he had diſcharged his Truſt, and would immediately ſurrender it.* And he was contented the Lord *Digby* ſhould go on this Errant to the King, conducting him out of Town, beyond the Limits of Danger.

When he had ſpoken with the King at *York*, it was reſolved he ſhou'd appear publickly in his own Perſon, that the World might think he came over with the Ammunition. His Majeſty, upon the Aſſurance he had received, declared he would ſuch a Day

The King's Deſign upon *Hull* miſcarries.

1642. Day go to *Berverly*, and order'd Three or Four Regiments of the Country to march thither as a Guard to his Perſon, together with a little Train of Artillery, which might ſerve for the Summons; and the Lord *Digby* return'd to *Hull* in his own Diſguiſe, the better to make Matters correſpond with the former Obligation; from *Beverly* the King ſent out Officers to obſerve the Town, and ſuch Advantage of Ground, upon which he might raiſe a Battery, as if he meant inſtantly to aſſault it. All this while *Hotham* had been trying ſome of his Officers, and found 'em of a Temper not to be relied upon. His Son was grown apprehenſive of ſome Deſign, and the Parliament had order'd new Officers to throw themſelves into the Town, to aſſiſt in the Defence of it upon Occaſion. So that the Lord *Digby* upon his Return found the Governor in a great Damp, and perplex'd that he had proceeded ſo far; of which his Lordſhip immediately acquainted the King; and was not long after, together with Col. *Aſhburnham*, diſmiſs'd by *Hotham*, when he found it in vain to think any further of it; and as the Parliament grew immediately jealous of him for his concealing, and then releaſing thoſe Two Perſons, ſo was it the chief Cauſe for which they took his Head off afterwards.

The King, upon his Return to *York*, found that *Portſmouth* had declared for him, and refuſed to obey the Parliament, who had thereupon ſent Sir *William Waller*, with an Army under his Command to reduce it. Colonel *Goring* had been made Commander of the Place by the Parliament, with whom he was in great Reputation, after his Diſcovery relating to the Army, formerly mentioned; but by his Dexterity he perſwaded the King in a few Months to believe he was ſorry for the Fault, and would redeem it by any Service. After which he managed himſelf with ſo much Addreſs, that at one and the ſame time he receiv'd 3000 *l.* from the Queen, to fortifie the Garriſon againſt it ſhould be neceſſary to declare for the King, and a good Supply from the Parliament for the Payment of the Garriſon, that it might be kept firm to their Service. Some time after being ſent for up to the Parliament,

liament, upon an Information the Houſe had received againſt him by one of their own Members, he appeared in the Houſe with ſo much Undauntedneſs, and juſtified himſelf with ſo much Innocence and Unaffectedneſs, that the Parliament, not without ſome Apology for the Trouble they had given him, deſired him *to return to his Government, and take all neceſſary Care for the Safety of the Place*; conſenting to all he had propoſed in Behalf of the Gariſon, and paid a round Sum of Money for their Arrears; with which he repaired again to *Portſmouth*. In the mean time aſſuring His Majeſty by thoſe who were employed between them, *That in a ſhort time he would be in a Poſture to make any Declaration his Service ſhould require*; which he was obliged to do before he was prepared for it, tho' not ſooner than he had Reaſon to expect. 1642.

Now the Lord *Kimbolton* having received his Commiſſion for Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, *Goring* wrote to him, deſiring he might be excuſed from his Attendance upon the Army, till it was ready to march, becauſe he deſired to be preſent till many Things were perfected that were neceſſary for the Safety of that important Place. Whereupon that Lord prevail'd with the Earl of *Eſſex*, that he might not be ſent for till they were ready to enter upon Action; and when at laſt *Kimbolton*, after ſeveral Excuſes upon ſeveral Inſtances to come away, writ plainly to him, that he could no longer excuſe his Abſence from the Army, he writ to him frankly, telling him, *He was adviſed by his Council that it was dangerous to obey the Parliament; that he had received the Command of that Garriſon from the King, and durſt not abſent himſelf from it without his Leave*; concluding with ſome good Advice to his Lordſhip. The King's Affairs having received a conſiderable Reputation, in that ſo important a Place as *Portſmouth* had declared for him, he forthwith publiſhed a Declaration, in which he recited all the Inſolent, Rebellious Actions of the Two Houſes againſt him, forbidding all his Subjects to pay any Obedience to them: And at the ſame time publiſh'd his Proclamation, *Requiring all Men that could bear Arms to come to him at* Nottingham *on the* 24*th*

of

1642. *of* Auguſt *following, on which Day he intended to ſet up his Royal Standard there, which all his good Subjects were obliged to attend.* Many Men were of Opinion, that it had been more for His Majeſty's Service if he had ſet the Standard up at *York*; but the Inclination he had to be near *London*, and in Hopes of great Effects from *Portſmouth* and the *Weſt*, made him prefer *Nottingham*; but that which determined the Point, was the Averſion the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen had to His Majeſty's remaining in *York*; *which, they ſaid, the People fear'd would unavoidably make that Country the Seat of the War.* But thoſe very Men remember'd, when the Time of His Majeſty's Departure drew near, *That the Garriſon of* Hull *would be a Thorn in their Sides; that there were ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Intereſt in the Country diſaffected to His Majeſty's Service, and ſome Places and whole Corporations who only wanted Leaders to carry them into Rebellion: They therefore deſired His Majeſty to conſtitute the Earl of* Cumberland *ſupream Commander of the Country in all Military Affairs, and command Sir* John Glemham *to ſtay and govern thoſe Forces the Earl ſhould think neceſſary to raiſe for their Defence; in both which His Majeſty readily gratified them.*

The King being reſolved to ſecure the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, as Perſons diſaffected to his Cauſe, before he left *York*, was diſwaded from it by the Gentlemen of the Country, and arrived at *Nottingham* ſome time before the Day appointed for ſetting up the Standard, and hearing ſome Regiments of Foot were marching by the Earl of *Eſſex* his Orders towards *Coventry*, he made Haſte with ſome Troops of Horſe well armed to ſecure that City. He got thither the Day before them, but found the Gates ſhut againſt him, and ſome of his Servants ſhot and wounded from the Wall, and ſo he lay that Night at Sir *Thomas Lee*'s at *Stonely*, and the next Day his Body of Horſe retired before the Enemy's Foot, not above 1200 in number, with One Troop of Horſe, without giving 'em One Charge. This Retreat, which was imputed to the ill Conduct of *Wilmot* their Commander, made His Majeſty's Return to *Nottingham*

*ſingham* very melancholy; where the Standard was erected, according to the Proclamation, upon the 25th of *Auguſt*, about Six a Clock in the Evening of a very tempeſtuous Day. The King with a ſmall Retinue rode to the top of the Caſtle-Hill, the Standard being borne by *Varney* the Knight-Marſhal, who was Standard-Bearer. It was ſet up with little Ceremony, ſome Men obſerving many ill Omens about that time, and indeed a violent unruly Wind blew it down the ſame Night it had been erected, nor could it be reſtored in a Day or Two, till the Tempeſt was abated. 1642. The King's Standard erected at *Nottingham*.

The King upon ſetting up his Standard, as aforeſaid, found *Nottingham* much emptier than he thought the Fame of his Standard would have ſuffered it to be, and next Day had Intelligence, that the Rebels Army (for ſuch now he had thought fit to declare them) was Horſe, Foot and Cannon, at *Northampton*, whereas his own Cannon and Ammunition were ſtill at *York*; and beſides ſome Trained-Bands he had drawn together at *Nottingham*, he had not yet above 300 Foot levied for his Service; ſo that all the Strength he had hitherto to depend on conſiſted in his Horſe, under Prince *Rupert* at *Leiceſter*, which did not exceed above 800, whereas the Enemies Horſe were reputed double the Number, and much better armed, and their Foot amounted to 5000 Men, with which the Parliament might eaſily have cruſhed his ſmall Power in the beginning, but they ſeemed ſtill unwilling to come to Violence. At the ſame time he received an Account of *Portſmouth* being block'd up by Sea and Land by the Parliament's Power. King's Party in the North.

As for the other Parts of the Nation, I mean the Eaſt, Weſt and South, Sir *P. W.* ſays, That the Eaſt being an Angle of this Kingdom, and no thoroughfare into any other Parts, and all as it were empaled and ſhut up by *London*, their good affections were ſtifled; but like a ſmothering fire, it was now and anon blazing out, but ſoon extinguiſh'd. So as *Middleſex*, *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Suffolk*, were full of good Affections, but were kept, as freſh Paſtures for the Parliament: For they were properly and ſingly in their Quarters. And tho' the King could no way receive the East.

1642. the Benefit of their good Affections; yet he had divers of the chief Gentry with him. And of their Inclinations their Maſters (the Two Houſes) ſo doubted, that, tho' they ſhould have eaſed them in their Taxes, as moſt properly belonging to themſelves, more than any other Parts, yet knowing how little they were voluntarily obliged to them, they laid that Load upon them, that unto this Day they feel the Inequality of; and hereof they never eaſed them, even when the whole Kingdom came to be their Quarters. Which could ariſe from no other reaſon, but becauſe in the Generality they affected not their Cauſe. But thus kept, they were a Magazine of Men, Proviſions, and Money, through the whole Conteſt.

Weſt. For the Sea-coaſts of the Weſt, the great trading Towns of *Briſtol*, *Lyme*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, and *Exeter* the King's Navy being now under the Command of the Two Houſes, their Intereſt as well as their Inclinations made them Parliamentarian. Only the *Corniſh* Men (as old bold *Britains*) were eminently Loyal and Royaliſts, tho' they had ſtrong Temptations to the contrary. The Inland Towns and Cities in the Weſt were moſt for the King: The moſt eminent Noblemen and Gentry thro' the Country were firmly loyal to their Prince; and the Intereſt of thoſe eminent Members of the Parliament, ſuch as *Greenvill*, *Slanning*, *Hopton*, *Stowel*, *Strangeways*, *Rogers*, *Windham*, &c. and many more joining themſelves to the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, found ſuch a Diſpoſition in the Generality of the Commons, that when they appeared as Heads for them to reſort unto, thoſe Countries (tho' not the great Towns) ſeemed much more the King's, than the Two Houſes or Rebels Part.

South. The South bordered ſo much upon *London*, that like the Eaſt, they were not much at their own Liberty; but it may with Modeſty be averred, that if the Awe from them could have been removed, and the Freedom given them of Three Months ranging themſelves either under a Commander for the King, or in *Eſſex*'s Army, the King would have appeared the Governor of the Land; tho' the Two Houſes were with their Admiral *Warwick*,

*wick*, the Neptunes of the Sea, and the Trade of it, which the Crown might thank the Earl of *Northumberland* for; who having had the greateſt Truſt and Honour imaginable put into his Hands, he thought it no Irreligion, rather to deliver into the Hands of the Enemies of the King, than into the Hands of the King himſelf, who directed him to deliver up the Navy unto Sir *John Pennington*. 1642.

But Things not ſucceeding in the Weſt according to the Expectations of the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, who took upon him to be the chief Manager of the King's Affairs in thoſe Parts, and could get but an inconſiderable Force together; and the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Parliament's Horſe, being now upon the March againſt him with Eight Troops of Horſe, and a Body of 7000 Foot, ordered by *Charles Eſſex*, Serjeant-Major General, a Soldier of good Reputation and Experience in the *Low-Countries*; ſome of the Lords about the King deſired he would ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, with ſome Overture for a Treaty, at which he was ſo offended, that he declared he would never yield to it, and haſtily broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged; but they reviving the ſame Advice next Day with more Earneſtneſs, the Earl of *Southampton*, a Perſon of great Prudence and Reputation, preſſed it as a Thing that might do Good, and cou'd do no Harm: After many Reaſons, Pro and Con, the King at length yielded to the almoſt Concurrent Deſire and Importunity of his Council, and was prevailed with to ſend the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *William Udal*, with this Meſſage to the Two Houſes.

The King ſends to the Two Houſes a Meſſage for Peace by the Earl of *Southampton*, Aug. 25.

*That he had, with unſpeakable Grief of Heart, long beheld the Diſtractions of this his Kingdom. That his very Soul was full of Anguiſh, until he might find ſome Remedy to prevent the Miſeries which were ready to overwhelm the whole Nation by a Civil War. And tho' all his Endeavours tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy Differences between him and his Two Houſes of Parliament, (tho' purſued by him with all Zeal and Sincerity) had been hitherto without that Succeſs he hoped for; yet ſuch was his conſtant and earneſt Care to*

1642. *preſerve the private Peace, that he would not be diſcouraged from uſing any Expedient, which by the Bleſſing of the God of Mercy might lay a firm Foundation of Peace and Happineſs to all good Subjects. To this end, obſerving that many Miſtakes had ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers betwixt him and his Two Houſes of Parliament, which happily might be prevented by ſome other Way of Treaty, wherein the Matters in Difference might be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted: He had thought fit to propound to them, that ſome fit Perſons might be by them enabled to treat with the like Number to be authorized by him, in ſuch a Manner, and with ſuch a Freedom of Debate, as might beſt tend to that happy Concluſion which all good Men deſired, the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as he promiſed, in the Word of a King, all Safety and Encouragement to ſuch as ſhould be ſent unto him, if they would choſe the Place where he was, for the Treaty, which he wholly left to them, preſuming the like Care of the Safety of thoſe he ſhould employ, if they ſhould name another Place. So he aſſured them and all his good Subjects, that, to the beſt of his Underſtanding, nothing ſhould be therein wanting on his Part, which might advance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which was built as well his juſt Prerogative, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render him and his truly happy by a good Underſtanding betwixt him and his Two Houſes of Parliament. That they ſhould bring with them as firm Reſolutions, and that all his good People would join with him in his Prayers to Almighty God, for his Bleſſing upon this Work. That if this Propoſition ſhould be rejected by them, he had done his Duty ſo amply, that God would abſolve him from the Guilt of any of that Blood, which might be ſpilt; and what Opinion ſoever others might have of his Power, he aſſured them nothing but his Chriſtian and Pious Care to prevent the Effuſion of Blood had begot this Motion; his Proviſion of Men, Arms and Money, being ſuch as might ſecure him from farther Violence, till it pleaſed the Lord to open the Eyes of his good People.*

It muſt be owned that the Meſſengers were not re-

ceived with that Reſpect their Quality and the Nature of the Thing they came about did require; for the Earl of *Southampton* going into the Houſe of Peers, was ſcarce ſate down in his Place, when he was called upon in a great Heat to withdraw, and the Gentleman-Uſher of the Houſe was thereupon ſent to him to require his Meſſage; but his Lordſhip alledging, he was by the King's Command to deliver it himſelf, and refuſing to ſend it, unleſs the Lords made an Order he ſhould not deliver it himſelf; which they did. They had no ſooner received it, but they ſent him Word, *That he ſhould at his Peril immediately depart the Town; and that they would take Care their Anſwer to the Meſſage ſhould be ſent him.* Sir *John Colepepper* being ſerv'd much after the ſame manner by the Commons, of whoſe Houſe he was a Member, the Two Houſes met at a Conference, and within Two Days agreed upon their Anſwer to this Purpoſe. 1642.

The Parliament's Anſwer.

*That they having received His Majeſties Meſſage of the 25th of* Auguſt, *did with much Grief reſent the dangerous and diſtracted State of this Kingdom; which they had by all Means endeavoured to prevent, both by their ſeveral Advices and Petitions to His Majeſty; which had not been not only without Succeſs, but there had followed that which no ill Council in former Times produced, or any Age had ſeen, namely, thoſe ſeveral Proclamations and Declarations againſt both the Houſes of Parliament; whereby their Actions were declared Treaſonable, and their Perſons Traitors. And thereupon His Majeſty had ſet up his Standard againſt them, whereby he had put the Two Houſes of Parliament, and in them this whole Kingdom, out of his Protection, ſo that until His Majeſty ſhould recal thoſe Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of* Eſſex, *and both Houſes of Parliament, and their Adherents, and Aſſiſtants, and ſuch as have obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their Duties, were declared Traitors, or otherwiſe Delinquents; and until the Standard, ſet up in Purſuance of the ſaid Proclamation, were taken down: His Majeſty had put them into ſuch a Condition, that whilſt they ſo remained, they could not, by the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, the publick Truſt repoſed in them, or*

1642. *with the general Good and Safety of the Kingdom, give His Majesty any other Answer to his Message.*

But tho' this Answer did not at all satisfie the King and his Party, yet those about him conceiving it would indeed be more to his Advantage to make all imaginable Haste to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament House before they had any Expectation of him, they ceased not to press him to it; tho' all in vain; however, he agreed so far, as to send another Message to them, within Three Days after the Return of his Messengers, by the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a Reply to their Answer in these Words.

*That he would not repeat, what Means he had used to prevent the dangerous and distracted Estate of the Kingdom, nor how those Means had been interpreted, being desirous to avoid the Effusion of Blood, he was willing to decline all Memory of former Bitterness, that might render his Offer of a Treaty less readily accepted. He never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both his Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set up his Standard against them; and much less to put them and this Kingdom out of his Protection, he utterly professed against it before God and the World; and further, to remove all possible Scruples, which might hinder the Treaty, so much desired by him, he thereby promised, so that a Day were appointed by them for revoking their Declarations against all Persons as Traitors or otherwise, for assisting him; he would with all Chearfulness, upon the same Day, recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard. In which Treaty he would be ready to grant any thing that should be really for the Good of his Subjects: Conjuring them to consider the bleeding Condition of* Ireland, *and the dangerous Condition of* England, *in as high a Degree, as by those his Offers he had declared so do. And assuring them, that his chief Desire in this World was to beget a good Understanding, and mutual Confidence between him and his Two Houses of Parliament.*

The Parliament having in the Interim sent their Principal Officers down to *Northampton*, to put the Army in a Readiness to march, and the Earl of *Essex* himself being required to make haste thither; however, when the Lord *Falkland* brought this Mes-

Meſſage, they preſently took it into Conſideration, and within Two Days ſent their humble Anſwer and Petition by him to the King, importing. 1642.

Their Anſwer.

*That if they ſhould repeat all the Ways they had taken, the Endeavours they had uſed, and the Expreſſions they had made unto His Majeſty, to prevent thoſe Diſtractions and Dangers His Majeſty ſpoke of, they ſhould too much enlarge their Reply. Therefore, as they humbly, ſo would they only let His Majeſty know, that they could not recede from their former Anſwer, for the Reaſons therein expreſſed. For that His Majeſty had not taken down his Standard, recalled his Proclamations and Declarations, whereby he had declared the Motions of both Houſes to be Treaſonable, and their Perſons Traitors; and had publiſhed the ſame ſince his Meſſage of the 25th of* Auguſt, *by his late Inſtructions ſent to his Commiſſioners of Array. Which Standard being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclamations and Inſtructions recalled, if His Majeſty ſhould then, upon their Humble Petition, leaving his Forces, return unto his Parliament, and receive their faithful Advice, His Majeſty ſhould find ſuch Expreſſions of their Fidelity, and Duty, as would aſſure him, that his Safety, Honour and Greatneſs could only be found in the Affections of his People, and the ſincere Counſels of his Parliament; whoſe conſtant and undiſcouraged Endeavours and Conſultations had paſſed through Difficulties unheard of, only to ſecure his Kingdoms from the violent Miſchiefs and Dangers then ready to fall upon them, and every Part of them; who deſerved better of His Majeſty, and could never allow themſelves (likewiſe repreſenting his whole Kingdom) to be ballanced with thoſe Perſons, whoſe deſperate Counſels and Diſpoſitions prevailed ſtill to interrupt all their Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding* Ireland; *as they might fear all their Labours and vaſt Expences would be fruitleſs to that diſtreſſed Kingdom. As his Preſence was thus humbly deſired by them, ſo it was their Hopes His Majeſty would in his Reaſon believe there was no other Way than this to make His Majeſty happy, and the Kingdom ſafe.*

The King was all this while arming as well as he could in divers Part of the Kingdom, which the Two Houſes were not unaware of; and therefore foreſeeing the Conſequence, and that this Overture of

1642. a Treaty might diſhearten their Party in their Preparations and Contributions to the War, the ſame Day that they ſent this laſt Anſwer to the King, they publiſhed the following Declaration to the Kingdom.

The Two Houſes Declaration of the Kingdom.

*Whereas His Majeſty, in a Meſſage received the 5th of* September, *requires that the Parliament ſhould revoke their Declarations againſt ſuch Perſons as have aſſiſted His Majeſty in this unnatural War againſt his Kingdom; it is this Day ordered and declared by the Lords and Commons, that the Arms which they have been forced to take up, and ſhall be forced to take up, for the Preſervation of the Parliament, Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, ſhall not be laid down, until His Majeſty ſhall withdraw his Protection from ſuch Perſons as have been voted by both Houſes to be Delinquents, and ſhall leave them to the Juſtice of the Parliament to be proceeded according to their Demerit; to the end that both this and ſucceeding Generations may take Warning, with what Danger they incur the like heinous Crimes: And alſo to the end that thoſe great Charges and Damages, wherewith all the Commonwealth hath been burthened in the Premiſes, ſince His Majeſty's Departure from the Parliament, may be born by the Delinquents, and other malignant and diſaffected Perſons; and that all His Majeſty's good and well-affected Subjects, who, by Loans of Monies, or otherwiſe at their Charge, have aſſiſted the Commonwealth, or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the Commonwealth in time of extream Danger may be repaid all Sums of Money lent by them for thoſe Purpoſes, and be ſatisfied their Charges ſo ſuſtained, out of the Eſtates of the ſaid Delinquents, and of the malignant and diſaffected Party in this Kingdom.*

This Declaration of the Parliament was eſteemed by ſome, who wiſhed their Cauſe well, to be too forward a Pace in them; for it certainly contributed to advance the King's Affairs; ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality beginning now to believe they had no Safety, but in the Support of the Royal Power, ſince their Eſtates ſeemed to be already diſpoſed of by them, who would declare whom they would Delinquents; ſo that Levies of Men for the King, and all other Preparations for the War now incre-

incredibly advanced: His Cannon and Ammunition was come from *York*; however *Nottingham* ſeeming not a good Poſt for His Majeſty's longer ſtay there, now *Eſſex* with his whole Army was at *Northampton*, he marched to *Derby*, reſolving from thence to go to *Shrewsbury* or *Cheſter*, and to ſit down near the Borders of *Wales*, where the Power of the Parliament had been leaſt prevalent, and where ſome Regiments of Foot were levying for his Service; but before he left *Nottingham*, he ſent this Meſſage to the Houſes. 1642.

Another Meſſage from the King to the Two Houſes, in Reply to their Anſwer.

*Who have taken moſt Ways, uſed moſt Expreſſions, to prevent the preſent Diſtractions and Dangers: Let all the World judge, as well by former Paſſages, as by our Two laſt Meſſages, which have been ſo fruitleſs, that, tho' we have deſcended to deſire and preſs it, not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained; unleſs we would denude our ſelves of all Force to defend us from a viſible Strength marching againſt us, and admit thoſe Perſons as Traitors to us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in Defence of us their King and Liege Lord (whom we are bound in Conſcience and Honour to preſerve) tho' we diſclaim all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the erecting of our Standard, as againſt our Parliament. All we have now left in our Power is to expreſs the deep Senſe we have of the Publick Miſery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our diſtreſſed Proteſtants in* Ireland; *and to apply our ſelf to our neceſſary Defence, wherein we wholly relye upon the Providence of God, the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and the Affection of our good People; ſo far we are from putting them out of our Protection. When you ſhall deſire a Treaty of us, we ſhall pioufly remember whoſe Blood is to be ſpilt in this Quarrel, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other Reaſon induced us to leave our City of* London, *but that, with Honour and Safety we could not ſtay there; nor to raiſe any Force, but for the neceſſary Defence of our Perſon and the Law, againſt Levies in Oppoſition to both; ſo we ſhall ſuddenly and moſt willingly return to the one, and diſpand the other, as ſoon as thoſe Cauſes ſhall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in*

1642. *Mercy divert thoſe Judgments which hang over this Nation; and ſo deal with us and our Poſterity, as we deſire the Preſervation and Advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Law and Liberty of the Subject, the juſt Rights of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Things were now exaſperated more and more, however the Parliament on the 16th ſent an Anſwer to this His Majeſty's Meſſage; wherein they told him, *They could not think His Majeſty had done all that lay in his Power to prevent and remove the Nations Diſtractions, as long as his Soldiers, in Preſence, and by Authority of their Commanders (whom he ſaid he held himſelf bound in Honour and Conſcience to protect, as Perſons doing their Duties) ſo ſorely oppreſſed his good Subjects, even at a Time when His Majeſty propounded a Treaty; or as long as His Majeſty would admit of no Peace, without ſecuring the Authors of thoſe Miſchiefs from Parliamentary Juſtice; which they ſaid ſhould be diſpenced with all requiſite Moderation, and Diſtinction of Offences, tho' ſome of them were ſuch, in whoſe Preſervation the Kingdom could not be ſafe, nor the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament be maintained: They beſought him to conſider his Expreſſion, That God ſhould deal with him and his Poſterity, as he deſired the Preſervation of the juſt Rights of Parliaments; which being undeniable of ſuch as they had declared Delinquents, they believed His Majeſty both towards himſelf and Parliament, would not in that Priviledge they were moſt ſenſible of, deny them that which belonged to the meaneſt Court of Juſtice in the Kingdom. They told him he had no Cauſe to complain he was denied a Treaty, when they had offered all that a Treaty could produce, and His Majeſty expect, Security, Honour, &c. and ſought nothing but that Religion, Liberty, &c. might be ſecured from Violence, and the Practice of a wicked Party, who had long plotted their Ruin and Deſtruction. They ſaid, If there was any Cauſe of Treaty, they knew no competent Perſons to treat betwixt him and them; and if both Cauſe and Perſons were ſuch as to invite a Treaty, the Reaſon was altogether unfit, whilſt his Standard was up, his Proclamations unrecalled, whereby his Parliament was charged with Treaſon. They ſaid, if His Majeſty ſhould defend thoſe Perſons,*

The Subſtance of the Two Houſes Anſwer, adviſing His Majeſty to return to His Parliament, 16th

*ſons, and reject their Advice, they doubted not but it would appear to indifferent Perſons, who was moſt tender of the innocent Blood which was like to be ſpilled in the Cauſe, His Majeſty; who by perſiſting did endanger himſelf and his Kingdoms, or they who were willing to hazard themſelves to preſerve both. They humbly beſought His Majeſty to conſider how impoſſible it was, that any Proteſtations, tho' in his Name, of his Tenderneſs of the Miſeries of his Proteſtant Subjects in* Ireland, *or his Reſolution to maintain the Religion and Laws of this Kingdom, could give Satisfaction to indifferent and reaſonable Men, when at the ſame time divers of the* Iriſh *Traitors and Rebels, the known Favourers of them, and Agents for them, were admitted to his Preſence with Grace and Favour, and ſome of them imployed in his Service, when the Munition and other Neceſſaries provided, and ſent by them to ſupply the Army againſt the Rebels there, were violently taken away by his Command, and his Miniſters, and made uſe of in an unnatural War againſt his People here. They told him, as they had never given His Majeſty any juſt Cauſe to withdraw himſelf from them, ſo it had ever been, and ſhould be far from them to impede his Return, or neglect any proper Means to cure the real Diſtractions, and to make up the Breach betwixt him and them; that if he pleaſed to return to his Parliament, without his Forces, they ſhould be ready to ſecure his Perſon, Dignity, &c. with their Lives and Fortunes, his Preſence with them being the only Means of any Treaty between them, with Hope of Succeſs: And in none of their Deſires to His Majeſty would be ſwayed by any particular Man's Advantage, but would give a clear Teſtimony to His Majeſty and the World, that in all things, they faithfully intended his Majeſty's Good and his Kingdoms, and would be diverted from this End by no Private or Self-intereſt.* 1642.

Nothing being able to work upon His Majeſty to return to his Parliament, he by the Way of *Derby* marched towards *Shrewsbury*; and being come to *Welling*, one Days March ſhort of that Town, he rendevouz'd his Army, cauſed his Military Orders for the Diſcipline and Government of them to be read at the Head of each Regiment; and then putting himſelf in the middle, where he might be beſt heard, he made the following Speech to his Soldiers.

Gen-

1642.

King's Speech and Proteſtation at the Head of his Army, after the reading his Orders of War.

Gentlemen,

*YOU have heard thoſe Orders read; it is your Part in your ſeveral Places to obſerve them exactly; the Time cannot be long before we come to Action, therefore you have the more Reaſon to be careful; and I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in puniſhing of thoſe, of what Condition ſoever, who tranſgreſs theſe Inſtructions. I cannot ſuſpect your Courage and Reſolution your Conſcience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land. You ſhall meet with no Enemies but Traitors, moſt of them* Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, *and* Atheiſts; *ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to Ruin for being loyal to us. That you may ſee what uſe I mean to make of your Valour, if it pleaſe God to bleſs it with Succeſs, I have thought fit to publiſh to you my Reſolution in a Proteſtation; which, when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel; in which I promiſe to live and die with you.*

I Do promiſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will to the utmoſt of my Power, Defend and Maintain the True Reformed Proteſtant Religion, Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; and by the Grace of God, in the ſame will Live and Die. I deſire to Govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and the Property of the Subjects may be by them preſerved with the ſame Care as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God by his Bleſſing upon this Army, raiſed for my neceſſary Defence, to preſerve me from this Rebellion, I do Solemnly and Faithfully promiſe, in the Sight of God, to Maintain the Juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and to Govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmoſt Power; and particularly, to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great Neceſſity and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors of this War, and not to me; who have ſo car-

earneſtly laboured for the Peace of this Kingdom. When I willingly fail in theſe Particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven. But in this Reſolution I hope for the chearful Aſſiſtances of all good Men, and am confident of God's Bleſſing. 1642.

The Two Houſes Inſtruction to their General.

We ſhould on the other Hand have taken Notice a little ſooner, that before the Earl of *Eſſex* the Parliament's General left *London*, in order to go and head their Army at *Northampton*, he received Directions to this Purpoſe from his Maſters, concerning the Regiment of them.

They required him to keep a moſt ſtrict and ſevere Diſcipline, to march with ſuch Forces as he thought fit towards the Army raiſed, in His Majeſty's Name, againſt the Parliament and the Kingdom; and with them, or any Part of them, to fight at ſuch Time and Place as he ſhould judge moſt to conduce to the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavour by Battle or otherwiſe, to reſcue His Majeſty's Perſon, and the Perſons of the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, out of the Hands of thoſe deſperate Perſons, who were then about them. They directed him to take an Opportunity, in ſome Safe and Honourable Way, to cauſe the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament, then ſent to him, to be preſented to His Majeſty; and if His Majeſty ſhould thereupon pleaſe to withdraw himſelf from the Forces then about him, and to reſort to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſhould ſerve and defend His Majeſty with a ſufficient Strength in his Return. They required his Lordſhip to Publiſh and Declare, That if any who had been ſo ſeduced by the falſe Aſperſions caſt upon the Proceedings of the Parliament, as to aſſiſt the King in acting thoſe dangerous Counſels, ſhould willingly, within Ten Days after ſuch Publication in the Army, return to their Duty, not doing any hoſtile Act within the Time limited, and join themſelves with the Parliament, with their Perſons and Eſtates, as the Members of both Houſes, and the reſt of the Kingdom had done, that the Lords and Commons would be ready, upon their Submiſſion, to receive ſuch

1642. ſuch Perſons in ſuch a manner, as they ſhould have Cauſe to acknowledge they had been uſed with Clemency and Favour, provided that that Favour ſhould not extend to admit any Man to either Houſe of Parliament, who ſtood ſuſpended, without giving Satisfaction to the Houſe whereof he ſhould be a Member; and except all Perſons who ſtood impeached, or particularly voted againſt in either Houſe of Parliament for any Delinquency whatſoever; excepting likewiſe ſuch Adherents of thoſe who ſtood impeached in Parliament of Treaſon, as had been eminent Perſons, and chief Actors is thoſe Treaſons.

At the ſame time that the Earl received theſe Directions from the Parliament, they likewiſe gave him a Petition, to be delivered to His Majeſty, containing in Subſtance, *That they could not, without Grief and Tenderneſs of Compaſſion, behold the preſſing Miſeries, the imminent Dangers, and the devouring Calamities, which extreamly threatned, and had partly ſeized upon both* England *and* Ireland, *by the Practices of a prevailing Party with him; who by many wicked Plots and Conſpiracies, had attempted the Alteration of the true Religion, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and the introducing of Popiſh Idolatry in the Church, and Tyranny and Confuſion in the State; and, for the compaſſing thereof, had long corrupted his Counſels, abuſed his Power, and by ſudden and untimely diſſolving of former Parliaments, had often hindred the Reformation, and Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs; and being now diſabled to avoid the Endeavours of this Parliament, by any ſuch Means, had traiterouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by Force; and, in Proſecution of their wicked Deſigns, had excited, encouraged and foſtered an unnatural Rebellion in* Ireland; *by which, in a moſt cruel and outrageous manner, many Thouſands of his Subjects there had been deſtroyed; and by falſe Slanders upon the Parliament, and malicious and unjuſt Accuſations, had endeavoured to begin the like Maſſacre here; and being through God's Bleſſing therein diſappointed, had, as the moſt miſchievous and bloody Deſign of all, drawn His Majeſty to make War againſt his Parliament, and good Subjects of his Kingdom, leading in his Perſon an Army againſt them,*

The Petition of both Houſes to the King, ſent to the General to be preſented, but never delivered, *Sept.* 16.

them, as if he intended, by Conſent, to eſtabliſh an abſolute and unlimited Power over them; and by his Power, and the Countenance of his Preſence, had ranſack'd, ſpoiled, impriſoned and murdered divers of his People; and for their better Aſſiſtance in their wicked Deſigns, did ſeek to bring over the Rebels of Ireland, and other Forces beyond the Seas, to join with them. 1642.

And they, finding themſelves utterly deprived of His Majeſties Protection, and the Authors of theſe Miſchiefs in greateſt Power and Favour with him, and defended by him againſt Juſtice, and Authority of Parliament; whereby they are grown to that Heighth and Inſolence, as to manifeſt their Rage and Malice againſt thoſe of the Nobility, and others, who were any thing inclinable to Peace, not without great Appearance of Dangers to his Perſon, if he ſhould not in all Things concur with their wicked and traiterous Courſes; had for the juſt and neceſſary Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, of his Perſon, Crown and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Privileges and Power of Parliament, taken up Arms, and appointed and authorized Robert Earl of Eſſex to be Captain-General of all the Forces by them raiſed, and to lead and conduct the ſame againſt thoſe Rebels, and them to ſubdue, and bring to condign Puniſhment, and did moſt humbly beſeech His Majeſty to withdraw his Royal Preſence and Countenance from them; and, if they ſhould ſtand out in Defence of their Rebellious Attempts, that His Majeſty would leave them to be ſuppreſſed by that Power, which they had ſent againſt them; and that His Majeſty would not mix his own Dangers with them, but in Peace and Safety, without his Forces, forthwith return to his Parliament, and by their Counſel, compoſe the preſent Diſtempers abounding in both Kingdoms; and provide for the Security and Honour of himſelf and Royal Poſterity, and the proſperous Eſtate of all his Subjects; wherein if His Majeſty pleaſed to ſubmit to their moſt humble and earneſt Deſires; they did, in the Preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, they would receive His Majeſty with all Honour, yield him all due Obedience and Subjection, and faithfully endeavour to ſecure his Perſon and Eſtate from all Dangers; and, to the uttermoſt of their Power, to procure and eſtabliſh to him-

1642. *himſelf, and to his People, all the Bleſſings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* ſent to the King for a ſafe Conduct for ſome Perſons to preſent this Petition, but His Majeſty abſolutely refuſed to receive it; however he was mortified before this with the Surrender of *Portſmouth* to the Parliament by Colonel *Goring* the Governor, whom the Cavaliers very much ſuſpected guilty of Treachery; the News whereof made the Marqueſs of *Hertford* with his ſmall Army quit the *Weſt*, and tranſport himſelf with Difficulty enough into *Glamorganſhire*. Poor *Ireland* all this while lay weltring in its own Blood; a better Idea of which we cannot at preſent have, than by giving you the Subſtance of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland* upon that Head. His Lordſhip ſaid, *That he had Three ſeveral Times given an Account of his Stay at Court by Letters to the Commiſſioners of the* Iriſh *Affairs, ſince his Departure from* London, *and alſo to ſome particular Friends, in Hopes the Truth might be known, and himſelf rightly underſtood: Yet leſt thoſe Letters might have miſcarried, and himſelf incur the Parliament's Cenſure for Neglect in that Service: He would briefly and truly relate his Behaviour therein. That he told the King at* York *he was come to receive His Majeſty's Commands in the* Iriſh *Employment, and humbly beſought him, he might not be ſtayed, becauſe the Parliament deſired, and his Service required his ſpeedy Repair thither. The King ſaid he would think of it, but his Lordſhip confeſſed, he did not find His Majeſty ſo ready to diſpatch him as he expected. He ſaid, from that Time he did not fail (as often as he had Opportunity) to beſeech and petition His Majeſty to expedite his Departure, or declare his Intencion not to let him go at all. That, upon the King's promiſing his Inſtructions ſhould be ſpeedily drawn up by Mr. Secretary* Nicholas, *he had ſtaid Three Weeks, till the King came from* York *to* Nottingham. *That he had attended ever ſince, perpetually beſeeching to be diſpatch'd to his Imployment, or (if His Majeſty diſtruſted him) he might have leave to retire to his Houſe, that he might be no Burthen to his Thoughts; for he conceived himſelf to be under the Cenſure of both Parliament and People, poſſibly thinking it his Fault to be ſo long abſent from*

The Letter from the Earl of *Leiceſter* to *Northumberland* about *Ireland.*

*from his undertaken Charge. He ſaid, he was a Ser-* 1642.
*vant, and conſequently could not do as he pleaſed, therefore he hoped it would be believed he was not to blame. He deſired leave to vindicate himſelf in another Particular, wherein he might be blamed (tho' as innocent as a new-born Child) by them that knew not what had paſſed; nay, he ſaid he had oppoſed it with all his Power. That the King being informed at* York, *there were ſome Draught Horſes provided for* Ireland, *ſaid he muſt have them for his own uſe, and that he beſought him not take them from his Service in* Ireland, *for which they were bought, and to be imployed, and made uſe of others to perſwade His Majeſty alſo from it; that he heard no more of it till he came to* Nottingham. *Then His Majeſty told him he muſt have them, and would have him ſend for them; that he repreſented to His Majeſty the Inconſiderableneſs of thoſe Horſes; that the Parliament might take it very ill, they being bought with their Money for the uſe of* Ireland; *and therefore beſought him not to take them, or howſoever, not to make him an Inſtrument in it, becauſe he being intruſted by the Parliament, could neither do it himſelf, nor conſent to any other, it being a Breach of Truſt, and he conceived would be a great Diſſervice to His Majeſty. That notwithſtanding this, he had been ſent to ſeveral Times by the King to the ſame Purpoſe, but had returned the ſame Anſwer. Adding this, that he could not do it, and be an honeſt Man to his Service; tho' it were true, he promiſed to reſtore the Horſes, or pay for them. That the King for all that gave a Warrant to one* Errington, *a Servant of his, to fetch the Horſes. That* Errington *telling him of it, he had forbidden him; adding, If he did, he muſt not expect to have any thing to do with him any more; and further, that the Parliament would hang him for ſtealing their Horſes. That his Secretary would juſtifie this, and more he had ſaid to him. And that conceiving it unjuſt in it ſelf, diſpleaſing to the Parliament, and hurtful to the King, he had proteſted againſt it. That* Errington *ſaid, the King had commanded him, upon his Allegiance, to execute the Warrant, but that he told him he did not believe it, but that it ſeemed he was deceived; for* Errington *was gone, unknown to him, from* Nottingham *to* Cheſter; *that he had not ſeen nor heard from him ſince; nor knew what he had done;*

1642. *done; but that he had ſent Orders to ſhip off the Horſes preſently, and had writ to Mr.* Hawkin *to take Care that no Body ſhould receive any Money of Mr.* Loftus, *or his Deputy, to provide the reſt of the Horſes. For there had been but* 1600 *Pounds iſſued out yet to buy* 200 *of the* 600 *Horſes allowed by the Parliament, and that he would do the beſt he could to give a good Account thereof to the Parliament.*

Rencounter at *Powick-Bridge*, near *Worceſter*, *Sept.* 22.

In the mean time the Earl of *Eſſex* moved with his Army from *Northampton*, and marched towards *Worceſter*, of which the King no ſooner had Notice, but he ſent Prince *Rupert* with the greateſt Part of the Horſe, on the other ſide of the *Severn*, to ſecure that Place, near unto which he had a Rencounter with a Body of the Parliament's Cavalry; of which he tranſmitted this Account to the King.

Prince *Rupert*'s Letter to the King, *Sept.* 24.

SIR,

*THE Bearer hereof will, with all the Circumſtances, tell Your Majeſty our Proceedings at* Worceſter, *I ſhall only ſay this, that upon Your Majeſty's Commands to ſuccour the Town, we went thither with our Forces, and found the Rebels on both Sides of it; no Ammunition, nor any thing fitting to entertain ſo great a Force as the Lord of* Eſſex *would have brought that Night, but all Things in ſo great a Diſorder, that certainly we had all been loſt, had we not by a great Chance met with* 10 *Troops of their Horſe, and* 5 *of Dragoons, which we did entirely rout, and killed moſt of their chiefeſt Officers. The Manner and Names I leave the Bearer to tell you. Your Majeſty will pleaſe to accept this as a beginning of your Officers, and my Duty, and I doubt not, as (certainly) they behaved themſelves bravely and gallantly, that Your Majeſty ſhall find the ſame Behaviour againſt a more conſiderable Number. Of this Your Majeſty may be very confident, as alſo of the Endeavours of*

Rupert.

My Lord *C*——, ſays, that they thought to ſurprize the Prince, who charged them as ſoon as they were come out of the Lane they were in; and being ſeconded by the handful of good Men he had, tho' the Parliamentarians were gallantly led on by Colonel *Sandys*,

*Sandys*, and ſtood well, yet in a ſhort time many of their beſt Men being killed, and the Colonel himſelf falling with his Hurts, they fled, and were purſued above a Mile; there were indeed about 40 or 50 ſlain in all of them, Colonel *Sandys* died ſhortly after of his Wounds, and Captain *Wingate*, who fought ſtoutly, and Two or Three *Scotch* Officers were taken Priſoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was loſt, Commiſſary-General *Wilmot* was wounded with a Sword in his Side, Sir *Lewis Dives* in the Shoulder, and Two or Three other Officers of inferiour Note. The Parliament ſaid their Party being overpowered, were put to a diſorderly Retreat; however it were, this Action, tho' in it ſelf but inconſiderable, gave ſome Reputation to the King's Affairs, who in his Progreſs through ſome of the Counties of *North Wales*, encouraged the People to eſpouſe his Cauſe, and delivered himſelf to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintſhire* to this Purpoſe. *That he took all Occaſions to viſit all his good Subjects, in which Number he had Cauſe to reckon them; and having lately had a good Expreſſion of their Loyalty and Affections to him by theſe Levies, which at their own Charge had been ſent him from their Parts, (which he would always remember to their Advantage) he would let them know how he had been dealt with by a malignant Party in the Kingdom, whoſe Deſigns were no leſs than to deſtroy his Perſon, Crown, and preſent Government of both Church and State. The Leaders of theſe Men, by Subtilty, had ſo prevailed upon the meaner ſort of People about* London, *that they had excited them, often into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby chaſed himſelf from thence, and moſt of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, their Power and ſecret Plots had had ſuch Influence upon the ſmall remaining Part of both Houſes, that under Colour of Order and Ordinances made without the Royal Aſſent (a thing never heard of before that Parliament) he was robbed of his Towns, Forts, &c. his Navy forcibly taken from him, and uſed againſt him, all his Revenue ſtopt and ſeized upon, and at that time a powerful Army was marching againſt him. He wiſhed this were all; they had yet further laboured to alienate the Affections of his good Subjects; they had moſt injuriouſly vented*

1642.

The Subſtance of the King's Speech to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* & *Flintſhire*, *Sept.* 27.

1642. *many false Reproaches against his Person and Government; they had aspersed him with notorious, false Scandals; in particular, concerning the horrid* Irish *Rebellion. He owned his recalling the Two Ships appointed to guard the Seas; but that he had commanded Four as good Ships to attend that Service in their Stead, which the Parliament refused to admit of. He charged them with imploying them* 40 *Ships of his, set out at the Charge of both Kingdoms to rob him and his Subjects, and to maintain the Town of* Hull *against him; and told them, That by the Absence of those Ships from the* Irish *Seas, the Rebels had furnished themselves with Arms (to which he said might justly be imputed the Calamities then overwhelming that poor Kingdom). That they cried out upon a few Suits of Cloaths appointed (as they said) for* Ireland, *taken by his Forces, but that they concealed they were taken entring into* Coventry, *(then in Rebellion against him) which he had Reason to believe would have been disposed of among their Soldiers in Arms against him. That they talked of a few Horses made use of by him (concealing that they were certified to be useless for* Ireland) *when themselves had seized* 100000 l. *particularly appointed by an Act of Parliament for its Relief, (his Army being ready to starve there for Want of it) and employ'd it (together with a Part of* 400000 l. *they had received) to maintain an unnatural War at home. Neither had they used their Fellow-Subjects better than him. That they trampled upon the Law (being Men's Birthright) and governed by Arbitrary Votes and Orders; that such as would not submit to their Orders were imprisoned, &c. That such as would not pay those Exactions towards this Rebellion were threatned to be put out of their Protection; that such as remembred their Duty to him were declared Traitors; that such as desired to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as established by Law, were traduced, called Popish and Superstitious; but that* Brownists *and* Anabaptists, *and publick Depravers of the Liturgy, were encouraged. That they exacted Tunnage and Poundage, and other great Duties, upon Merchandizes, against an Act, past that Parliament, which put all into a Premunire, that should presume so to do. He told them, that if they desired to know these wicked Contrivers, they should find their Names and their Actions at large in his*

*his Declaration of the* 12*th of* Auguſt. *That their Craft and Power were ſo great, that few of thoſe Copies could now come to the View of the People. That they ſo thirſted after the Kingdoms Deſtruction, that they had rejected his Offers of Treaty, (which might bring Peace to the Kingdom, and beget a good Underſtanding between him and his Parliament) he ſaid that his Confidence was God's Protection, and his People's Affection. And that they might clearly ſee his Reſolutions, he would cauſe his voluntary Proteſtation, lately taken, to be read to them, and deſired the Sheriffs to diſpoſe of the Copies of that, and what he then delivered unto them, he having no other way to make it publick, thoſe Men having reſtrained the uſe of his Preſſes at* London *and the Univerſities.* 1642.

On the other Hand the Parliament not at all diſcouraged with the late Rencounter near *Worceſter*, and well knowing that Money was the Sinews of War, voted that all ſuch Perſons as ſhould not contribute to the Charge of the Commonwealth, in that Time of imminent Neceſſity, ſhould be diſarmed and ſecured; and that this Vote might have the more Effect, they ordered the ſame Day the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* to ſearch the Houſes and ſeize the Arms of ſome Aldermen and other Citizens of *London*, whom they named in their Order, for that it appear'd by the Report of their Committee, that they had not contributed as they ought to the Charge of the Commonwealth. They farther appointed that the Fines, Rents and Profits of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had taken up Arms againſt the Parliament, or had been active in the Commiſſion of Array, ſhould be ſequeſtred for the Uſe and Benefit of the Commonwealth; and then directed that all the King's Revenues, ariſing out of Rents, Fines in Courts of Juſtice, Compoſition for Wards, and the like, and all other his Revenue, ſhould be brought into the ſeveral Courts, and other Places where they ought to be paid in, and not iſſued or paid out until farther Order of both Houſes. Votes of Parliament for Money.

The King all this while to ſupport himſelf ſent to both the Univerſities to borrow Money, who parted with very near all their Plate, and a conſi-

1642. derable Sum of Money for his uſe; and upon Application made to the Roman Catholick Gentry of *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and the Adjacent Counties, they parted with their Money very freely to His Majeſty, which for the preſent put his Affairs into a better Poſture than he could have well expected, and his Army upon ſuch a Foot, as to be in a Condition rather to march againſt the Parliamentarians, than to decline fighting them, and therefore reſolved to direct his March towards *London*. But when the whole Army marched together, there was an unhappy Jealouſie quickly diſcovered between the Commanders; the Earl of *Lindſey* was General of the whole Army by his Commiſſion; but when Prince *Rupert* was made General of the Horſe, there was a Clauſe inſerted in his Commiſſion, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but the King himſelf, which made him in a manner independant; and when the King at Midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies Motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland* to direct the Prince what he ſhould do. He took it very ill; upon which that Lord told him, it was his Office to ſignifie what the King bid him, which he ſhould always do, and that His Highneſs in neglecting it, neglected the King: But the King was ſo indulgent to him, that he took his Advice in all Things relating to the Army; rejecting the Opinion of the General, who preferred the Order of Battle he had learnt under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Henry*, with whom he had ſerved at the ſame time, when the Earl of *Eſſex* and he both of them had Regiments.

Faction in the King's Army.

Now the King having advanced with his Army by the 22th of *October* to *Edgcot*, a Village in *Northamptonſhire*, within Four Miles of *Banbury*, and having no Intelligence of the Earl of *Eſſex* his being within any Diſtance, it was reſolved they ſhould reſt in thoſe Quarters next Day; but Prince *Rupert* that Night ſent the King Word, the Enemy was within Seven or Eight Miles, the head Quarters at *Kenilton*, on the Edge of *Warwickſhire*. Upon which the King's whole Army rendevouzed next Day on the top of *Edge-Hill*, within Two Miles of *Kenilton*, with a Deſign to fall upon them. This *Eſſex* no

no ſooner perceived, but he diſpoſed all Things on his Part for Action, and indeed performed every thing that could be expected from a wiſe General; he choſe an advantageous Ground, being a fair Field between the Hill and the Town, ſaving that near the Town, it was narrower, and on the Right Hand had ſome Hedges and Incloſures: There he poſted his Muſqueteers, and not above Two Regiments of Horſe, where the Ground was narroweſt; but on his Left he placed a Body of a Thouſand Horſe, under *Ramſey*, the Reſerve was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *William Balfour*, and the General himſelf was with the Foot. On the other Hand the King's Right Wing of Horſe was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the Left by Commiſſary-General *Wilmot*, aſſiſted by Sir *Arthur Aſton* with moſt of the Dragoons, and the reſerve was committed to Sir *John Byron*, and conſiſted only of his own Regiment: The King's Troop of Guards had Leave to be abſent that Day from his Perſon, and to charge in the Front among the Horſe; which, tho' they performed their Parts with great Courage, yet might well be reckoned among the Overſights of that Day. 1642.

The Battle of *Keniton*, or *Edge-Hill*, *Oct.* 23.

It was Three a Clock before the Battle began, and as the Right Wing of the King's Horſe advanced to charge the Enemy's Left, Sir *Faithful Forteſcue* with his whole Troop advanced from the Groſs of the Parliament's Cavalry, and diſcharging all their Piſtols on the Ground within little more than Carbine-ſhot of his own Body, preſented himſelf and all his Troop to Prince *Rupert*, and immediately charged with him againſt the Side he had but juſt deſerted. Which had ſo bad an Effect, that that whole Wing having unskilfully diſcharg'd their Piſtols and Carabines in the Air, wheeled about, the King's Horſe charging them in the Flank and Rear; and having thus abſolutely routed them, purſued them flying, and had the Execution of them above Two Miles; the Left Wing under *Wilmot* had alſo good Succeſs, and Sir *Arthur Aſton* with his Dragoons beat off the Muſqueteers that lined the Hedges on that ſide; but the Reſerve ſeeing none of the Enemy's Horſe left, purſued according the Example of the Left

1642. Wing, and alſo falling to Plunder, the King was in Danger of being taken; for *Balfour* with his Reſerve, moved up and down the Field in good Order; and marching towards the King's Foot, pretended to be Friends, till obſerving no Horſe in a Readineſs to charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Here the Earl of *Lindſey*, the King's General, was ſhot in the Thigh, and with his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, who endeavoured to reſcue him, was taken Priſoner. Then alſo was the Standard taken, Sir *Edward Verney*, who bore it, being killed, but reſcued again, (ſays my Lord *C*——) by Captain *John Smith*, tho' the Parliamentarians in their Account of this Battle ſay it was taken away from Mr. *Chambers*, the General's Secretary, by ſome of their own Troopers, and they could not yet learn where it was. When Prince *Rupert* was return'd from the Chaſe, he found this great Alteration in the Field, which was kept by the Parliament's Reſerve of the Horſe, whom the King's Horſe would not be brought again either to charge, or the Body of their Foot, which firmly kept their Ground. The King with all his Forces ſpent all the Night in the Field with ſuch a Fire as could be made of the little Wood and Buſhes which grew thereabouts, unreſolved what to do next Morning, many reporting that the Enemy was gone, but the Day diſcovered the contrary; for *Eſſex* wiſely kept his Poſt, knowing if he drew off, his Numbers would ſoon leſſen by Deſertion, and therefore he cauſed all manner of Proviſions to be brought to his Men for their Refreſhment: Beſides, he that Night received a Reinforcement of 2000 Foot, under the Colonels *Hampden* and *Grantham*, with 500 Horſe. The King on his part found his Troops very thin next Day: However, being willing to make an Eſſay upon the Diſpoſition of the Parliament's Army towards him, he ſent Sir *William le Neve*, *Clarencieux*, King of Arms, to them, with a Proclamation of Pardon to ſuch as would lay down their Arms; but when he offered to read the Proclamation aloud in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Preſence, and to deliver the Effect of it, that he might be heard of thoſe that were preſent, the Earl rebuked him with ſome Roughneſs, and charged him

as

as he loved his Life, not to presume to speak a Word to the Soldiers. All that *Clarencieux* brought back was an Account of the Death of the Earl of *Lindsey*, who being carried out of the Field into a Barn of the next Village, died within a few Hours for want of a Surgeon, with Loss of Blood. The number of the slain, by the Testimony of the Ministers and others of the next Parish, amounted to above 5000 Men; whereof the greater Part were supposed to be of those of the Parliamentarians: But the Truth of it is, the Loss of both Sides was so great, and so little of Triumph appear'd in either, that the Victory could scarce be imputed to the one or the other: Persons of most Note on the King's Side, besides the Earl of *Lindsey*, were the Lord *Steward*, Lord *Aubigny*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir *Edward Verney*, and some others. The Earl of *Lindsey* (according to my Lord C——) was a Man of very noble Extraction, and inherited a great Fortune from his Ancestors; which, tho' he did not manage with so great Care, as if he desired much to improve it, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the Increase of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and spent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions abroad; and tho' he indulged to himself great Liberties of Life, yet he still preserved a very good Reputation with most Men, and a very great Interest in his Country. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual to what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him, which made him bear that Restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by Prince *Rupert*'s Commission, and the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion before his: Nor did he conceal his Resentment, since the Day before the Battle, he said to some Friends, with whom he used Freedom, *That he did not look upon himself as General, and therefore he was resolved when the Day of Battle should come, that he would be at the Head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die.*

1642.

*Lindsey's Character.*

The Lord *Aubigney* was a Gentleman of great Hopes, of a gentle and willing Disposition, and of a very clear Courage. He was slain in the first Charge with the Horse, where there being so little Resistance, it gave Occasion to suspect that it was done

*Lord Aubigny.*

1642. by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutchman*, and had not been ſo punctual in his Duty, but that he received ſome Reprehenſion from his Captain, which he murmured at.

*Verney.* Sir *Edward Verney* was a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, and loſt his Life in that Charge, when *Balfour* with that Reſerve of Horſe, which had been ſo long undiſcerned, broke into thoſe Regiments, but his Body was not found.

*Lord St. John's.* The moſt conſiderable that fell on the Parliament's ſide were the Lord St. *John*'s of *Bletzeno*, and *Charles Eſſex*; the firſt of which was eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and became ſo well beloved by the Reputation of his Courteſie and Civility expreſſed towards all Men (ſays my Lord *C*——) that tho' his Parts were very ordinary at beſt, and his Courſe of Life licentious, and very much depraved, yet he got Credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedfordſhire* and *Hertfordſhire* to be bound for him, to contract a Debt of Fifty or Threeſcore Thouſand Pounds; for the Payment of which the Fortune of the Family was not engaged, ſo that his Sureties were forced to make it good, to the utter Ruin of many Families.

*Charles Eſſex.* As for *Charles Eſſex*, he had been formerly Page to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who afterwards preferred him to a Command in *Holland*, where he lived with very good Reputation, and preſerved the Credit of his decayed Family. Gratitude to his old Maſter prevailed upon him more than any thing elſe to run his Fortune: He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, was eſteemed the beſt and moſt expert Officer in the Parliament's Army, and was ſlain by a Muſquet-ſhot in the beginning of the Battle.

*Banbury ſurrendred to the King.* The Earl of *Eſſex* after the Battle marching with his Army to *Warwick*, the King with little or no Reſiſtance had *Banbury* ſurrendred to him, and in it a Regiment of 800 Foot, and a Troop of Horſe; half of which entred into his Service.

We ſhould have taken Notice before, but it will ſerve as well here; that tho' open Hoſtilities had now for ſome time been committed between the oppoſite Parties, yet the Paper Combat ſtill continued, and could not be ſilenced by the loud Noiſe

of

of War; for the Day before the Battle of *Edge-Hill* 1642.
the Lords and Commons put forth a Declaration and Proteſtation to this Kingdom, and to the whole World; containing in Subſtance, *That they proteſted and declared that no private Paſſion or Reſpect, no evil Intention to His Majeſty, no Deſign to prejudice his Honour and Authority, engaged them to raiſe Forces. That they had always heartily deſired, manifeſted in their Actions, and in ſeveral Petitions to His Majeſty profeſſed their Loyalty and Obedience to him, Readineſs to defend his Perſon, and ſupport his Eſtate with their Lives and Fortunes. That they had been willing to paſs by not only private Injuries, Ignominies, &c. but alſo many publick Incroachments and Uſurpations, prejudicial to Religion and Liberty, divers bloody and traiterous Practices againſt both Church and State, ſo as they might for the future have been ſecured from that malignant Party, whoſe pernicious Counſels had, and did ſtill diſtemper both Church and State. They declared that it was for that end they had directed their Lord General to cauſe to be delivered an humble Petition to His Majeſty; wherein they deſired him to return in Peace to his Parliament, and by their Advice compoſe the Confuſions of the Kingdom; and they profeſſed in the Sight of God that they would receive him with all Honour, yield him all true Obedience, and would defend his Perſon and Eſtate faithfully. But that His Majeſty, upon Application to him by their General, refuſed ſafe Conduct to the Perſons deputed with the Petition, ſaying, that if Juſtice had been done, the Gentleman which brought the ſecond Meſſage could not expect his Liberty. By all which it did appear to them that the King was ſo engaged to the Popiſh Party, that all Hopes of Peace and Protection was excluded, and that it was intended to give Satisfaction to the Papiſts, by Alteration of Religion, and to the Cavaliers, by expoſing the Subjects Wealth, eſpecially of the City of* London, *to be plundred by them; That for the better effecting hereof many Papiſts had in ſhew conformed, by communicating, and taking the Oaths of Allegiance, which ſome of our own Prieſts had encouraged them to do, ſaying, they might do all this, and yet continue good Catholicks; under which Cover he at firſt ſtrengthened himſelf, thoſe of that Religion being weak and unable to endure the Diſcontent which*

*the*

1642. *the arming of a Papiſt would procure in the Kingdom, and therefore endeavoured to keep off all Suſpicions, by many fearful Oaths and Imprecations, concerning his Purpoſe to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Land, cauſing ſome profeſs'd Papiſts to be diſcharged, and none to be received that would not endure the Teſt. That His Majeſty being now grown ſtronger and able, as he conceived, to compaſs his Ends by Arms, his Confidence in the Prieſts did more clearly appear; they ſaid, that Papiſts had been releaſed from* Lancaſter *Goal, had been invited to take up Arms, had Commiſſions for Places of Command under his Authority, and by that Means had raiſed many Men, as Sir* Nicholas Thompſon, *and many more they named in* Northumberland, Durham *and* Lancaſter. *and that the Lord* Herbert, *the Earl of* Worceſter's *Son, a profeſs'd Papiſt, was made the General of all* South Wales. *That they were credibly informed from* Yorkſhire, *that Papiſts were imployed there, and conſulted with in His Majeſty's Behalf. All which they ſaid was contrary to His Majeſty's ſolemn Oath, Proteſtations and Execrations, whereby he had bound himſelf to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Land, by which he had endeavoured to poſſeſs the People of his good Intentions, which how well it was anſwered they left the World to judge: They ſaid, that Two Perſons, by Report of no Religion and Honeſty, had been ſent to* Hamborough *and* Denmark, *to raiſe Forces, and to bring them to* Newcaſtle, *to join an Army of Papiſts to be raiſed there; and that Endeavours had been made in other Foreign Parts to bring Foreigners into the Kingdom. That divers Papiſts from* Ireland *indicted for their Rebellion there were received by the King; namely, Lord* Taffe, Oungane, *Col.* Fitz-Williams, *Dr.* Meara, *fled from Juſtice in* Ireland, *and yet Phyſician to Prince* Rupert; *that he had favourably accepted the* Iriſh *Rebel's Petition, which had been ſtopped by the Juſtices, and whereby that Kingdom was like to become empty of Proteſtants, and a Seminary of War and Treaſon. That His Majeſty's chief Counſellors in this War were divers* Engliſh *Traitors; as the Lord* Digby, Oneal, Wilmot, Pollard, Aſhburnham, *and others. That they had been credibly informed, that Prieſts and Jeſuits abroad were collecting much Money for the*

*the Relief of* Iriſh *Papiſts, and to aſſiſt his Deſigns againſt the Parliament here, and that thoſe Prieſt endeavour'd to make up the Differences between ſome Princes of the Romiſh Religion, that ſo they might by their united Strength extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, wherein* England *and* Scotland *were principally concerned, as making the greateſt Body of the Reformed Religion in Chriſtendom, and beſt able to defend themſelves, and ſuccour others.* 1642.

*For all which Reaſons, they ſaid they would enter into a ſolemn Oath and Covenant with God to give up themſelves, their Lives and Fortunes to him, and that they would, to the utmoſt of their Power, maintain his Truth, and conform to his Will; that they would defend this Cauſe againſt all that would join with them in Proſecution of this wicked Deſign, according to the Form to be agreed on by both Houſes, to be ſubſcribed by them; and that they would for the ſaid End aſſociate themſelves with the well-affected in* London, *and other Parts of the Kingdom. That they expected their Brethren of* Scotland, *according to the Act of Pacification, whereby both Kingdoms were mutually bound to ſuppreſs all Differences, to the Diſturbance of the Publick Peace, to help them in Defence of the Cauſe, which if the Popiſh Party prevailed, the Alteration of Religion which would be made here would engage them to defend their Religion and Liberty by Arms againſt this Kingdom; they doubted not but the God of Truth, the great Protector of his People, would aſſiſt and enable them in their juſt Defence, to reſtrain their Enemy's Malice and Fury, and to ſecure the Perſons, Eſtates and Liberties of all that would join with them, and to eſtabliſh Religion and Fruition of their Laws and Liberties, which they did here again profeſs before the everliving God to be the chief End of their Counſels, without any Intention to hurt His Majeſty either in his Perſon or juſt Power.*

His Majeſty on his Part being not well able to take Cognizance of this Declaration and Proteſtation till after the Battle of *Edge-Hill*; it's fit we ſhould however in this Place ſubjoin his Anſwer to it to this Effect.

He

1642.

The Substance of His Majesty's Answer.

*He said, that if the Framers of that Declaration were not engaged by any private Passion or Respect, or by any evil Intention to his Person, &c. to raise an Army against him, as they called God to witness they were not, he thought they would think it their Duty not to protect that Army which the next Day after that solemn Protestation had used their Endeavour to put his Person (for whose Defence they had declared it was raised) into as much Danger as the Skill and Malice of Rebels could do. Otherwise the Protestation would appear the same with those by which they had promised to make him a glorious King, when by their Nine Propositions they had endeavoured to strip him of all those Rights, which made him a King, and them Subjects. He said that it would be as hard to find those Actions of theirs, manifesting their Loyalty and Obedience, as their humble Petitions and Remonstrances, when indeed no Age had produced such scornful Actions of Authority, and reproachful Petitions; he appealed to his own Conscience, and to the Testimony of all good Men, to judge whether he had left no Stone unturned to prevent the Misery and Confusion brought upon the Kingdom by those Seditious Persons; that there was nothing wanting to the Happiness of both Church and State but that Peace and Order, which those Factious Men had robbed them of. That they had directed their General to deliver a Petition, desiring him to return in Peace to his Parliament, and by their Counsel compose the Nation's Distempers as he was bound to do; he answer'd, He was never so backward to receive, or slow to answer the Two Houses Petitions, that he had need to be quicked by an Army, which they had in no Case, no Shadow of Right to raise, by any Law, Custom or Priviledge, no more than they had to take away the Lives of all the Subjects of* England; *yet he said they took it unkindly, that upon their Profession in the Sight of God, (which (they said) was the strongest Assurance any Christian could give) he had not put himself into their Hands, that were lifted up against him, and filled at that time with Arms to destroy him, and leave a Strength God had supplied him, of faithful Subjects, who notwithstanding all their Threats, were come to his Assistance. He said, that if that Petition had been so humble as they pretended, they would not have lost the Advantage of publishing it in their Declaration, that*

*that the World might as well have been witneſs of his Refuſal of Peace, as it had been of their Diſdain of any Way to it, when they had rejected his ſeveral earneſt Offers of a Treaty; he ſaid, they charged him in their Declaration, with refuſing to give ſafe Conduct to their Meſſengers with their Petition; but he believed when his good Subjects ſhould underſtand how they were impoſed upon by theſe Men, they would not be leſs offended, with their Falſhood to them, than their Treaſon to him. He ſaid, he never refuſed to admit any Meſſage from his Parliament, their Meſſengers had been received with that Safety and Candour, as was due to the beſt Subjects, when their Errand had been full of Reproach and Scorn, and the Bringers bold and arrogant, and therefore there needed not to have been more ſcruple made in the Delivery of this, than other Petitions: The Truth was, that underſtanding the Earl of* Eſſex *deſired ſafe Conduct to ſome Meſſengers with a Petition from the Parliament, he had returned this Anſwer, That as he had never refuſed to receive any Petitions from his Parliament, ſo he ſhould be ready to give ſuch a Reception to it as ſhould be fit, and that the Bringers of it ſhould come and go with Safety, only he required that none of thoſe Perſons whom he had particularly accuſed of Treaſon, ſhould be by Colour of that Petition employed to him. After this he had heard no more till a Fortnight after, he was informed, that his former Anſwer was declared to be a Breach of Privilege, that he would not allow any Meſſengers to come to him; that he was not content that ſuch Perſons as had conſpired his Death might ſecurely come into his Preſence; his ſecond Anſwer differed little from the former, inſiſting, That the Addreſs ſhould not be made by any of thoſe Perſons whom he had particularly accuſed of High-Treaſon, of whom the Earl of* Eſſex *was one; but declaring that his Ear ſhould be ſtill open to hear any Petition from his Parliament. He ſaid, whether this were a Denial, or whether, if the Parliament had a Deſire to treat with him by Petition, they might not as well have ſent it to him, as they had done ſince their Inſtructions to their Ambaſſadors into* Ireland, *and their Bill for rooting out Epiſcopacy, and deviſing a new ſort of Church-Government, he appealed to all the World. That he had Reaſon to believe that the Petition was thought by them*

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*fitter*

1642. *fitter to be preſented to him after a full Conqueſt of him, than in the Head of his Army, when it might ſeem ſomewhat in his Power whether he would be depoſed or not. As to the Charge againſt him of favouring and imploying Papiſts, he could ſay no more to it than this. That if they knew the Romiſh Prieſts had encouraged thoſe of their Religion to conform to the Proteſtant Religion, by coming to Church, &c. they were more converſant with their Subtilties than he was; but that he muſt confeſs that till he were certain they had found that Way to deceive him, he would in Charity believe their Conformity to be real, but that he had releaſed any Prieſts out of* Lancaſter *Goal, or any other, he ſaid was as falſe (to uſe their own Expreſſion) as the Father of Lies could invent. He ſaid, that thoſe Perſons named in the Declaration to have Commiſſions from him were not known unto him, nor to his Knowledge were in his Army. He ſaid it was ſtrange his Oaths and Proteſtations before God to maintain the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be ſo ſlighted in the end of that Declaration, when in the beginning it was acknowledged to be the ſtrongeſt Aſſurance a Chriſtian could give; he deſired to have his Proteſtation believed by the Evidence of his Actions; but they were informed (and that was Ground enough for them to lay the baſeſt Imputation upon their Sovereign) that Sir* John Henderſon *and Col.* Cockram *(Men of ill Report both for Religion and Honeſty) were ſent to* Hamborough *and* Denmark, *to raiſe and bring over Forces. To this he anſwered, That he had declared his Reſolution concerning Foreign Force already, ſufficiently (as he thought) to ſatisfie any honeſt Man. That he had never greater Cauſe to be confident of Security in his Subjects, and therefore could not believe ſo vile a Scandal could make any Impreſſion in ſober Men; that the Nobility and Gentry about him were the moſt zealous for Religion, of the greateſt Fortunes, the moſt publick Lovers of their Country, and Aſſertors of Liberty, that the Kingdom had. That it appear'd to all how different the Reputation of the Ringleaders of that Rebellion was, when they entertained deſperate and neceſſitous Perſons (many he ſaid being Papiſts to his Knowledge) and when they ſuperſeded a Proceeding at Common Law for an odious Crime, that Mr.* Griffin *might keep them Company in their Rebellion. How gracious he was inclined*

*clined to the City of* London, *and how far from any such Purpoſe as they charged him with, he ſaid appeared in his late Proclamation, in which he declared the Suburbs to be comprehended alſo; to which he doubted not but they would give that Credit and Obedience as ſhould cauſe him to commend their Loyalty in joining with him to ſuppreſs that Rebellion, which, uncontrouled, would in a ſhort time make that Place moſt miſerable. Of the Oath and Covenant they threatned him with, he ſaid, if it was to engage them to do, or not to do any thing contrary to their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as it could not oblige them being taken, ſo he doubted not his good Subjects would eaſily diſcern it to be a Snare, to betray and lead them into the ſame Guilt, and ſo into the ſame Danger with themſelves; and he therefore declared, that whoſoever ſhould take ſuch an Oath againſt him, would thereby be rendred incapable of his Pardon, and ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Seditious Perſon, and an Enemy. He deſired all honeſt Men to call to mind the many gracious Acts he had paſſed that Parliament for the Eaſe of his People; and when nothing had been left undone, or unoffered by him, to make the Nation happy, thoſe miſchievous Perſons, inſtead of acknowledging his Grace and Juſtice, upbraided him with all the Reproaches Malice could invent, in a Remonſtrance to the People, (a thing never heard of before) that having thus incenſed Seditious Minds, they by them had awed the Parliament, droze him and the major Part of both Houſes from* London, *that they had by Force kept him from his Fort of* Hull, *and imployed his Magazine againſt him; that they had ſeized upon his Navy, and with it kept all Supply from him; voted from him his Negative Voice, and then raiſed an Army to deſtroy him; that when they had thus compelled him to raiſe ſome Power for his Defence, they had abſolutely refuſed to treat with him; and laſtly, that on the 23th of* October *they had brought this Army (raiſed to defend his Perſon) into the Field againſt him, and uſed their beſt Skill to deſtroy him and his Children. He ſaid, whoever conſidered their Progreſs would think of no other Covenant than to join with him to apprehend the Authors of that Civil War, that Poſterity might not with Shame find, that a few Schiſmatical Perſons were able to bring ſuch a flouriſhing Kingdom to Deſolation; that he doubted not his good Subjects of* Scotland *would ne-* 1642.

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1642. *ver think themſelves engaged by the Act of Pacification (to which he had willingly conſented) to aſſiſt a Rebellion againſt their King, for the Aſſiſtance of notorious Traitors, the bringing of whom to condign Puniſhment would (with God's Bleſſing) be a ſpeedy Means of Happineſs and Peace to his Three Kingdoms.*

Other Declarations and Anſwers paſſed between the King and Parliament, full of Bitterneſs enough, and His Majeſty in a few Days after the Battle of *Edge-Hill*, having by his Proclamation ordered the Papiſts to provide Arms, ſome of whom in Letters, intercepted by the Parliament, diſcovered more Joy and Inſolence than was becoming or ſeaſonable, the Houſes were not wanting to make all the Improvement they could of all theſe Things, to the King's Diſadvantage; however, their Army being in a bad Condition after the late Battle, ſome preſſed hard for a Treaty; but the very ſame Day that a Committee was appointed to prepare Heads for an humble Addreſs to the King for compoſing the preſent Differences and Diſtractions, and ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom; they declared that the Preparation of Forces and all other neceſſary Means for Defence, ſhould be proſecuted with all Vigour; and thereupon required all thoſe Officers and Soldiers, who had left their General, of whom the Town was then full, to return to him and for his better Recruit, ſolemnly declared, that in ſuch Times of common Danger and Neceſſity, the Intereſt of private Perſons ought to give Way to the Publick; and therefore they ordained that ſuch Apprentices as would be liſted, to ſerve as Soldiers for the Defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament and City, &c. their Sureties, and ſuch as engaged further, ſhould be ſecured againſt their Maſters, and that their Maſters ſhould receive them again at the end of their Service, without imputing any Loſs of time to them, but the ſame ſhould be reckoned as well ſpent, according to their Indentures, as if they had been ſtill in their Shops; the Earl of *Eſſex* hereby received a notable Supply. At the ſame Time the Two Houſes, as an Expedient for a Peace, made this material and full Declaration to the Subjects of

of *Scotland*, which they cauſed with all Expedition to be ſent into that Kingdom. 1642.

The Two Houſes Declaration to the Scots.

*That conſidering, with what Wiſdom and publick Affection their Brethren of* Scotland *concurred with their own Endeavours, and the whole Kingdom's Deſires, in procuring and eſtabliſhing a firm Peace between the Two Nations, and how lovingly they had ſince invited them to a nearer and higher degree of Union in Religion and Church-Government, which they had moſt willingly embraced, and intended to purſue, they could not doubt but they would, with as much Forwardneſs and Affection, concur with them in ſettling Peace here, and preſerving it there; that ſo they might mutually reap the Benefit of that Amity and Alliance, ſo happily made, and ſtrongly confirmed betwixt them; actually declared, that in their Senſe and Apprehenſion of the Alliance betwixt them, they were thereby bound to apply the Authority of Parliament, and Power of the Kingdom, to the Preſervation of their Peace: And, ſeeing then that the Troubles of this Kingdom were grown to a greater Height, and the common Enemies both of Religion and Liberty did appear with more evident Strength and Danger than they did at any time, they held it neceſſary to declare, that, in their Judgment, the ſame Obligation lay upon their Brethren, by the forementioned Act, with the Power of that Kingdom, to aſſiſt them in repreſſing thoſe amongſt them, who made War, not only without Conſent, but even againſt the Parliament, and for the Deſtruction thereof. Wherefore they made known unto them, that His Majeſty had given Commiſſion to divers eminent Papiſts to raiſe Forces in the* North, *and other Parts of the Kingdom, which was to join with Foreign Forces, from beyond the Seas, for to deſtroy the Parliament, the Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom, and that the principal Part of the Clergy and their Adherents had likewiſe invited the King to raiſe another Army, which, in his own Perſon, he did conduct againſt the Parliament, and the City of* London; *plundring and raiſing ſundry well-affected Towns within their Power; and in Proſecution of their Malice, they were ſo preſumptuous and predominant of His Majeſty's Reſolutions, that they forbore not thoſe Outrages in Places to which His Majeſty had given his Royal Word and Protection; a great Cauſe and Incentive of which Malice proceeded from the Deſign they*

1642. *had to prevent the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Government here deſired by all true Proteſtants. And hereupon they farther deſired all their Brethren of* Scotland *to raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhould think ſufficient to ſecure their own Borders, in Peace, againſt all ill affected there, as likewiſe to aſſiſt them, in ſuppreſſing the Army of Papiſts and Foreigners, which, they expected, would ſhortly be on Foot here; and if not timely prevented, might prove as miſchievous and deſtructive to that Kingdom, as to themſelves. And though they ſought nothing from His Majeſty that might diminiſh his juſt Authority or Honour, and had, by many humble Petitions, endeavoured to put an end to this unnatural War and Combuſtion in the Kingdom, and to procure His Majeſty's Protection, and Security for their Religion, Liberty, and Perſons, (according to that great Truſt which His Majeſty was bound to by the Laws of the Land) and ſhould ſtill continue their Petitions in that kind; yet to their Grief they ſaw the Papiſtical and Malignant Counſel, ſo prevalent with His Majeſty, and his Perſon ſo engaged to their Power, that they had little Hope of better Succeſs of their Petitions, than they formerly had; and were thereby neceſſitated to ſtand upon their juſt Defence, and to ſeek this ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance of their Brethren of* Scotland, *according to that Act agreed upon in the Parliament of both Kingdoms, the common Duty of Chriſtianity, and the particular Intereſt of their own Kingdom. To which they hoped God would give ſuch a Bleſſing, that it might produce the Preſervation of Religion, the Honour, Safety, and Peace of His Majeſty, and all his Subjects, and a more ſtrict Conjunction of the Counſels, Deſires and Endeavours of both Nations, for the Comfort and Relief of the Reformed Churches beyond Sea.*

The King's Anſwer to this Declaration we ſhall meet with by and by. In the mean time the King recruiting his Army at *Oxford*, and a good Body of his Horſe from *Abingdon* approaching near *Reading*, the Parliament's Garriſon quitted the Place to the Royaliſts, and retired to *London*. Upon which the King advanced with his Army to *Reading*, and *Eſſex* continuing ſtill at *Warwick*, the Parliament Quarters ſeemed to be naked on that ſide; but whether that or any other thing was the Cauſe of it,

the

the Parliament now diſpatched a Meſſenger to the King, to deſire a ſafe Conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend him with an humble Petition from them; his Anſwer was, *That he always had been, and was ſtill ready to receive any Petition from them; that their Committee ſhould be welcome, provided it conſiſted of Perſons who had not by Name been declared Traitors by him, and excepted as ſuch in his Declaration or Proclamation.* Next Day came another Letter from the Speaker to the Lord *Falkland*, to deſire a ſafe Conduct for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, and Four of the Members of the Houſe, to attend him with their Petition, which was immediately granted, only Sir *John Evelyn* was not allowed to be one, he having been excepted by Name in His Majeſty's Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*. This the Parliament boggled at for ſome Time, notwithſtanding which, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* was now upon his March, and a great Fame came before him of the Strength and Courage of his Army, tho' in Truth it was not anſwerable to the Report, they at laſt paſt it over, and upon the 11th of *November* the forementioned Earls, with the Viſcounts *Wenman*, *Pierrepoint* and *Hippeſley* from the Commons met His Majeſty at *Colebroke*, with a Petition to this Purpoſe. 1642.

A Petition preſented to the King from both Houſes.

*That being affected with a deep and piercing Sence of the Miſeries of the Kingdom, and of the Danger to his Mrjeſty's Perſon, as Affairs then ſtood; and much quickned therein with the ſad Conſideration of the great Effuſion of Blood at the late Battle, and the Loſs of ſo many excellent Perſons; and farther weighing the Addition of Loſs, Miſery and Danger to His Majeſty, and his Kingdom, which would enſue, if both Armies ſhould again join in another Battle, as without God's ſpecial Bleſſing, and His Majeſty's Concurrence with his Houſes of Parliament could not probably be avoided. They could not but believe that a ſuitable Impreſſion of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, was wrought in His Majeſty's Heart, being himſelf an Eye-witneſs of the bloody and ſorrowful Deſtruction of ſo many of his Subjects; and that His Majeſty did apprehend what Diminution of his own Power and Greatneſs would follow, and that all his Kingdoms would thereby be ſo weakened as to become*

1642. *ſubject to the Attempts of any ill-affected to the State. In all which Reſpects they aſſured themſelves, that His Majeſty would be inclined graciouſly to accept this their humble Petition; that the Miſery and Deſolation of this Kingdom might be ſpeedily removed and prevented. For the effecting whereof they humbly beſought His Majeſty to appoint ſome convenient Place, not far from the City of* London, *where His Majeſty would be pleaſed to reſide until Committees of both Houſes of Parliament might attend His Majeſty with ſome Propoſitions for the Removal of theſe bloody Diſtempers and Diſtractions, and ſettling the State of the Kingdom in ſuch a manner as might conduce to the Preſervation of God's true Religion, His Majeſty's Honour, Safety and Proſperity, and to the Peace, Comfort and Security of all his People.*

The King within Two or Three Hours after the Receipt of this Petition delivered to the ſame Meſſengers the enſuing Anſwer, with which they return'd the ſame Night to *London*.

The King's Anſwer. *That he took God to witneſs, how deeply he was affected with the Miſeries of the Kingdom, which heretofore he had ſtriven, as much as in him lay, to prevent, it being ſufficiently known to all the World, that as he was not the firſt that had taken up Arms, ſo he had ſhewed his Readineſs of compoſing all Things in a fair Way, by his ſeveral Offers of Treaty, and ſhould be glad now at length to find any ſuch Inclinations in others. The ſame Tenderneſs to avoid the Deſtruction of his Subjects (whom he knew to be his greateſt Strength) which would always make his greateſt Victories bitter to him, ſhould make him willingly hearken to ſuch Propoſitions, whereby theſe bloody Diſtempers might be ſtopped, and the great Diſtractions of this Kingdom ſettled to God's Glory, his Honour, and the Welfare and Flouriſhing of his People. And to that end he would reſide in his own Caſtle at* Windſor *(if the Forces there ſhould be removed) till Committees might have time to attend him with the ſame (which to prevent the Inconveniences that might intervene, he wiſhed might be haſtened) and ſhould be ready there; or, if that were refuſed him, at any Place where he ſhould be, to receive ſuch Propoſitions, as aforeſaid, from both his Houſes of Parliament; he adviſed them to do their Duty, and he would*

not

*not be wanting in his, and prayed God of his Mercy to give a Bleſſing.* 1642.

It was expected, and indeed the King had reſolved to draw back to *Reading*, and there rely upon a Treaty; but Prince *Rupert* (as my Lord C—— ſays) without any Directions from His Majeſty, the very next Morning after the Committee returned to *London*, advanced with the Horſe and Dragoons to *Hounſlow*, and there ſent to the King, to deſire him that the Army might march after him towards *Brentford*; which being done accordingly, they firſt fell furiouſly upon the Regiment of *Hollis*, who made a very brave Reſiſtance, but in all Probability had all been cut off, had not thoſe of *Brooke* and *Hampden* come to their Relief; they continued to defend themſelves till towards Night, when the King's Men made themſelves Maſters of the Town, and plundered it; beſides the Priſoners they took here, amounting to about 500 (who were moſt of them afterwards releaſed) 11 Colours, 15 Cannon, and good Store of Ammunition fell to their Share: But this Succeſs did not prove at all fortunate to the King, the Action being indeed looked upon as a Surprize contrary to Faith, and the betraying the Forces of the Parliament to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Treaty of Peace; and at *London* he was accuſed of Treachery, Perfidy and Blood.

Fight at *Brentford*, Nov. 12.

This Action, and the ſo near Approach of the King's Army to the City, where few Perſons were willing they ſhould enter, much allarmed the *Londoners*, who yet were ſo far from being diſcouraged hereat, that the Earl of *Eſſex* rendevouz'd next Day in the Evening no leſs than 24000 Men of Regular Troops and Train'd-bands on *Turnham-Green*; upon which the King drew his Army off to *Kingſton*, thence to *Reading*, and at laſt to *Oxford*; but in the mean time hearing how his laſt Action was repreſented at *London*, he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes. In which *he took Notice of thoſe unjuſt and unreaſonable Imputations raiſed on him; told them of the Reaſons and Circumſtances of his Motions towards* Brentford; *of the Earl of* Eſſex's *drawing out his Forces towards him, and poſſeſſing thoſe Quarters about him, and almoſt hemming him in, after the time that the Commiſſioners*

The King's Meſſage to the Houſes

1642. *oners were ſent to him with the Petition; that he had never heard of the leaſt Overture of the forbearing all Acts of Hoſtility, but ſaw the contrary practiced by them by that Advance; that he had not the leaſt Thought or Intention of maſtering the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither. That he wondred to hear his Soldiers charged with thirſting after Blood, when they took above* 500 *Priſoners in the very Heat of the Fight. He told them, ſuch were moſt apt, and likely to maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who had only got it by Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; that his was veſted in him by the Law, and by that only (if the deſtructive Counſels of others did not hinder ſuch a Peace, in which that might once again be the Univerſal Rule, and in which only Religion and Juſtice flouriſh'd) he deſired to maintain it: That he intended to mareh to ſuch a Diſtance from his City of* London, *as might take away all Pretence of Apprehenſion from his Army, that might hinder them from preparing their Propoſitions, in all Security, to be preſented unto him; and there he would be ready to receive them; or, if that Expedient pleaſed them not, to end the Preſſures and Miſeries which his Subjects, to his great Grief, ſuffered through this War by a preſent Battle.*

His Majeſty might ſay what he would upon this Occaſion, People generally were not well pleaſed with the Action, ſo that the Parliament now beſtirred themſelves for Money, the true Sinews of War; and having framed an Ordinance, that all ſuch as ſhould furniſh Men, Money, Horſe or Arms for their Service, ſhould have the ſame fully repaid again, with Intereſt for the Forbearance thereof, from the Time diſburſed; and for the true Payment thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, the Publick Faith of the Kingdom. This brought in Subſcriptions apace in the City, and from this unconſidered Paſſage, by Degrees grew the Monthly Tax of the 6000 Pounds to be ſet upon the City for the Payment of the Army; and that they might at the ſame time alſo enhanſe the Reputation of their General, after they had voted there ſhould be only one General, and he the Earl of *Eſſex*, they paſſed and preſented this Declaration to his Excellency.

An Ordinance of Parliament

That

1642.

A Declaration of both Houſes concerning their General's acceptable Service.

*That as they had upon Deliberation, and an aſſured Confidence in his Wiſdom, Courage and Fidelity, choſen and appointed him their Captain General, ſo they did find, that the Earl had managed that Service of ſo high Importance, with ſo much Care, Valour and Dexterity, as well by the extreameſt Hazard of his Life, in a Bloody Battle near* Keniton *in* Warwickſhire, *as by all the Actions of a moſt excellent and moſt expert Commander, in the whole Courſe of that Imployment, as did deſerve their beſt Acknowledgment; and they did therefore declare and publiſh, to the laſting Honour of that Earl, the great and acceptable Service, which he had therein done to the Commonwealth; and ſhould be willing and ready upon all Occaſions to expreſs the due Senſe they had of his Merits, by aſſuring and protecting him, and all others imployed under his Command in that Service, and with their Lives and Fortunes, to the utmoſt of their Power; that Teſtimony and Declaration being to remain on Record, in both Houſes of Parliament, for a Mark of Honour to his Perſon, Name and Family, and for a Monument of his ſingular Virtue to Poſterity.*

However it were, the Two Houſes ſeemed ſtill deſirous of an Accommodation, and ſent the following Petition to the King at *Reading*.

The Houſes Petition to the King. *Nov.* 24.

*It is humbly deſired by both Houſes of Parliament, That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to return to Your Parliament, with Your Royal, not Martial Attendance, ſo that Religion, Laws and Liberties, may be ſettled and ſecured by their Advice; finding by a ſad and late Accident, that Your Majeſty is environed by ſome ſuch Counſels, as do rather perſwade a deſperate Diviſion, than a Joining, and a good Agreement with Your Parliament and People: And we ſhall be ready to give Your Majeſty Aſſurances of ſuch Security, as may be for Your Honour, and the Safety of Your Royal Perſon.*

As ſoon as he had received this Addreſs, he returned them a ſharp Anſwer by the ſame Meſſenger. Wherein he told them, *He hoped that all his good Subjects would look upon that Meſſage with Indignation, as intended, by the Contrivers thereof, as a Scorn to him; and deſigned by that Malignant Party (of whom he had ſo often complained, whoſe Safety and Ambition was built upon the Diviſions and Ruins of the Kingdom, and who had too great an In-*

The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer.

1642. fluence upon their Actions) for a Wall of Separation between him and his People. He ſaid, he had often told them the Reaſons why he departed from London; how he was chaſed thence, and by whom; and as often complained, that the greateſt Part of his Peers, and of the Houſe of Commons, could not with Safety to their Honours and Perſons, continue and vote freely amongſt them; but by Violence and Cunning Practices, were debarred of thoſe Privileges, which their Birthrights, and the Truſt repoſed in them by their Countries, gave them. That the whole Kingdom knew that an Army was raiſed, under Pretence of Orders of both Houſes, (an Uſurpation never before heard of in any Age) which Army had purſued His Majeſty in his own Kingdom, given him Battle at Kenilton, and now, thoſe Rebels being recruited and poſſeſſed of the City of London, he was courteouſly invited to his Parliament there, that is, to the Power of the Army. That, what he ſaid, could ſignifie nothing but that, ſince the Traiterous Endeavours of thoſe deſperate Men could not ſnatch the Crown from his Head, it being defended by the Providence of God, and the Affections and Loyalty of his good Subjects, he ſhould now tamely come up, and give it them, and put himſelf, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their mercifni Hands. He ſaid, he thought not fit to give any other Anſwer to that Part of their Petition, but as he imputed not that Affront to both his Houſes of Parliament, nor to the major Part of thoſe then preſent there, but to that dangerous Party, His Majeſty, and the Kingdom, muſt ſtill cry out upon; ſo he would not for his good Subjects, and out of his moſt tender Senſe of their Miſeries, and the general Calamities of the Kingdom, which muſt, if the War continued, ſpeedily overwhelm the whole Nation, take Advantage of it; but if they would really purſue the Courſe they ſeemed, by their Petition at Colebrook, to be inclined to, he ſhould make good all he then promiſed; whereby the Hearts of his diſtreſſed Subjects might be raiſed with the Hopes of Peace; without which, Religion, Laws and Liberties, could no Ways be ſettled and ſecured.

For the late and ſad Accident they mentioned, if they intended that of Brentford, he deſired them once again to deal ingeniouſly with the People, and to let them

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*ſee his laſt Meſſage to them, and his Declaration concerning the ſame (both which he had ſent to his Preſs at* London, *but were taken away from his Meſſenger, and not ſuffered to be publiſhed) and then he doubted not but they would be ſoon undeceived, and eaſily find out thoſe Counſels which did rather perſwade a deſperate Diviſion, than a good Agreement between His Majeſty, his Two Houſes, and People.* 1642.

About this time the Parliament put out a Declaration about ſuppreſſing Papiſts and Malignants in the North; and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* beginning alſo to aſſociate the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the Town of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, for the raiſing of Forces for His Majeſty, and afterwards had other Counties added to the Aſſociation; the Parliament thereupon proceeded to make particular Aſſociations under particular Perſons.

I ſhall but juſt mention here the Rencounter between the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Troops and a Party of the Lord *Fairfax* his Horſe at *Pierce-Brig* towards the beginning of *December*; wherein the latter had the worſt of it; neither ſhall I do any more, in reſpect of *Farnham*, taken on the Firſt Inſtant by Sir *Waller*, for which the Royaliſts were even with them, by their maſtering of *Marlborough*, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Wilmot*, Four Days after; but come now to obſerve that the King having ſettled his Winter Quarters, and ſeeing little Hopes of any Overtures of Peace, had ſome Leiſure to think of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and ſo ſent a Meſſage now to the Privy-Council of that Kingdom, upon Occaſion of the Declaration of the Two Houſes, before mentioned, to this Effect: *That, as he was at his Soul afflicted that it had been in the Power of any Factious, Ambitious and Malicious Perſons, ſo far to poſſeſs the Hearts of many of his Subjects of* England, *as to raiſe this miſerable Diſtemper and Diſtraction in this Kingdom againſt all his real Endeavours and Actions to the cantrary; ſo he was glad that that Rage and Fury had ſo far tranſported them, that they applied themſelves, in ſo groſs a manner, to his Subjects of* Scotland; *whoſe Experience of his Religion, Juſtice and Love to his People, would not ſuffer them to believe thoſe*

*Waller takes Farnham, Dec.* 1

King's Meſſage to *Scotland*,

1642. *thoſe horrid Scandals laid upon His Majeſty; and their Affection, Loyalty and Jealouſie of his Honour would make them diſdain to be made Inſtruments to oppreſs their native Sovereign, by aſſiſting an odious Rebellion. He remembred them, that he had from time to time acquainted his Subjects of that Kingdom with the Accidents and Circumſtances which had diſquieted this; how, after all the Acts of Juſtice, Grace and Favour, performed on his Part, which were or could be deſired to make a People compleatly happy, he was driven, by the Force and Violences of tumultuous Aſſemblies, from his City of* London, *and his Houſes of Parliament; how Attempts had been made to impoſe Laws upon his Subjects, without his Conſent, and contrary to the Foundation and the Conſtitution of the Kingdom; how his Forts, Goods and Navy, had been ſeized, and taken from him by Force, and imployed againſt him; his Revenue, and his ordinary Subſiſtence, wreſted from him: How he had been purſued with ſcandalous reproachful Language, bold, falſe and ſeditious Paſquils and Libels, publickly allowed againſt him; and had been told that he might, without Want of Modeſty and Duty, be depoſed: That after all this, before any Force raiſed by him, an Army was raiſed, and a General appointed to lead that Army againſt him, with a Commiſſion to Kill, Slay, and Deſtroy all ſuch who ſhould be faithful to him. That when he had been, by theſe Means, compelled, with the Aſſiſtance of his good Subjects, to raiſe an Army for his neceſſary Defence, he had ſent divers Gracious Meſſages, earneſtly deſiring that the Calamities and Miſeries of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty; that ſo he might know the Ground of that Miſunderſtanding: That he was abſolutely refuſed to be treated with, and the Army (raiſed, as was pretended, for the Defence of his Perſon) brought into the Field againſt him, gave him Battle; and, tho' it pleaſed God to give him the Victory, it deſtroyed many of his good Subjects, with as imminent Danger to his own Perſon, and his Children, as the Skill and Malice of Deſperate Rebels could contrive. Of all which, and other Indignities, which had been offered to him, he doubted not the Duty and Affection of his* Scotiſh *Subjects would have ſo juſt a Reſentment, that they would expreſs to the World the Sence they had of his Sufferings, and he hoped his*

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*good Subjects of* Scotland *were not ſo great Strangers to the Affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this Misfortune and Diſtraction was begot and brought upon him, by his Two Houſes of Parliament, tho' in Truth, no unwarrantable Action againſt the Law could be juſtified even by that Authority; but that they well knew how the Members of both Houſes had been driven thence, inſomuch, that of above Five Hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons there were not then there above Fourſcore; and of above One Hundred of the Houſe of Peers not above Sixteen. All which were ſo awed by a Multitude of* Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, *and other Perſons, Deſperate and Decayed in their Fortunes, in and about the City of* London, *that, in Truth, their Conſultations had not the Freedom and Privileges which belong to Parliaments. Concerning any Commiſſions granted by him to Papiſts, to raiſe Forces, he referred them to the Declaration, lately ſet forth by him, upon the Occaſion of that Scandal, which he likewiſe then ſent to them. And for his own True and Zealous Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, he would give no other Inſtance than his own conſtant Practice, on which Malice itſelf could lay no Blemiſh; and thoſe many Proteſtations he had made in the Sight of God, to whom he knew he ſhould be dearly accountable, if he failed in the Obſervation. For that ſcandalous Imputation of his Intention to bring in Foreign Forces, as the ſame was raiſed without the leaſt Colour or Shadow of Reaſon, and ſolemnly diſavowed by His Majeſty, in many of his Declarations; ſo there could not be a clearer Argument to his Subjects of* Scotland, *that he had no ſuch Thoughts, than that he had yet forbore to require the Aſſiſtance of his Native Kingdom, from whoſe Obedience, Duty and Affection, he ſhould confidently expect it, if he thought his own Strength here too weak to preſerve him; and of whoſe Courage and Loyalty, he ſhould look to make uſe, before he ſhould think of any Foreign Aid to ſuccour him. And he knew no reaſonable or underſtanding Man could ſuppoſe, that they were obliged or enabled, by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the Invitation that was made to them by that pretended Declaration, when it was ſo evidently provided for by that Act, that as* England *ſhould not war againſt* Scotland, *without the Conſent of the Parliament*

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1642. *of* England, *ſo* Scotland *ſhould not make War againſt* England, *without the Conſent of the Parliament of* Scotland. *He told them, If the grave Counſel and Advice, which they had given, and derived to the Houſes of Parliament here, by their Act of the* 22*d of* April *laſt, had been followed in a tender Care of his Perſon, and of his Authority, there would not that Face of Confuſion have appeared, which now threatned this Kingdom; and therefore he required them to communicate what he then writ to all his Subjects of that Kingdom, and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to inform them of the Truth of his Condition; and that they ſuffer'd not the Scandals and Imputations laid on him by the Malice and Treaſon of ſome Men, to make any Impreſſion in the Minds of his People, to the leſſening or corrupting their Affection and Loyalty to him; but that they aſſured them all, that the Hardſhips he then underwent, and the Arms he had been compelled to take up, were for the Defence of his Perſon and Safety of his Life, for the Maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, for the Preſervation of the Laws, Liberties, and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and for juſt Privilege of Parliament; and that he look'd no longer for a Bleſſing from Heaven, than he endeavoured the Defence and Advancement of all theſe, and could not doubt, of a dutiful Concurrence in his Subjects of* Scotland, *in the Care of his Honour, and juſt Rights, which would draw down a Bleſſing upon that Nation too.*

All this while thoſe Countries and Places where Prince *Rupert* ſubſiſted his Horſe were much oppreſs'd by him, and the King, to ſupport his Army, had no Way, but to proceed by Loans, and offer the beſt Security of Lands, and the like, he could. Several contributed freely, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, as before, made him now another Preſent. Then he proceeded to nominate new Sheriffs, which by the Parliament were declared Illegal. About which Time happened a ſharp Rencounter between the Royaliſts, under the Earl of *Newcaſtle* and the Parliamentarians, under *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* at *Doncaſter*; from whence the former were repulſed, tho' the other afterwards thought fit to quit the Place. Sir *William Waller* on the 13th took *Winheſter*, and the Garriſon of *Plymouth* on the 18th ſurprized, and took the King's Commiſſioners of Array,

Array, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. About which Time the King having ordered ſome of the Priſoners, taken at the Battle of *Edge-Hill*, and others in Arms againſt him, to be indicted of High-Treaſon before the Lord Chief Juſtice and other Judges; the Parliament declared all Indictments and Proceedings thereupon to be unjuſt and illegal, and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring, that if any Man were executed, or ſuffered Hurt, for any thing he had done by their Order, the like Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted by Death or otherwiſe, upon ſuch Priſoners as were or ſhould be taken by their Forces. Indeed by this time there ſeemed to be Two Sovereigns in the Kingdom, for the Lords and Commons, who made One of them, in all Formality ſent Letters of Credence, Inſtructions and Agents into foreign Kingdoms and States, and by their Agent to the United Provinces, where the Queen then reſided, 1642.

*They accuſed the P. of* Orange, *for ſupplying the King with Arms and Ammunition; for licenſing divers Officers and Soldiers to reſort hither for his Aid. They put them in mind of the great Help they had received from hence, when heretofore they were oppreſſed by their Princes; and how conducible this Nation had been to their preſent Greatneſs; and therefore they could not think they would make them Slaves, who had been ſo uſeful to make them free; or that they would forge that their Troubles and Dangers iſſued from the ſame Fountain with their own; and that thoſe who were ſet at Work to undermine Religion and Liberty, were the ſame who by open Force ſought to bereave them of both. They told them it could not be unknown to that wiſe State, that it was the Jeſuitical Faction in this Kingdom that had corrupted the King's Counſels, and a great Part of the Clergy; which ſought to deſtroy the Parliament, and had raiſed the Rebellion in* Ireland. *They deſired them therefore not to ſuffer any more Ordinance, Armour, or any other Warlike Proviſion, to be brought over, to ſtrengthen thoſe, who, as ſoon as they ſhould prevail againſt the Parliament, would uſe their Strength to the Ruin of thoſe from whom they had it. They deſired them, they would not ſend over any of*

*their*

1642. *their Countrymen to farther their Deſtruction, who were ſent to them, for their Preſervation; that they would not anticipate the ſpilling of* Engliſh *Blood, in an unnatural Civil War, which had been ſo chearfully and plentifully hazarded and ſpent in that juſt and honourable War, by which they had been ſo long preſerved, and to which the Blood of thoſe Perſons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom, was ſtill in a manner dedicated; but rather, that they would diſcard thoſe from their Service that would preſume to come over for that Purpoſe. They told them, the Queſtion between His Majeſty and the Parliament was not whether he ſhould enjoy the ſame Prerogative and Power which belonged to their former Kings, his Predeceſſors, but whether they ſhould be employed to their Defence, or their Ruin. That it could not be denied by indifferent Inſpectors into their Proceedings, that it would be more Honour, &c. to His Majeſty, to concur with his Parliament, than in the Courſe he then took: But ſo unhappy had His Majeſty been in thoſe who had the greateſt Influence upon his Councils, that they look'd more upon the prevailing of their own Party, than upon the great Advantages both to his Crown aud Perſon, which he might obtain by joining with his People: And ſo cunningly thoſe Factors of Popery proſecuted their Aims, that they put on a counterfeit Viſage of Honour, Peace and Greatneſs, upon thoſe Courſes and Counſels, which had no Truth or Reality, but Weakneſs, Diſhonour, and Miſeries to His Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom. They ſaid, they had lately expreſſed their earneſt Inclinations to that National Love nnd Amity with the United Provinces, which had been nouriſhed and confirmed by ſo many Civil Reſpects, and Mutual Intereſts, as made it ſo natural to them, that they had, this Parliament, in their humble Petition to His Majeſty, deſired, that they might be joined with that State in a more near and ſtrict League and Union. And they could not but expect ſome Returns from them, of the like Expreſſions: And that they would be ſo far from blowing the Fire, which begun to kindle among them, that they would rather endeavour to quench it, by ſtrengthning them, who had no other Deſign but not to be deſtroyed, and to preſerve their Religion, ſave themſelves, and the other Reformed Churches, from the*

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*Maſſacres and Extirpations, with which the Principles of the Roman Church did threaten them all, which were begun to be acted in* Ireland, *and in the Hopes, and Endeavours of that Party, had long ſince been executed upon them, if the Mercy, &c. of Almighty God had not prevented the Subtlety of Cruel, Wicked, and Blood-thirſty Men.* 1642.

Indeed the Parliament's Agents ſeemed to be more induſtrious, and to have better Succeſs in negotiating Matters abroad, than His Majeſty's Miniſters. *Strickland* in *Holland* found a Way by Intelligence, or otherwiſe, to divert moſt of the Supplies the Prince of *Orange* ſent, or deſigned to ſend to the King; *Aulgier* did them great Service at *Bruſſels*, and the *French* Ambaſſador in *England* was rather for blowing the Coals, than quenching the Fire. In the mean time all Diſcourſes and Motions for Peace ceaſing, and yet the Parliament finding themſelves preſſed for the want of Money, for all voluntary Loans ſeemed to be at an end; they firſt ordered that Committees ſhould be named in all Counties, to take Care for Proviſions for the Army, and alſo for taking up Horſes for Service in the Field, and for borrowing of Money and Plate for the Army; and upon Certificates from thoſe Committees, (who had Power to ſet what Values they pleaſed upon theſe Proviſions) the ſame ſhould be entred with their Treaſurer, who ſhould hereafter pay the ſame. It was then alledged, That this would only draw Supplies from their Friends, and the well-affected, and that others, who liked not their Proceedings, or loved their Money better than the Liberty of Conſciences, would not contribute. Upon this it was ordered, that in caſe the Owners refuſed to bring in Money, Proviſions, Plate and Horſes, upon the Publick Faith, for the Uſe of the Army; for the better preventing the Spoil, and imbezzling of ſuch Proviſions of Money, Proviſions, Plate and Horſes, by the Diſorder of the Soldiers, and that they might not come into the Hands of the Enemy; that the Committees, or any Two of them, ſhould be authorized and enabled to ſend for ſuch Proviſions, Money, Plate, and Horſes, and to take

1642. take the ſame into their Cuſtody, and to ſet indifferent Value and Rate upon them; which Value they ſhould certifie to the Treaſurers, for the Proportions to be repaid at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as ſhould be ordered by both Houſes of Parliament. They declared that the King's Army had made divers Aſſeſsments upon ſeveral Counties, and the Subjects were compelled, by the Soldiers, to pay the ſame; which Army, if it continued, would ſoon ruin the whole Kingdom, and overthrow Religion, Law and Liberty. That there was no probable Way, under God, for ſuppreſſing the Army, but by the Army raiſed by Authority of Parliament; which Army could not be maintained without great Sums of Money; and for raiſing ſuch Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament paſſed without His Majeſty's Aſſent; albeit that there was great Juſtice ſuch Money ſhould be raiſed. That hitherto, the Army had been, for the moſt Part, maintained by the voluntary Contribution of well-affected People, who had freely contributed according to their Abilities. That there were divers others within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs, that had not contributed at all towards the maintaining of that Army; or if they had, yet not anſwerable to their Eſtates, who notwithſtanding received Benefit and Protection by the ſame Army, as well as any others; and therefore it was moſt juſt that they ſhould, as well as others, be charged to contribute to the Maintenance thereof; upon theſe Grounds it was ordained by the Authority of Parliament, that *Iſaac Pennington*, then Lord-Mayor of *London*, and ſome other Aldermen, and Citizens, or any Four of them, ſhould have Power to appoint in every Ward, within the City of *London*, Six ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think fit, who ſhould have Power to enquire who had not contributed Money and Plate, *&c.* and alſo ſuch able Men, who had contributed, yet not according to their Eſtates; and thoſe Perſons, ſo ſubſtituted, or any Four of them, within their ſeveral Wards, ſhould have Power to aſſeſs all Perſons of Ability, who had not contributed, or not according to their Abilities,

Abilities to pay ſuch Sums of Money according to their Eſtates, as the Aſſeſſors ſhould think reaſonable, ſo that the ſame exceeded not the Twentieth Part of their Eſtates, and to nominate fit Perſons for the Receipt thereof. And if any Perſon ſo aſſeſſed ſhould refuſe to pay, it ſhould be lawful for the Aſſeſſors and Collectors, to levy the ſame by way of Diſtreſs. And if any Perſon ſo diſtrained ſhould make Reſiſtance, it ſhould be lawful for them to call to their Aſſiſtance the Trained Bands, or any others of His Majeſty's Subjects, who were required to be aiding and aſſiſting to them. The Burgeſſes of *Weſtminſter* and *Southwark*, and a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe, were to do the ſame within thoſe Limits, as the other in *London*. They further ordained, That if no Diſtreſs could be found, the Collectors ſhould have Power to enquire of any Sum of Money due to thoſe Perſons, from what Perſon ſoever, for any Thing or Cauſe whatſoever. And the Collectors had Power to receive all ſuch Debts, until the Value of the Sums ſo aſſeſſed, and the Charges in levying and recovering the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied: And leaſt the Diſcovery of thoſe Debts ſhould be difficult, the ſame Collectors had Power to compound for any Rents, Goods or Debts, due to ſuch Perſons ſo aſſeſſed, with any Perſon by whom the ſame was due, and to give full Diſcharges for the Money ſo compounded for, which ſhould be good and effectual to all Purpoſes. And if the Money aſſeſſed could not be got by any of theſe Ways, then the Perſons aſſeſſed ſhould be impriſoned in ſuch Places of the Kingdom, and for ſo long time as the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for Examination ſhould appoint, and the Families of all ſuch Perſons ſo impriſoned ſhould no longer remain within the Cities of *London* or *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs or the Counties adjacent. And all Aſſeſſors and Collectors ſhould have the Protection of both Houſes of Parliament, for their Indemnity in that Service, and receive Allowance for their Pains and Charges. 1642.

1642. The Houſes in this manner having aſſumed as great an Authority to themſelves as ever King, Lords and Commons had together, and His Majeſty ſuppoſing the People's Eyes would hereupon be opened in Favour of his Cauſe, was not ſorry to ſee this Ordinance; upon which he publiſhed a Declaration, and the ſame repreſenting ſome Things, which indeed fell out afterwards; it's fit it ſhould be inſerted in the King's own Words in this Place, and they were theſe.

*IT would not be believed, (at leaſt great Care had been taken that it might not) that the pretended Ordinance of the Militia (the firſt Attempt that ever was to make a Law by Ordinance without our Conſent) or the keeping us out of* Hull, *and taking our Arms and Ammunition from us, could any way concern the Intereſt, Liberty and Property of the Subjects; and it was confeſſed by that deſperate Declaration itſelf of the 26th of* May, *that if they were found guilty of that Charge of deſtroying the Intereſt and Title of our Subjects to their Lands and Goods, it were indeed a very great Crime. But it was a ſtrange fatal Lethargy which had ſeized our good People, and kept them from diſcerning, that the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of* England, *were not only ſtripped of their Prehemincnces and Privileges, but of their Liberties and Eſtates, when our juſt Rights were denied us; and that no Subject could from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when we were driven from our Houſes and our Towns. It was not poſſible that a Commiſſion could be granted to the Earl of* Eſſex *to raiſe an Army againſt us, and for the Safety of our Perſon and Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, to Purſue, Kill and Slay us, and all who wiſh well to us; but that in a ſhort time inferiour Commanders, by the ſame Authority, would require our good Subjects, for the Maintenance of the Property of the Subject, to ſupply them with ſuch Sums of Money as they think fit, upon the Penalty of being Plundered with all Extremity of War (as the Stile of Sir* Edward Bainton's *Warrant runs againſt our poor Subjects in* Wiltſhire) *and by ſuch Rules of unlimited*

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*imited Arbitrary Power, as are inconſiſtent with the leaſt Pretence or Shadow of that Property it would ſeem to defend. If there could be yet any Underſtanding ſo unskilful and ſupine to believe, that theſe Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, do intend any thing but a general Confuſion, they have brought them a ſad Argument to their own Doors to convince them. After this Ordinance and Declaration it is not in any ſober Man's Power to believe himſelf worth any thing, or that there is ſuch a thing as Law, Liberty, Property left in* England, *under the Juriſdiction of theſe Men; and the ſame Power that robs them now of the Twentieth Part of their Eſtates, hath by that but made a Claim, and entitled itſelf to the other Nineteen, when it ſhall be thought fit to haſten the general Ruin: Sure, of the Minds of all Men be not ſtubbornly prepared for Servitude, they will look on this Ordinance as the greateſt Prodigy of Arbitrary Power and Tyranny that any Age hath brought forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances (and the greateſt) have been conceived intolerable, rather by the Logick and Conſequence, than by the Preſſure itſelf. This at once ſweeps all that the Wiſdom and Juſtice of Parliaments have provided for them. Is their Property in their Eſtates (ſo carefully look'd to by their Anceſtors, and ſo amply eſtabliſhed by us againſt any Poſſibility of Invaſion from the Crown) which makes the meaneſt Subject as much a Lord of his own as the greateſt Peer, to be valued or conſidered? Here is a Twentieth Part of every Man's Eſtate, (or ſo much as Four Men will pleaſe to call the Twentieth Part) taken away at once, and yet a Power left to take a Twentieth ſtill of that which remains; and this to be levied by ſuch Circumſtances of Severity, as no Act of Parliament ever conſented to. Is their Liberty (which diſtinguiſhes Subjects from Slaves, and in which this Free-born Nation hath the Advantage of all* Chriſtendom) *dear to them, they ſhall not only be impriſoned in ſuch Places of this Kingdom (a Latitude of Judgment no Court can challenge to itſelf in any Caſes) but for ſo long a time as the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for Examination ſhall appoint and order? The Houſe of Commons itſelf having never aſſumed, or in the leaſt De-*

1642. *gree pretended to a Power of Judicature, having no more Authority to adminiſter an Oath (the only way to diſcover and find out the Truth of Facts) unto, than to cut off the Heads of any of our Subjects; and this Committee being ſo far from being a Part of the Parliament that it is deſtructive to the whole, by uſurping to its ſelf all the Power of King, Lords and Commons; all who know any thing of Parliaments, know that a Committee of either Houſe ought not by the Law to publiſh their own Reſults, neither are their Concluſions of any Force without the Confirmation of the Houſe, which hath the ſame Power of controuling them, as if the Matter had never been debated, but that any Committee ſhould be ſo contracted (as this of Examination, a Stile no Committee ever bore before this Parliament) as to exclude the Members of the Houſe (who are equally truſted by their Country) from being preſent at their Counſels, is ſo monſtrous to the Privileges of Parliament, that it is no more in the Power of any Man to give up that Freedom, than of himſelf to order, That from that time the Place for which he ſerves, ſhall never more ſend a Knight or a Burgeſs to the Parliament, and in Truth is no leſs than to alter the whole Frame of Government, to pull up Parliaments by the Roots, and to commit the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all the People of* England, *to the Arbitrary Power of a few unqualified Perſons, who ſhall diſpoſe thereof, according to their Diſcretion, without Account to any Rule or Authority whatſoever. Are their Friends, their Wives and Children, (the greateſt Bleſſings of Peace, and Comforts of Life) precious to them? Would their Penury and Impriſonment be leſs grievous by theſe Cordials? They ſhall be divorced from them, baniſhed, and ſhall no longer remain within the Cities of* London *and* VVeſtminſter, *the Suburbs, and the Counties adjacent, and how far thoſe adjacent Counties ſhall extend, no Body knows. Is there any thing now left to enjoy but the Liberty to Rebel and Deſtroy one another? Are the outward Bleſſings only of Peace, Proſperity and Liberty, taken from our Subjects? And their Conſciences free and unaſſaulted by the Violence of theſe Firebrands? Sure, the Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience cannot ſuffer by*

*by these Men. Alas! all these Punishments are imposed upon them, because they will not submit to Actions, contrary to their natural Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance of Supremacy, and to their late voluntary Protestation, which obliges us to the Care of our Persons, and our just Rights. How many Persons of Honour, Quality and Reputation of the several Counties of* England, *are now imprisoned without any Objections against them, but Suspicion of their Loyalty? How many of the greatest and most substantial Citizens of* London, *by whom the Government and Discipline of the City was preserved, are Disgraced, Robbed, and Imprisoned without any Process of Law, or Colour of Accusation, but of Obedience of the Law, and Government of the Kingdom? Whilst* Anabaptists *and* Brownists, *with the Assistance of vicious and debauched Persons take upon them to break up and rifle Houses, as publick and avowed Ministers of a new invented Authority. How many Godly, Pious and Painful Divines, (whose Lives and Learning hath made them in Reverend Estimation) are now slandred with Inclination to Popery, discountenanced and imprisoned for discharging their Consciences, instructing the People in the Christian Duties of Religion and Obedience, whilst Schismatical, Illiterate and Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches with Blasphemy, Irreverence and Treason, and incite their Auditory to nothing but Murder and Rebellion? We pass over the Vulgar Charm, by which they have captivated such who have been contented to dispence with their Consciences for the Preservation of their Estates, and by which they perswade Men chearfully to part with the Twentieth Part of their Estate to this good Work in Hand; for whoever will give what he hath, may scape robbing, they shall be repaid upon the publick Faith, as all other Money lent upon the Proposition of both Houses. It may be so, but Men must be condemned to a strange Unthriftiness, who will lend upon such Security. The publick Faith indeed is as great an Earnest as the State can give, and engages the Honour, Reputation and Honesty of the Nation, and is the Act of the Kingdom. 'Tis the Security of the King, Lords and Commons, which can never need an Executor, ne-* 1642.

1642. *ver die, never be Bankrupt, and therefore we willingly conſented to it, for the Indemnity of our Subjects of* Scotland, *(who we hope will not think the worſe of it, for being ſo often and ſo cheaply mentioned ſince) but that a Vote of both Houſes ſhould be an Engagement on the publick Faith, is as impoſſible, as that the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for Examinations ſhould be the High Court of Parliament. And what is or can be ſaid with the leaſt Shadow or Reaſon to juſtifie theſe Extravagancies? We have not lately heard of the old Fundamental Laws, which uſed to warrant theſe Innovations; this needs a Refuge even below thoſe Foundations, they will ſay they cannot manage their great Undertakings without ſuch extraordinary Ways: We think ſo too, but that proves only that they have undertaken ſomewhat that they ought not to undertake, not that it is lawful for them to do any thing that is convenient for thoſe Ends. We remembred them long ago, and we cannot do it too often, of that excellent Speech of Mr.* Pym's; *the Law is that which puts Difference between Good and Evil, betwixt Juſt and Unjuſt; if you take away the Law, all Things will fall into a Confuſion, every Man will become a Law unto himſelf, which in the depraved Condition of Humane Nature muſt needs produce many great Enormities; Luſt will become a Law, and Envy will become a Law; Covetouſneſs and Ambition will become Laws; and what Dictates, what Diviſions ſuch Laws will produce, may eaſily be diſcerned. It may indeed, by the ſad Inſtances over the whole Kingdom, but will Poſterity believe, that in the ſame Parliament this Doctrine was avowed with that Acclamation, and theſe Inſtances after produced? That in the ſame Parliament ſuch Care was taken, that no Man ſhould be committed, in what Caſe ſoever, without the Cauſe of his Impriſonment expreſſed; and that all Men ſhould be immediately bailed, in all Caſes bailable, and during the ſame Parliament, that Alderman* Pennington, *or indeed any Body elſe but the ſworn Miniſters of Juſtice, ſhould impriſon whom they would, and for as long time as they would: That the King ſhould be reproached with Breach of Privilege, for accuſing*

*cuſing Sir* John Hotham *of High-Treaſon, when with Force of Arms he kept him out of* Hull, *and deſpiſed him to his Face, becauſe in no caſe no Member of either Houſe might be committed or accuſed without Leave of that Houſe whereof he is a Member; and yet that during the ſame Parliament the ſame Alderman ſhould commit the Earl of* Middleſex *(a Peer of the Realm) and the Lord* Buckhurſt, *(a Member of the Houſe of Commons) to the* Compter, *without Reprehenſion? That to be a Traitor (which is defined, and every Man underſtands) ſhould be no Crime; and to be called a Malignant (which no Body knows the Meaning of) ſhould be Ground enough for a cloſe Impriſonment? That a Law ſhould be made, That whoſoever ſhould preſume to take Tunnage and Poundage, without an Act of Parliament, ſhould incur the Penalty of a Premunire; and in the ſame Parliament, that the ſame Impoſitions ſhould be laid upon our Subjects, and taken by an Order of both Houſes, without and againſt our Conſent; that in the ſame Parliament a Law ſhould be made to declare the Proceeding and Judgment upon Ship-Money to be illegal and void, and during that Parliament, that an Order of both Houſes ſhall (upon Pretence of Neceſſity) enable Four Men to take away the Twentieth Part of their Eſtates from all their Neighbours, according to their Diſcretion? But our good Subjects will no longer look upon theſe and the like Reſults, as upon the Counſels and Concluſions of both our Houſes of Parliament, (tho' all the World knows, even that Authority can never juſtifie a thing unwarrantable by Law) they know how few of the Perſons truſted by them, are preſent at their Conſultations, of above 500 not 30, and of the Houſe of Peers not a Fifth Part; that they who are preſent enjoy not the Freedom and Privilege of Parliament, but are beſieged by an Army, and awed by the ſame Tumults which drove us and their Fellow-Members from thence, to conſent to what ſome few Seditious Schiſmatical Perſons among them do propoſe. Theſe are the Men, who joining with the* Anabaptiſts *and* Browniſts *of* London, *firſt changed the Government and Diſcipline of that City, and now by the Pride and Power of that* 1642.

1642. *City, would undo the Kingdom, whilſt their Lord-Mayor, (a Perſon accuſed and known to be guilty of High-Treaſon) by a new Legiſlative Power of his own, Suppreſſes and reviles the Book of Common-Prayer, robs and impriſons whom he pleaſes, and with the Table of his Faction, gives Laws to both Houſes of Parliament, and tells them they will have no Accommodation: Whilſt the Members ſent and intruſted by their Countrys, are expelled the Houſe, or committed, for refuſing to take the Oath of Aſſociation to live and die with the Earl of* Eſſex, *as very lately Sir* Sidney Mountague. *Theſe are the Men, who not thinking they have yet brought Miſchief enough upon the Kingdom, at this time invite our Subjects of* Scotland *to enter this Land with an Army againſt us. In a Word, Theſe are the Men who have made this laſt devouring Ordinance to take away all Law, Liberty and Property from our People, and have by it really acted that upon our People, which with infinite Malice, and no Colour or Ground was laboured to be infuſed into them to have been our Intention by the Commiſſion of Array. We have done: What Power and Authority theſe Men have, or will have, we know not; for our ſelves we challenge no ſuch; we look upon the Preſſures and Inconveniences our Subjects bear, even by us and our Army (which the Army firſt raiſed by them, enforced us to levy in our own Defence, and their Refuſal of all Offers and Deſires of Treaty enforceth us to keep) with very much Sadneſs of Heart; we are ſo far from requiring a Twentieth Part of their Eſtates (tho' for their own viſible Preſervation) that as we have already ſold or pawned our own Jewels, and coined our own Plate, ſo we are willing to ſell all our Land and Houſes for their Relief; yet we do not doubt but our good Subjects will ſeriouſly conſider our Condition, and their own Duties, and think our Readineſs to protect them with the utmoſt Hazard of our Life, deſerves their Readineſs to aſſiſt us with ſome Part of their Fortunes. And whilſt other Men give the Twentieth Part of their Eſtate, to enable them to forfeit the other Nineteen, that they will extend themſelves to us in a liberal and free Proportion for the Preſervation of the reſt, and*

*for*

*for the Maintenance of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Safety and very Being of Parliaments and this Kingdom; for if all these ever were, or can be in manifest Danger it is now in this present Rebellion against us. Lastly, We will and require all our loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, as they will answer it to God, to us, and to Posterity, by their Oaths of Allegiance, as they would not be looked upon now, and remembred hereafter, as Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties they were born to: That they in no Degree submit to this wild pretended Ordinance, and that they presume not to give any Encouragement or Assistance to the Army now in Rebellion against us; which if notwithstanding they shall do, they most expect from us the severest Punishment the Law can inflict, and a perpetual Infamy with all good Men.* 1642.

But whatever the King and his Party might say or publish against that Ordinance of Parliament, it did not hinder the bringing in a great Supply of Money, and it gave them Credit to borrow more; so that the Army was drawn out, though but to Winter Quarters. Twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Essex* fixed his Head Quarters at *Windsor*, the better to streighten the King's new Garrison at *Reading*; but the Year now at length spinning out in *England*, we shall conclude it with Sir *William Waller's* taking of *Chichester* from the Royalists, who on the 29th of *December* surrendred it to him on Discretion.

*Waller takes Chichester, Dec. 29.*

Our great Distractions at home have caused a long Interruption in our Account of Affairs abroad, there were a sort of Preliminaries of Peace settled in *Germany* last Year, but we find now they are far enough from it; wherefore let us a little prosecute tho *Swedish* War continued in those Parts.

General *Torstenson* was oblig'd to contiuue without doing any thing in the Country of *Lunenburg*, to the end of the preceding Year, as well because *Guebrian* had abandoned him with the Troops of *Weimar*, as becaule he waited the Succes of the Nego-

*Swedish War prosecuted.*

1642. Negotiation of *Gozlar*, and had beſides fallen into a dangerous Sickneſs. But, in the mean time, the *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians*, who were poſted near the Rivers of *Sala* and *Untruſt*, obſerv'd all his Deſigns. In the beginnning of the New Year he approach'd nearer the Enemy, to the old *Mark*, where he was again taken with a Dangerous fit of Sickneſs. As ſoon as the *Imperialiſts* had notice of this, and fancied beſide, as the report was, that he was actually Dead, they began their march in very bad Weather, and through very bad Ways, and came to *Stendal* in the old *Mark*, hoping, they ſhould eaſily defeat the *Swediſh* Army, which they believed to be without a Head, particularly becauſe there were ſeveral *Swediſh* Officers, with whom they entertain'd private Correſpondence, amongſt whom was Colonel *Sackendorf*, who, being apprehended, was Executed for his Treaſon. Upon this *Torſtenſon* went before the Enemy as far as *Saltzweden* and *Arnſee*, and Poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that 'twas impoſſible to come to him. So that the *Imperialiſts* finding they could do nothing, paſs'd the *Elb*, and came to *Tangermond*, pretending to have a deſign on ſome Sea-Port-Town in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*: And that they might draw the *Swedes* into that Country which was already laid waſte, they ſent Troops thither before-hand. But General *Torſtenſon* having diſcover'd their Stratagem, did not move from his Poſt: So that the Enemy, who had no mind to ſtarve for Hunger in the Country of *Mecklenburg*, very ſoon re-paſſed the *Elb*. The *Bavarians* went to the Country of *Franken*, and the *Imperialiſts* took up their Quarters in *Miſnia* and *Thuringin*. In this troubleſome March they loſt as many as if they had been defeated in open Battle.

After the Enemies Retreat, *Torſtenſon* reſolv'd to invade *Sileſia*, tho' to amuſe them, he made a feint towards *Weſtphalia*, to which end he detach'd *Koningſmark* with nine Regiments that way, who worſted the *Croats* at *Quedlinburg*, and rais'd the Siege of *Mansfeld*, with loſs on the Enemies ſide. But General *Torſtenſon* having paſs'd the *Elb* at *Werben*, and the *Havel* at *Havelberg*, march'd by the way

way of *Sigiſer* without any oppoſition, ſtill advancing towards *Sileſia*, whence *Stalhanch* had been driven away by *Francis Albert*, Duke of *Saxon Lauenburg*. In this march *Torſtenſon* order'd Matters ſo, that he was joyn'd by *Stalhanſch*; and in his way, this General took *Luce*, *Sora*, and *Sagan*. But what was much more to his Glory, he took the Town of *Great Golgan* by Storm, without having made any Lines of approach, or any breach in the Works; which he did becauſe the Duke of *Sax-Lauenburg* Aſſembled a great number of Troops in order to relieve the Town; and that he could not continue long before it for want of Proviſions: The taking of this Town was followed by that of ſeveral others, *viz. Gura*, *Hernſtad*, *Sprettau*, *Freidſtad*, *Walau*, *Drakenberg*, *Militſch*, *Parchuits*, *Javer* and *Strigau*. At lenght *Torſtenſon* laid Siege to *Schuinitz*; and Duke *Albert* coming with all his Horſe to relieve it, was ſo receiv'd by *Torſtenſon*, that after a very ſharp Engagement they were ſoundly beaten, and purſu'd for five Leagues: The Enemies loſt above three Thouſand Horſe, and the Duke himſelf, who was made Priſoner, died ſome days after of his Wounds. By his Death, all the deſigns which *Arnheim* had ſuggeſted to him, of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, vaniſh'd to nothing The Town of *Schuenitz*. ſurrender'd immediately upon the defeat of the *Imperialiſts*; after which, *Torſtenſon* march'd towards *Neiſſe* and left *Lilebock* to take the place, going himſelf in purſuit of the *Imperial* Army. But the Enemy made their eſcape with all haſte over the Mountains, tho' many of them were catch'd by the way. After which, he march'd directly towards *Olmatz* in *Moravia*, where there was then but a very weak Garriſon, and took it in four days, together with the Towns of *Litta* and *Neuſtat*; by which means having got footing in the Province, he return'd to *Sileſia*, where he took the Town of *Oppelen*, and alſo laid Siege to *Brieg*, hoping that by the taking of that place, he might ſoon become Maſter of *Breſſau*. But the Siege continued ſo long, that the *Imperialiſts*, under the command of Arch-Duke *Leopold William*, had time to joyn together

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The Boldneſs and Succeſs of *Torſtenſon*.

1642. gether to come to relieve the place. And thus the *Imperialiſts* being much more numerous than the *Swedes*, General *Torſtenſon* thought it not convenient to run any hazard; eſpecially becauſe he daily expected a new Reinforcement from *Sweden:* For which Reaſon he rais'd the Siege, and march'd along the *Oder*, following the courſe of the River, that he might the more ſafely be joyn'd by the Troops which were coming from *Sweden*, and encamp'd very advantageouſly near *Cuben*, behind the *Neiſſe*, where the River diſcharges it ſelf into the *Oder*.

The *Imperialiſts* Beſiege *Great Hogan.*

The *Imperialiſts* with all their Forces followed him, and reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Great Hogan:* But as ſoon as *Charles Guſtavus* was arriv'd with the Troops he had brought from *Sweden*, *Torſtenſon* advanced towards the Enemy, and oblig'd them to raiſe the Siege. Afterwards, he had a deſign, to make an Irruption into *Bohemia*, but could not effect it becauſe the *Imperialiſts* march'd up always at his ſide: But however, he took the Town of *Zittaw*, before their Eyes: And here a Cartel was firſt made, for exchange of Priſoners. *Torſtenſon* willingly conſented to it, principally for this reaſon, That by that means, the ſollicitations of the *Imperialiſts*, to debauch his Soldiers, were render'd uſeleſs and vain. But *Torſtenſon* ſeeing that he could not penetrate into *Bohemia*, nor bring the Enemy to a Battle, becauſe they were very advantageouſly Poſted, march'd along the *Elb*, following its courſe; and having paſs'd it near *Torga*, he march'd directly towards *Leipſick*, with a deſign to make himſelf Maſter of that important Place; and at that ſame time, to give *Koningſmark* an opportunity to joyn him, having then Ravag'd all the *Lower-Saxony*. Arch-Duke *William*, and *Piccolomini*, with all their Forces, began their march, in order to Relieve the Town. But *Torſtenſon* finding it was not ſafe to continue in his Camp, where he muſt have the *Imperialiſts* before, and the Town behind him, advanc'd his Army to a Plain near *Breitenfeld*, to wait for the Enemy's coming. On the other hand, Arch-Duke *Leopold* reſolv'd to hazard a Battle, and *Guebrian*, with the Troops of

*Wei-*

*Wimar*, were in a few days to joyn the *Swediſh* Army. Thus thoſe two Armies were encamp'd over-againſt one another, in the ſame Field where *Guſtavus Adolphus* had ſome Years before attain'd ſuch a glorious Victory. Immediately, the great Guns began to Play on both ſides; and at the very beginning, one of the *Imperialiſts* Ball had like to have done great miſchief, carrying away the hinder parts of *Torſtenſon's* Horſe, piercing the Neck of that of *Charles Guſtavus* Count-Palatine, and the Belly of that of *Rebenau* Captain of Horſe; ſo that they fell all three to the ground, but without any hurt: But it paſs'd through the Belly of Chancellor *Laurens Crabbe*, and carry'd away another's Leg. Immediately after, *Wirtenberg* and *Stalhanſch* ſetting upon the Enemy's Left Wing, put them in ſuch Diſorder, that Arch-Duke *Leopold* had great difficulty to Rally them again. But on the other hand, the Left Wing of the *Swediſh* Army gave ground at firſt, ſo that the Enemy began to plunder; but the care of their General made them return again to the Battle. The Infantry on both ſides continu'd immovable; for after they had diſcharg'd on one another, they fell on with Clubbed Muſquets, but as ſoon as the Left-wing of the *Swediſh* Army began to Flank the Enemy, their Infantry was forc'd to retire; and when their Right-wing was charg'd, ſeeing that they were like to be attack'd both before and behind, they betook themſelves to flight. In this Battle 5000 *Imperialiſts* died on the ſpot, and above 2500 were made Priſoners, with ſeveral Officers of note. The *Swedes* on their ſide loſt 2000, of whom there were ſeveral Officers, and particularly *John Lilichock*, great Maſter of the Artillery.

1642.

The *Imperialiſts* routed.

But General *Torſtenſon* having a great many Wounded, and the Army ſtanding in need of Reſt and Winter Cloaths, and the Officers longing to have their Pay, he return'd before *Leipſick*, and eaſily oblig'd it to Surrender upon Compoſition. After which, it was very ſerviceable to him in Equipping his Troops. Having a little refreſh'd his Army, he reſolv'd to make an Expedition into *Bohemia*. In his

*Torſtenſon* takes *Leipſick*.

1642. his way, he ſat down before *Friberg*, as well becauſe the bad Weather made his march very troubleſome, as alſo, becauſe he was told, That that Place was well ſtor'd with Proviſion, and that it could not hold out above eight Days: But this Siege having continued the Year following for ſome Weeks, he was oblig'd to abandon it, without making any Progreſs. The ſame Year, the Troops of *Weimar* and *Heſſe* ſignaliz'd themſelves alſo; for in the beginning they obtain'd a glorious Victory over *Lamboi* near *Kempen*, and afterwards made a conſiderable progreſs in the Country of *Colen*, where they continued till Autumn; at which time *Guebrian* return'd towards the *Rhine* with the *Weimar* Troops and having made a long Circuit thro' *Weſtphalia*, the *Lower-Saxony*, and *Thuringia*, he enter'd into the Country of *Franken*, where he took up his Winter-Quarters, near the Borders *Margentheim*.

The War ſtill continued between *France* and *Spain*, and therefore I will not interrupt the Proceedings on this ſide by entring into a Detail, that the Princes of *Savoy's* being diſobliged by the *Spaniards*, began now to ſide with *France* in order to beat the other out of *Piedmont*; but you muſt underſtand that the States General of the United Provinces being reſolved only to act defenſively this year, the *Spaniſh* Army under *Melo* quickly took *Lens* from the *French*, as they they did ſoon after the little Town of *Baſſee*; after which the *Spaniſh* Army having ſtaid within their Lines till the 24*th* of *May*, they ſeperated into two Bodies to oblige the *French*, who were ſomewhat weaker than they, to do the like. *Harcourt* went to incamp near *Heden*, and *Guiche* naer *Catelet*, which laſt entrenching himſelf ſlightly enough near a Wood, and *Melo* being ſoon informed of it, he marched directly with the greateſt part of his Forces to attack him. While the *Spaniards* attacked the Retrenchment on one ſide, another Body of them entred the Wood, and came upon the *French* that way, who tho they fought tolerably well, yet were forced to fly with the loſs of 1500 Men, greateſt part of their Colours, a hundred thouſand Crowns in Money, and left Two thouſand Priſoners. If the *Spaniards* had rightly purſued this Victory, it would have proved

*Spaniards* defeat the *French*.

of

of great advantage to them, and much detriment to the *French*, and perhaps to the Ruin of *Richlieu* himſelf, whoſe Kinſman *Guiche* was. But to ſay no more of the Conſequences hereof, we come to the Conſpiracy of the Maſter of the Horſe *Cinq-mars*, who engaged *Francis de Thou*, Son to the famous *James Auguſtin de Thou* in his Intereſt, by whoſe means *Orleans* and *Bouillon* were drawn in to countenance his Deſign; but there being ſome things tranſacted between the two Nations on the ſide of *Rouſſillon* and *Catalonia* of conſiderable Conſequence, and which do as it were lead us to it, we ſhall give a ſuccinct Account of them. The *French* reſolved upon the Conqueſt of *Rouſſillon*, either to cover their own Frontiers, or to ſupport the Rebellion of the *Catalonians*; and the Cardinal, notwithſtanding the the King's ill State of Health, and the Oppoſition made by the Phyſicians, would engage him to undertake the Expedition in perſon; wherefore the beſt of the Army being ordered to march that way, and good care having been taken for the ſecurity of the other Frontiers of the Kingdom, *Richlieu* adviſed his Majeſty to carry the Queen and *Orleans* along with him; but the Queen broke his Deſign ſo far, that ſhe was allowed to ſtay at *St. Germains*, while *Conde* was left at *Paris* with the Title of Regent during the King's Abſence, and had 200 men aſſigned him for his Guard.

1642.

War in *Rouſſillon*.

The King after Candlemas began his Journey, and being arrived at *Lyons*, took a Review of his Troops quartered thereabouts, which amounted to 15000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* hearing the vaſt Preparations of the *French*, were much alarmed at them, and took care to ſupply *Perpignan* with Proviſions, in doing of which they had ſeveral Rencounters with the *French*, wherein they generally worſted them. K. *Lewis* having left *Lyons* towards the latter end of *February* tho ſomewhat indiſpoſed, and that the ſeaſon was was very rigorous, went to *Narbonne*, and there on the 23*d* of *March* created the Count *de Guebriant* and *la Mothe da Houdancourt* Mareſchals of *France*: Nor did the Severity of the Weather retard the Motion of the Army, who on the 17*th* of *March* laid

1642. laid Siege to *Collioure*, a Place of great Conſequence, and defended by *Mortare* with 3000 Men. This Place was neceſſary for the *French*, both to hinder the *Spaniards* from relieving *Rouſillon*, as alſo to make uſe of it themſelves; wherefore the Count Duke *de Olivarez* order'd *de Povar*, who commanded in *Catalonia*, to advance with all his Cavalry, and hazard all for the Relief of the Place. *Povar*, after repreſenting the exceeding difficulty of the Action in vain, made ſeveral brave Attempts to execute his Order, till at laſt being with about 2000 Horſe ſurrounded by the *French*, they were made Priſoners of War, only the *Portugueſe* among them were ſet at liberty.

Siege of *Perpignan.* In the mean time *Meilleray* took both the Town and Caſtle of *Collioure*, the Caſtle of *St. Elme* was alſo comprehended in the Articles; and at laſt the Army came before *Perpignan*, where *Don Flores d' Avila* was Governour, and had under him *Cavalliero* and they ſeemed inclined to defend it to the utmoſt extremity; but *Spain* was at that time in great Straits, both for want of Money, diſciplin'd Troops, good Generals, and from the Preſſures both of the *French* and *Portugueſe* upon her; and Proviſion growing daily ſcarce in *Perpignan*, K. *Lewis* was for reducing it by Famine. On the other hand, the Catholick King, contrary to the Humour of his Favourite, in *April* ſet out for *Arragon*, to be nearer his Army; and having at length advanced as far as *Molina* upon the Frontiers of that Kingdom, ſeveral Councils of War were held there, wherein it was concluded that the Marqueſs *de Torreceuſe* ſhould be ſent by Land with ſome Forces to *Rouſillon* through *Catalonia*, while the Marqueſs *de Leganez* and *de Tavara* amuſed the *French* and *Catalonians*.

About the beginning of *July* an Engagement happened on the Coaſt of *Catalonia* between the Fleets of *Spain* and *France* without ony great loſs on either ſide; but the Catholick King having by a Courier falſe Intelligence of a compleat Victory, Orders were ſent to *Torreceuſe* to ſtop his march till farther Order, becauſe they thought now they had opened a Paſſage by Sea for their Forces; but when the true News came, they were as much in confuſion on the other hand, and *Torreceuſe* had poſitive Orders to hazard no Battle till

ill he had received fresh Reinforcements. *Philip* did now all he could for the Relief of *Perpignan*, and having caused Forces to march from all Parts of the Kingdom for his purpose, it's observable that in Six months time, after all the Efforts he could use, he could bring no more than 30000 men into the Field, and they coming even too late, the Place which had long suffered the utmost Extremities of Famine, and which no body took care to relieve, was surrendred on the 7th of *September*, being wholly destitute of Victuals, but extremly well stored with Ammunition, there being also Arms in it for 20000 Foot and Horse, and 120 Pieces of Cannon. *Salse* surrendred also not long after; and the Fight wherein *Leganez* engaged against *la Mothe* signified little to the Advantage of the *Spaniards*, tho' they were superior in number to the *French*. 1642.

*Perpignan* surrendred to the *French*.

Wherefore to leave them for the present to condole the many Losses they sustained this Campaign, and the Count Duke to begin to decline in his Prince's Favour, we shall resume now the Particulars of *Cinq-Mars* his Conspiracy: The Ground-work of it was the Ruin of the Cardinal one way or other, tho' he had been his Patron, and thereby to secure his Prince's Favour to himself; to compass which he thought the Assistance of *Orleans* necessary, as I have already hinted: But as *Monsieur* was none of the fittest Men in the World at finding out Expedients, the Master of the Horse thought it would be his wisest Course to engage the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Affair; in order to which he wrote to him to come to *Paris* much about the same time that the Cardinal dispatched a Courier to oblige the Duke to come thither before the King's Departure towards *Roussillon*, on purpose to receive his Orders, and go and command his Army in *Italy*. *Bouillon* being come accordingly to *Paris*, and having seen *Cinq-Mars*, they concluded it was absolutely necessary to treat with the *Spainiards*, that they should treat with the *Spaniards* in *Monsieur*'s Name, who gave *Fontrailles* his Instructions accordingly; which Person concluded a Treaty with *Olivarez*, whereby the King of *Spain* promised to give *Monsieur* 12000 Foot and 5000 Horse of old Troops, besides 400000 Crowns in ready Money to raise more, while *Orleans*

Conspiracy of M. *le Grand*.

1642. promiſed to be ready at a Place of Security; which was *Sedan*, to put himſelf at the Head of his Army, and enter *France* with a deſign to oblige the Cardinal to conſent to a Peace between the two Crowns, which was pretended to be the end of this Treaty; but the Ruin of *Richlieu* ſeemed to be at the bottom of it

The Cardinal, therefore ever ſuſpicious of ſome Deſigns againſt him, reſolved not to loſe ſight of the King in his Expedition to *Rouſſillon*. It was reported that *Cinq-Mars* propoſed more than once to *Orleans* and *St. Thou* to kill the Cardinal, which they would by no means give their Conſent to. Be this as it will, *Orleans* did all he could to engage the Duke of *Beaufort* now returned from *England*, in his Intereſt, tho' with little Succeſs; yet in the Camp before *Perpignan* things came to be ſo managed, that the whole Army was divided into two Factions, the one which was named *Royaliſts*, and the other *Cardinaliſts*. Here the King falling dangerouſly ill as the Cardinal had ſickened before, the Maſter of the Horſe made ſure of the Guards and *Swiſs*, and got Officers to promiſe to ſerve *Orleans* in the Diſpute that would ariſe between him and the Cardinal concerning the Regency. In the mean time the Favour of the Maſter of the Horſe daily diminiſhed, ſo that the King had no more of thoſe long Conferences which he uſed to have with him when he was in his Bed.

In the *Interim* the Cardinal being ſtill ſick at *Narbonne*, and the King before *Perpignan*, the Miniſter received Advice from *Spain*, that a certain *Frenchman* was ſeen in *Olivares* his Anti-chamber, and the Report ran every where that the Cardinal's Enemies had made a Treaty with *Spain*, a Copy whereof could not then be got. This made him very uneaſie, and the more, becauſe he deſired the King to leave *Perpignan*, and come to him to *Narbonne* in vain; ſo that not imagining himſelf ſafe where he was, he cunningly removes from thence to the Waters of *Tareſcan*. Here he received a Copy of the Treaty of *Madrid*, which he ſent forthwith to the King by *Chavigny*, deſiring withal *Cinq-Mars* might be apprehended. *Chavigny*, and even *Simond* his Ba-

Father Confeſſor, had all the difficulty imaginable to bring the King to comply with it; but having at length determined the Ruin of poor *Cinq-Mars*, he muſt needs leave the Army, where he was extremely beloved, and remove to *Narbonne*, as a more convenient Place to ſeize him, which was done accordingly on the 14th of *June*, and his Perſon ſecured in the Cittadel of *Montpelier*. *De Thou* and *Chavigny* were likewiſe ſecured. In the mean time *Oſſonville*, whom *Bouillon* had ſent to the Maſter of Houſe, being informed of his Impriſonment, took Poſt to carry the News to the Duke; and having acquainted *Turenne* with it at *Monfrin*, he immediately gave the Cardinal notice of it, who took ſpeedy care to ſecure *Oſſonville* at *Valence*, and to apprehend *Bouillon* at *Caſal*, from whence ſome time after he was removed to *Lyons*. 1642. *Cinq-Mars*, &c. ſeized.

*Orleans* receiving advice of this Diſcovery, relapſed to his uſual Weakneſs, wrote to the King and Council, and confeſt all; upon which he pardoned him. This done, and the King continuing ſtill indiſpoſed, he reſolved to return to *Paris*, and in his way to *Lyons* having ſeen the Cardinal at *Monfrin*, there paſt great Endearments between them, the Cardinal was impowered to act with the ſame Authority in Matters of State whereever he was as before; wherefore he nominated ſome Commiſſioners to try the Criminals, in order to which *Cinq-Mars* was brought to *Lyons*, where both he and *St. Thou* were condemned and executed; but *Chavignac*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, who had ſerved under the Duke of *Roan*, and had refuſed to be concerned in the matter, was freed and acquitted. Executed.

*Mary de Medicis*, the Wife, Mother and Mother-in-Law of the greateſt Kings in *Europe*, wandring without Shelter or Refuge, as a ſad Spectacle of Humane Miſery died now in a poor Houſe ſhe had rented at *Cologn*, having been driven out of *England* by the Parliament, rejected by the *Dutch*, and forſaken by the *Spaniards*. This Accident was alſo by *Richlieu*, as a Deſpiſer of Fame, numbred amongſt his Felicities, tho' at the ſame time he found himſelf much contaminated by Inquietudes of Mind, and bodily Infirmities; he had diſcovered that many of

1642. the King's Guards were concerned in the Plot of *Cinq-Mars*, but for a laſt Proof of his Authority, and the King's Patience, he deſires he would diſcharge *de Treville*, Captain of the Muſqueteers, be pleaſed to come out of St *Germains*, to ſpeak with him, and give Leave his Guards might mingle with the King's, for his greater Security. The King, at laſt, tho' with much Reluctancy, complied; but when the Cardinal thought himſelf in a manner delivered from the Mutability of Fortune, Nature would now exerciſe her Right; for being ſeized towards the end of *November* with an exceeding Pain in his Side, accompanied with a Fever, he lingred out his Days to the 4th of *December*, when he departed this Life in the 58th Year of his Age. *Armand* Cardinal Duke of *Richlieu*, was born of noble, but ordinary Parents; and as it happens that the beginning of our Lives, buried in utmoſt Darkneſs, give no Intimations whither the Laws of Deſtiny will be extended, he applies himſelf in his Youth to Studies, and afterwards to the Life of a Churchman. Aſpiring always to the greateſt Things, he made it viſible, that from every Corner of Fortune the higheſt Degrees are to be attained to, provided a Man have the Confidence to promote and believe himſelf worthy of them. Having inſinuated into the Court, he intruded himſelf into the Factions, and ſucceeded either in ſowing Diſcords, or compoſing them after ſo excellent a manner, that Art never failed him, and he as ſeldom abandoned by Fortune. If he introduced himſelf into Favour, if he enjoyed it, it was generally thought to be againſt the Inclination of the Prince that raiſed him. He ſet the King at Enmity with his Mother, Brother, and it may be with himſelf, conſtraining him to give up his Authority to him, tho' he denied him his Affection; he ballanced Favour againſt Envy, being ſupported by the King, but always hated by the Princes, execrated by the People, and ſought to be enſnared by Strangers: He never grew remiſs in Proſperity, nor deſpaired in the Croſſneſs of Affairs, wherein either Chance furniſhed him with Accidents, or his Wit ſuggeſted him Councils. Having diſarmed the Proteſtants in *France*, laid the great

Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Death and Character.

great Ones low, weakned the People and the Parliaments, he eſtabliſhed the Vigour of Arbitrary Government: On the other ſide uſurping all Power to himſelf, fearing the Security of Peace, and thinking himſelf more ſafe amidſt the Revolutions of Arms, he was the Author of Wars, and of long and grievous Calamities, with ſo much Blood-ſhed and Tears both within and without the Kingdom, that that 'tis no wonder he has been cenſured for a Man falſe to his Word, cruel in his Hatred, and inflexible in Revenge, ſo that *Patin* calls him the *Jupiter Maſtator* of *France*. But leaving to God the more exact Judgment of his Intentions and Actions, thoſe Endowments cannot certainly be denied him, which the World is wont to attribute to great Perſonages; his very Enemies agreed in a Confeſſion with his Friends, that he poſſeſs'd ſuch and ſo many of them, that whitherſoever he directed his Affairs he reaped Succeſs and Power. This may be ſaid of him, that having united *France*, ſuccoured *Italy*, confounded the Empire, divided *England*, and weakened *Spain*, he was the Inſtrument, choſen by Divine Providence, for the Ruin of *Europe*. 1642.

There remains nothing but to purſue the Paces of the Revolution begun in *Portugal* in 1640. for the Courſe of this Year, and here you are to underſtand that the Iſland *Terzera* was the only Place which had refuſed to ſubmit to the new King of *Portugal*, the Governour thereof proving more faithful than the reſt to the King of *Spain*. He began to want Proviſions and Ammunition; which being known in *Spain*, Two Ships were ſent to him loaden with all Neceſſaries for his Relief. Theſe Veſſels were taken by the Ships of *Portugal*, which lay about this Iſland, on Purpoſe to intercept all Succours. *D. Alvaro de Viveiro*, who commanded in the Fort, being now reduced to great Streights, and ſeeing no Likelihood of being reliev'd, capitulated, and march'd out with 263 Men, Two Pieces of Canon, and all other Marks of Honour; leaving behind 800 ſick Men, who according to Articles were to be taken Care of, and ſent away as ſoon as well. *D. Emanuel de Souza Pacheco* was ſent to govern that Iſland. The *Portugueſe* Fleet conſiſting of

**The Iſland *Terzera* reduced by the *Portugueze*.**

1642. 13 Sail, ſailed together with the *Dutch*, deſigned to intercept the *Spaniſh Galeons*; but the *Dutch* forſook the *Portugueſe*, who in a Storm loſt their Admiral and Vice-Admiral, the other Ships being much ſhatter'd.

Foreign Alliances concluded.

Soon after the Surrender of the Iſland, News was brought that the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador in *Sweden*, had concluded an Alliance betwixt the Two Crowns, which the King for the Satisfaction of his People, cauſed to be proclaimed by his Heralds. To confirm which, in a few Days there arrived at *Lisbon* Four *Swediſh* Ships laden with Naval and Warlike Stores, ſent by the Ambaſſador; and Letters were brought from the Queen of *Sweden*, in which ſhe gave Their *Portugueſe* Majeſties Aſſurances of her firm Adherence to them in all that ſhould be for their Service. *Triſtan de Medoza* had in like manner eſtabliſhed a firm Friendſhip and Alliance with the *Hollanders*. However, the *Dutch* Fleet that was upon the Coaſt of *Goa* in *India*, having taken ſome *Portugueſe* Ships, and at the ſame time ſeveral Places in *Braſil*, D. *George Maſcarenhas*, who was Vice-Roy there, ſent Advice to the King, and he immediately writ to *Francis de Andrade Leitan*, his Ambaſſador in *England*, ordering him inſtantly to go over to complain to the States of the taking of thoſe Places. The States conſidering how uncapable the King was at that time to do himſelf Right, made ſmall Account of his Ambaſſador demanding Reſtitution.

All this while the Frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Portugal* were full of Soldiers: The Garriſon of *Campo Mayor* often broke into *Eſtremadura*. Parties of Horſe from *Badajoz* appeared frequently at the Gates of *Elvas*, and the Governor of this laſt Place, as often drove Cattel from about *Badajoz*. Though theſe Inroads were not very conſiderable, yet they were not performed without Blood-ſhed; Time heightning the Hatred betwixt the Two Nations, both Parties encreaſed their Troops. The King of *Portugal* erected Six Places of Arms on his Frontiers, and put 5000 Men in each of them. The *Spaniards* aſſembled on all Sides, and Four or Five Armies appeared in as many Places to oppoſe and infeſt

infeſt the *Portugueſe*. Hereupon daily Action enſued, ſometime the one, and ſometimes the other being ſuperior: *Ferdinand Tellez de Meneſes*, Governor of the Province of *Beira*, was one of the firſt that gained upon the *Spaniards*. He made an Inroad into *Old Caſtile*, where he took and burnt the Towns St. *Martin* and *Elgas*, with the Caſtle of the latter, which commands all the Territory of *Gata*. Having made himſelf Maſter of *Valverde*, and finding it conveniently ſeated to annoy the Enemy, he left in it a Garriſon well provided. A ſmall Body of 2500 *Spaniards* endeavouring to give a Check to his Proceedings, was put into Diſorder at the firſt Charge; and the *Portugueſe* uſing their Advantage, cut in pieces moſt of their Enemies. *Martin Alphonſo de Melo*, Governor of *Elvas*, was no leſs ſucceſsful about the ſame time: For having received Intelligence that a Party of 300 *Spaniſh* Horſe ravaged the Country betwixt *Badajoz* and *Valverde*, he ſent out a good Body of Horſe, with 150 Muſqueteers, ordering them to attack the Enemy where-ever they met them. This was ſo well performed, that moſt of the *Spaniſh* Horſe being ſlain upon the Place, the reſt quitted their Horſes to ſave themſelves in a ſmall Wood hard by; ſo that 274 Horſes became a Prey to the Victors. Theſe were yet but ſmall Advantages; *D. Francis de Melo*, General of the *Portugueſe* Horſe in the Province of *Alentejo*, entred *Eſtremadura*, where finding no Forces to oppoſe him, he took *Aroches*, *Villar del Rey*, *Codiſſera* and *Ancinaſola*; defeated ſome Troops that adventured to oppoſe him, took a vaſt Booty, and ſo many Priſoners, that the King of *Portugal* ordered many of the leaſt conſiderable to be ſet at Liberty. *D. John de Garay*, Governor of *Badajoz*, ſent out 800 Horſe and 2000 Foot, with Deſign to ſurprize *Olivenza*; but *D. Francis de Melo* charging them by the Way, put them to Flight with the Slaughter of 300 Men. 1642.

Theſe continual Incurſions kept the *Spaniards* always upon their Guard, and made them think of ſecuring themſelves. To this Purpoſe they began to fortifie *Aldea del Obiſpo*; but *Ferdinand Tellez* Other Military Actions.

1642. *de Meneſes* being unwilling to ſuffer that Work to go forward, marched with 500 Foot, and Four Squadrons of Horſe, attacked the Place, and carried it, though obſtinately defended: 140 *Spaniards* were kill'd in the Aſſault, and 116 taken, and all the Works, as well Old as New, were levelled with the Ground. Then paſſing on, he did the ſame to the Town of *Caſtillejo*, which was no leſs offenſive to the *Portugueſe* Frontiers, than the other would have been. The King to ſhew he was no leſs formidable by Sea than by Land, even in the firſt Riſe of his Greatneſs; fitted out Thirteen great Men of War, under the Command of *Antony Tellez*, ordering him to ſeek out the *Spaniſh* Fleet, or in caſe he found it not, to attempt ſome Sea-Port Town; the *Spaniards*, though weak, omitted not to make their utmoſt Efforts, and infeſt their Enemies Country, as much as in them was. *Chelas*, a conſiderable Town of *Eſtremadura*, and ſeated near the Frontiers of *Alentejo*, did often ſend out Parties, which did incredible Damage in that Part of the plain Country, ſubject to *Portugal*. *Francis de Melo*, who had the Charge of thoſe Frontiers incenſed hereat, marched with all the Force he could gather, with a Reſolution to carry that Place; nor did he fail of his Deſign altogether, for meeting a Squadron of *Spaniſh* Horſe, he cut them off, and then applying his Scaling-Ladders, after a Diſpute of Five Hours, entred the Town. His Men immediately fell to the Plunder, which loſt them the Opportunity they might have had of entring the Caſtle with the flying Enemy. *Francis de Melo* ſeeing nothing more could be done then plundering the Town, returned, leaving the Streets full of dead Bodies, and having loſt but 16 of his own Men.

Alliances in *Africa* and *Aſia*.

Whilſt the War continued in this manner betwixt theſe two Neighbouring Nations, thoſe of a greater diſtance ſought the Friendſhip of the new King of *Portugal*: A King near *Goa* in *India* was the firſt that moved for this Friendſhip: The King of *Morocco* was not long behind him, for he underſtanding how the Crown was ſettled by the unanimous Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and ſo many Alliances made with moſt of the Princes of *Europe*, except thoſe

thoſe that were devoted to *Spain*, ſent now into *Portugal*, to deſire leave of the King that an Ambaſſador might come to put an end to the Animoſities which had been produced by the violent procedure of the *Spaniards*. 1642.

The ill Fortune of the *Spaniards* raiſed in them an implacable deſire of Revenge. They aſſembled 1500 Foot, and 300 Horſe, to take a Fort that *Ferdinand Tellez de Meneſes* had built in *Val de Mula*, on the Frontiers of the Province of *Tralos Montes*, and marched till they came in ſight of the Fort; they diſcovering 60 *Portugueſe* Horſe, and 400 Foot, they halted to conſult what was to be done. *D. Sancho Manuel*, the *Portugueſe* Camp-Maſter having obtained Leave of *Ferdinand Tellez*, though ſo unequal in Number, charged the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that at the firſt ſhock the Foot fled, and the Horſe ſeeing the Rout, durſt not come up to ſupport them. Having with ſuch eaſe overthrown thoſe Troops, the *Portugueſe* General reſolved to make uſe of the Advantage, being informed they were retired to *Fuentes* in *Caſtile*, where ſome Fortifications were begun to be thrown up. Being too weak to attack them there, he ſtayed till 500 Foot more had join'd him, and then advanced; he planted ſome Cannon againſt the Place, and began to batter it, but ſeeing no effect, thought of ſending for more Troops to carry it by *Eſcalade*, when he was told the *Spaniards* aſſembled in great Numbers from all parts to cut off his Retreat. His danger drew *D. Alonſo Furtado de Mendoza* to his Aſſiſtance, being ſtill much inferiour to the Enemy, retired with Speed, and unmoleſted by the *Spaniards*. Nor was there any more quiet on the Frontiers of *Galicia*; for *Martin Daradin*, the Governour of that Kingdom, not being in a condition to oppoſe Two *Portugueſe* Armies that broke in upon him at once, they burnt 150 Villages in that Country, and returned home with a conſiderable Booty. Military Actions in the Province of *Tralos Montes*.

It was now but reaſonable the Forces ſhould have been put into their Winter Quarters; nevertheleſs the Duke *d' Alva* having gather'd all the Power he could, ſent them under the Conduct of his Son to waſte the Province of *Beira*. *Ferdinand Tellez de Meneſes* having Notice hereof, formed a Body of In the Province of *Beira*.

7000

1642. 7000 Foot and 2700 Horſe, and reſolved to prevent the *Spaniards*, whoſe Forces were no leſs Conſiderable; he march'd to *Val de Mula*, and encamped before the Town of *Guardan*, which he ſummoned, and finding no Diſpoſition in the Governor to ſurrender, batter'd it with two pieces of Cannon. The Battery was of little effect, and therefore *Ferdinand Tellez* commanded *Peter Souſa de Caſtro* to attack the Outworks with all the Muſqueteers, and *Gaſpar de Seixas* with ſome other Battalions to ſuſtain him. The Attack was begun with great Reſolution, and continued for three Hours, at the end whereof the Beſieged put up a Flag, and ſent a Drum to offer to Capitulate. The Garriſon marched out upon ſorry Terms, the Governor and Officers being only allowed to carry their Swords, all to the Number of 340, being ſent Priſoners to *Lisbon*. The Booty was great, beſides much ſtore of Proviſion and Ammuniton found in the Place; but the main Conſequence of taking this place was, that it ſecured the *Portugueſe* Frontiers, and laid thoſe of *Caſtile* open to Incurſions. Whilſt this was doing, about the Provence of *Beira*, without the *Spaniſh* General, who had taken the Field, his attempting to ſuccour the Town; *D. Antony Maſcarenhes*, Commander of *Valladodes* took *Quintas* and *Corgra*. *D. Sancho Manuel* plunder'd and burnt the Towns of *Sorvo*, *Avilar* and *Chaleng*; the Captains, *Edward Miranha*, and and *Emanuel de Andras*, did the ſame to thoſe of *Baſquilha*, *Villar del Puerto* and *Saranitho*, and ſo did others all along the Frontiers. *D. Francis de Melo*, General of the Cavalry in *Allentejo*, being abroad with 300 Men, the Governour of *Badajoz* upon Notice of it, marched out with 700, and leaving half of them in Ambuſh, with the other half advanced to draw on the *Portugueſe*: *Melo* thinking he had no more Enemies to deal with but what were in ſight, charged them, and they as ſoon retired, till they drew him into the ambuſh. He was at firſt ſurprized, ſeeing himſelf Attacked by that freſh body, but recovering himſelf, divided his men, and ſent one part to charge thoſe that lay in ambuſh. In this manner the Fight continued a conſiderable time, after which, freſh Troops ap-

appeared, coming from *Badajoz*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, and others from *Elvas*, to ſuſtain the *Portugueſe*. Theſe laſt were 1600 Foot, and four Squadrons of Horſe, under the Conduct of the Count *de Obidos*. Now the face of affairs was changed, for the *Portugeſe* obtained a Compleat Victory. The firſt of the *Spaniſh* Troops were cut in pieces, and the laſt retired with the loſs of 176 Horſe. Of the *Portugueſe*, 37 were killed in ambuſh, and 16 in the Engagement after it. 1642.

The Aſſembly of the States of Parliament of *Portugal*, being the only Authority that could eſtabliſh the Crown, and raiſe ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for the ſupport of it; the King fixt their meeting for the 18*th* of *September*, and that day the Seſſion was commenced with all the Ceremonies uſual upon ſuch occaſions. The Biſhop of *Elvas* performed the Office of Chancellor; acquainting that Aſſembly in the King's Name, with the cauſes of their being conveed. He repreſented the great Bleſſing of Liberty, the King's extraordinary Care to repair the Harms done by the *Spaniards*, the mighty Power he had, as well by Sea as Land; the Alliances he had made abroad, and put them in mind how he had never lay'd any Impoſitions upon his People, but maintained the expence of his Houſe upon the private Patrimony of his family; and that being now much exhauſted, he recommended it to them to find out means to ſupport ſo great a Charge, aſſuring them of his Royal Protection, and that their Liberties and Privileges ſhould be religiouſly preſerved. Great was the expectation the King had conceived of this Aſſembly, nor was he diſappointed, for they gave ſuch Teſtimonies of their Duty, as exceeded even his Hopes. They returned many Thanks for his Care in aſſerting their Liberties, for delivering them from the Yoke of *Spain*; for his good Intentions, offering him their Lives and Fortunes, and ſending him a Blank Paper, that he might diſpoſe of their Eſtates as he thought fit for the ſupport of the State, and purchaſing his Brother's Liberty, who was kept Priſoner by the *Spaniards* ever ſince the beginning of the War, having been put into their Hands by the King of *Hun-*

The Cortes or Parliament of *Portugal* held.

1642. *Hungary*, in whoſe Service he had been nine Years. The King returned the blank as it was ſent to him, and had more plentiful ſupplies granted him than he himſelf would have demanded. The Parliament ſettled two Funds, the one for Land, the other for Sea Service: But other expences were to be ſupplied out of the Patrimony of the Houſe of *Braganza*.

Things thus terminating happily in *Portugal*, we ſhall cloſe this Second Volume with Two Remarkables only, *viz.* That Excellent Mathematician *Galileo Galilæi* died this Year, in the 78th of his Age: He was a Native of *Florence*; he made very curious Remarks on the Spots in the Sun, *&c.* diſcovered the Satellites of *Jupiter*; but he was impriſoned for Five Years together by the Inquiſition, for maintaining the Motion of the Earth about the Sun, as being contrary to Scripture, and forced to renounce his Opinion at the Age of 60, tho' it has ſince been received among the learned, that the Scripture ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and not the Standard of natural Truths. He wrote *Nuncius Sidereus*, with ſeveral other Pieces in *Italian*.

*Galileo's Death.*

*Sandys Death.*

The other is the Death of *George Sandys*, youngeſt Son of *Edwyn*, Archbiſhop of *York*, an accompliſhed Gentleman, who wrote *Travels into the Holy Land*, an elegant Tranſlation of the *Pſalms*, *Job*, *Canticles*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*, in Verſe; and a Verſion of *Ovid*'s Metamorphoſis, with Learned Mythological Comments upon them.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

*FINIS.*

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